



THE
SCOTTISH
HIGHLANDS

HIGHLAND CLANS
& REGIMENTS





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HISTORY
OF THE
SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS
HIGHLAND CLANS
AND
HIGHLAND REGIMENTS

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE GAELIC LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, AND MUSIC
BY THE REV. THOMAS MACLAUCHLAN, LL.D., F.S.A.(SCOT.), AND
AN ESSAY ON HIGHLAND SCENERY BY THE LATE
PROFESSOR JOHN WILSON

EDITED BY
JOHN S. KELTIE, F.S.A.(SCOT.)

A NEW EDITION
WITH THE REGIMENTAL PORTION BROUGHT DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME FROM OFFICIAL SOURCES
BY WILLIAM MELVEN, M.A., GLASGOW

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Robert, sixteenth baron of Foulis, died without issue in July 1589, and was succeeded by his brother, Hector Munro, seventeenth baron of Foulis. The latter died 14th November 1603.

Hector's eldest son, Robert Munro, eighteenth chief of Foulis, styled "the Black Baron," was the first of his house who engaged in the religious wars of Gustavus Adolphus, in the 17th century. In 1626 he went over with the Scottish corps of Sir Donald Mackay, first Lord Reay, accompanied by six other officers of his name and near kindred. Doddridge says of him, that "the worthy Scottish gentleman was so struck with a regard to the common cause, in which he himself had no concern but what piety and virtue gave him, that he joined Gustavus with a great number of his friends who bore his own name. Many of them gained great reputation in this war, and that of Robert, their leader, was so eminent that he was made colonel of two regiments at the same time, the one of horse, the other of foot in that service." In 1629 the laird of Foulis raised a reinforcement of 700 men on his own lands, and at a later period joined Gustavus with them. The officers of Mackays and Munro's Highland regiments who served under Gustavus Adolphus, in addition to rich buttons, wore a gold chain round their necks, to secure the owner, in case of being wounded or taken prisoner, good treatment, or payment for future ransom. In the service of Gustavus, there were at one time not less than "three generals, eight colonels, five lieutenant-colonels, eleven majors, and above thirty captains, all of the name of Munro, besides a great number of subalterns."

The "Black Baron" died at Ulm, from a wound in his foot, in the year 1633, and leaving no male issue, he was succeeded by his brother, Hector Munro, nineteenth baron of Foulis, who had also distinguished himself in the German wars, and who, on his return to Britain, was created by Charles I. a baronet of Nova Scotia, 7th June 1634. He married Mary, daughter of Hugh Mackay of Farr, and dying in 1635, in Germany, was succeeded by his only son, Sir Hector, second baronet, who died, unmarried, in 1651, at the age of 17. The title and property devolved on his cousin.

Robert Munro of Opisdale, grandson of George, third son of the fifteenth baron of Foulis.

During the civil wars at home, when Charles I. called to his aid some of the veteran officers who had served in Germany, this Colonel Robert Munro was one of them. He was employed chiefly in Ireland from 1641 to 1645, when he was surprised and taken prisoner personally by General Monk. He was subsequently lieutenant-general of the royalist troops in Scotland, when he fought a duel with the Earl of Glencairn. Afterwards he joined Charles II. in Holland. After the Revolution he was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland.

Sir Robert Munro, third baronet of Foulis, died in 1688, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir John, fourth baronet, who, in the Scottish convention of estates, proved himself to be a firm supporter of the Revolution. He was such a strenuous advocate of Presbyterianism, that, being a man of large frame, he was usually called "the Presbyterian mortar-piece." In the Stuart persecutions, previous to his succession to the title, he had, for his adherence to the covenant, been both fined and imprisoned by the tyrannical government that then ruled in Scotland. He died in 1696. His son, Sir Robert, fifth baronet, though blind, was appointed by George I. high sheriff of Ross, by commission, under the great seal, dated 9th June 1725. He married Jean, daughter of John Forbes of Culloden, and died in 1729.

His eldest son, Sir Robert, twenty-seventh baron and sixth baronet of Foulis, a gallant military officer, was the companion in arms of Colonel Gardiner, and fell at the battle of Falkirk, 17th January 1746.

In May 1740, when the Independent companies were formed into the 43d Highland regiment (now the 42d Royal Highlanders), Sir Robert Munro was appointed lieutenant-colonel, John Earl of Crawford and Lindsay being its colonel. Among the captains were his next brother, George Munro of Culcairn, and John Munro, promoted to be lieutenant-colonel in 1745. The surgeon of the regiment was his youngest brother, Dr James Munro.*

* See the History of the 42d Regiment, in vol. ii.

The fate of Sir Robert's other brother, Captain George Munro of Culcairn, was peculiar. He was shot on the shores of Loch Arkaig among the wild rocks of Lochaber, on Sunday, 31st August 1746, by one of the rebels named Dugald Roy Cameron, or, as he is styled in tradition, Du Rhu. After the Rebellion, an order was issued to the Highlanders to deliver up their arms. Dugald, accordingly, sent his son to Fort-William with his arms to be delivered up. When proceeding down Loch Arkaig, the young man was met by an officer of the name of Grant, who was conducting a party of soldiers into Knoydart, and being immediately seized, was shot on the spot. His father swore to be revenged, and learning that the officer rode a white horse, he watched behind a rock for his return, on a height above Loch Arkaig. Captain Munro had unfortunately borrowed the white horse on which Grant rode, and he met the fate intended for Grant. Dugald Roy escaped, and afterwards became a soldier in the British service.

Sir Robert left a son, Sir Harry Munro, seventh baronet and twenty-fifth baron of Foulis, an eminent scholar and a M.P.

His son, Sir Hugh, eighth baronet, had an only daughter, Mary Seymour Munro, who died January 12, 1849. On his decease, May 2, 1848, his kinsman, Sir Charles, became ninth baronet and twenty-seventh baron of Foulis. He was eldest son of George Munro, Esq. of Culrain, Ross-shire (who died in 1845), and lineal male descendant of Lieutenant-general Sir George Munro, next brother to the third baronet of this family. He married—1st, in 1817, Amelia, daughter of Frederick Browne, Esq., 14th dragoons; issue, five sons and two daughters; 2d, in 1853, Harriette, daughter of Robert Midgely, Esq. of Essington, Yorkshire. Charles, the eldest son, was born in 1824, married in 1847, with issue.

The military strength of the Munroes in 1715 was 400, and in 1745, 500 men. The clan slogan or battle cry was "Caisteal Foulis na theine"—Castle Foulis in flames.

MACMILLAN.

Of the origin and history of the Macmillans, little seems to be known. According to Buchanan of Auchmar, they are descended

from the second son of Aurelan, seventh laird of Buchanan. According to Mr Skene, the earliest seat of the Macmillans appears to have been on both sides of Loch Arkaig, and he thinks this confirmatory of a clan tradition, that they are connected with the clan Chattan. The Macmillans were at one time dependent on the Lords of the Isles, but when Loch Arkaig came into possession of the Camerons, they became dependent on the latter. "Another branch of this clan," says Skene, "possessed the greater part of southern Knapdale, where their chief was known under the title of Macmillan of Knap; and although the family is now extinct, many records of their former power are to be found in that district." We take the liberty of quoting further from Mr Skene as to the history of the Macmillans.

"One of the towers of that fine ancient edifice, Castle Sweyn, bears the name of Macmillan's Tower, and there is a stone cross in the old churchyard of Kilmoray Knap, upwards of twelve feet high, richly sculptured, which has upon one side the representation of an Highland chief engaged in hunting the deer, having the following inscription in ancient Saxon characters underneath the figure:— 'Hæc est crux Alexandri Macmillan.' Although the Macmillans were at a very early period in Knapdale, they probably obtained the greater part of their possessions there by marriage with the heiress of the chief of the Macneills, in the 16th century. Tradition asserts that these Knapdale Macmillans came originally from Lochtay-side, and that they formerly possessed Lawers, on the north side of that loch, from which they were driven by Chalmers of Lawers, in the reign of David II.

"As there is little reason to doubt the accuracy of the tradition, it would appear that this branch of the Macmillans had been removed by Malcolm IV. from North Moray, and placed in the crown lands of Strathlay. Macmillan is said to have had the charter of his lands in Knapdale engraved in the Gaelic language and character upon a rock at the extremity of his estate; and tradition reports that the last of the name, in order to prevent the prostitution of his wife, butchered her admirer, and was obliged in consequence to abscond. On the extinction of the family of the

chief, the next branch, Macmillan of Dunmore, assumed the title of Macmillan of Macmillan, but that family is now also extinct.

“Although the Macmillans appear at one time to have been a clan of considerable importance, yet as latterly they became mere dependants upon their more powerful neighbours, who possessed the superiority of their lands, and as their principal families are now extinct, no records of their history have come down to us, nor do we know what share they took in the various great events of Highland history. Their property, upon the extinction of the family of the chief, was contended for by the Campbells and Macneills, the latter of whom were a powerful clan in North Knapdale, but the contest was, by compromise, decided in favour of the former. It continued in the same family till the year 1775, when, after the death of the tenth possessor, the estate was purchased by Sir Archibald Campbell of Inverniet.”

There have been a considerable number of Macmillans long settled in Galloway, and the tradition is that they are descendants of an offshoot from the northern Macmillans, that went south about the time the Knapdale branch migrated from Lochtay side. These Macmillans are famous in the annals of the Covenanters, and are mentioned by Wodrow as having acted a prominent part during the times of the religious persecution in Scotland. Indeed, we believe that formerly, if not indeed even unto this day, the modern representatives of the Covenanters in Galloway are as often called “Macmillantes” as “Cameronians.”

CHAPTER VII.

Clan Anrias or Ross—Rose—Rose of Kilravock—Kenneth or Mackenzie—Mackenzie of Gerloch or Gairloch—Mackenzies of Tarbet and Royston—of Coull—Scatwell—Allangrange—Applecross—Ord—Grinard—Hilton—Mathieson or Clan Mhathain—Siol Alpine—Macgregor—Dugald Ciar Mhor—Rob Roy—Grant—Grants of Pluscardine—Ballindalloch—Glenmoriston—Lynachorn—Aviemore—Croskie—Dalvey—Monymusk—Kilgraston—Mackinnon—Macnab—Duffie Macfie—Macquarrie—MacAulay.

UNDER the head of the Maormordom of Ross, Mr Skene, following the genealogists, includes a considerable number of clans viz., the clan

Anrias or Ross, clan Kenneth or Mackenzie, clan Muthan or Mathieson; and under the subordinate head of Siol Alpine, the clans Macgregor, Grant, Mackinnon, Macnab, Macphie, Macquarrie, and Macaulay. We shall speak of them in their order.



BADGE—Juniper.

The clan ANRIAS or Ross—called in Gaelic *clan Roisch na Gille Andras*, or the offspring of the follower of St Andrew—by which can be meant only the chiefs or gentry of the clan, are descended from the Earls of Ross, and through them from the ancient Maormors of Ross. According to Mr Smeibert, the mass of the clan Ross was swallowed up by and adopted the name of the more powerful Mackenzies. “The generality,” he says, “had never at any time borne the name of Ross; the gentry of the sept only were so distinguished. Thus, the common people, who must naturally have intermingled freely with the real Mackenzies, would ere long retain only vague traditions of their own descent; and when the days of regular registration, and also of military enlistment, required and introduced the use of stated names, the great body of the true Ross tribe would, without doubt, be enrolled under the name of Mackenzie, the prevailing one of the district. In all likelihood, therefore, the old Rosses are yet numerous in Ross-shire.”

The first known Earl of Ross was Malcolm, who lived in the reign of Malcolm the Maiden (1153-1165).

Ferquhard, the second earl, called *Fearchar Mac an t-Sagairt*, or son of the priest, at the head of the tribes of Moray, repulsed Donald MacWilliam, the son of Donald Bane, when, soon after the accession of Alexander II. in 1214, that restless chief made an inroad from Ireland into that province.

William, third Earl of Ross, was one of the Scots nobles who entered into an agreement, 8th March 1258, with Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, that the Scots and Welsh should only make peace with England by mutual consent.

William, fourth earl, was one of the witnesses to the treaty of Bruce with Haco, King of Norway, 28th October 1312. With his clan he was at the battle of Bannockburn, and he signed the memorable letter to the Pope in 1320, asserting the independence of Scotland. He had two sons, Hugh, his successor, and John, who with his wife, Margaret, second daughter of Alexander Comyn, fourth Earl of Buchan, got the half of her father's lands in Scotland. He had also a daughter, Isabel, who became the wife of Edward Bruce, Earl of Carriek and King of Ireland, brother of Robert the Bruce, 1st June 1317.

Hugh, the next Earl of Ross, fell, in 1333, at Halidonhill.

Hugh's successor, William, left no male heir. His eldest daughter, Euphemia, married Sir Walter Lesley of Lesley, Aberdeenshire, and had a son, Alexander, Earl of Ross, and a daughter, Margaret. Earl Alexander married a daughter of the Regent Albany, and his only child, Euphemia, Countess of Ross, becoming a nun, she resigned the earldom to her uncle John, Earl of Buchan, Albany's second son. Her aunt Margaret had married Donald, second Lord of the Isles, and that potent chief assumed in her right the title of Earl of Ross, and took possession of the earldom. This led to the battle of Harlaw in 1411.

On the death of the Earl of Buchan and Ross, at the battle of Verneuil in France in 1424, the earldom of Ross reverted to the crown. James I., on his return from his long captivity in England, restored it to the heiress of line, the mother of Alexander, Lord of the Isles, who, in 1420, had succeeded his father, Donald, above mentioned. In 1429 he summoned together his vassals, both of Ross and the

Isles, and at the head of 10,000 men wasted the crown lands in the vicinity of Inverness, and burned the town itself to the ground. At the head of some troops, which he had promptly collected, the king hastened, by forced marches, to Lochaber, and surprised the earl. The mere display of the royal banner won over the clan Chattan and the clan Cameron from his support, and he himself, suddenly attacked and hotly pursued, was compelled to sue, but in vain, for peace. Driven to despair, he resolved to cast himself on the royal mercy, and on Easter Sunday, did so in the extraordinary manner narrated at p. 140 of this volume.

Alexander's son, John, the next Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, having joined the Earl of Douglas in his rebellion against James II., sent, in 1455, to the western coast of Scotland an expedition of 5000 men, under the command of his near kinsman, Donald Balloch, Lord of Islay. With this force he desolated the whole coast from Innerkip to Bute, the Cumbrays, and the island of Arran, but from the prudent precautions taken by the king to repel the invaders, the loss was not very considerable. The Earl of Ross afterwards made his submission, and was received into the royal favour. On the accession of James III., however, his rebellious disposition again showed itself. Edward IV. of England having entered into a negotiation with him to detach him from his allegiance, on the 19th October 1461, the Earl of Ross, Donald Balloch, and his son, John of Islay, held a council of their vassals and dependants at Astornish, at which it was agreed to send ambassadors to England to treat with Edward, for assistance to effect the entire conquest of Scotland. On the forfeiture of the Lord of the Isles in 1476, the earldom of Ross became vested in the crown.

Hugh Ross of Rariehies, brother of the last Earl of Ross, obtained a charter of the lands of Balnagowan in 1374, and on him by clan law the chiefship devolved. In the beginning of the 18th century, Donald Ross of Balnagowan, the last of his race, sold that estate to the Hon. General Ross, the brother of the twelfth Lord Ross of Hawkhead, who, although bearing the same surname, was not in any way related to him.

In February 1778, Munro Ross of Pitcaulnie presented a petition to the king, claiming the earldom of Ross, as male descendant of the above-named Hugh Ross of Rarichies. This petition was sent to the House of Lords, but no decision appears to have followed upon it.

According to Mr Skene, Ross of Pitcaulnie is the representative of the ancient earls; but as this claim has been disputed, and as other authorities think the Balnagowan family has a stronger claim to the chiefship, we shall take the liberty of quoting what Mr Smibert says on behalf of the latter:—"Mr Skene labours, with a pertinacity to us almost incomprehensible, to destroy the pretensions of the house, to represent the old Earls of Ross. He attempts to make out, firstly, that Paul Mactyre (or Mactire), who headed for a time the clan Ross, was the true heir-male of the fifth Earl of Ross, the last of the first house; and that the Balnagowan family, therefore, had no claims at that early time. He quotes 'an ancient historian of Highland families' to prove the great power and possessions of Paul Mactyre, the passage, as cited, running thus:—'Paul Mactyre was a valiant man, and caused Caithness to pay him black-mail. It is reported that he got nyn score of cowes yearly out of Caithness for black-mail so long as he was able to travel.'

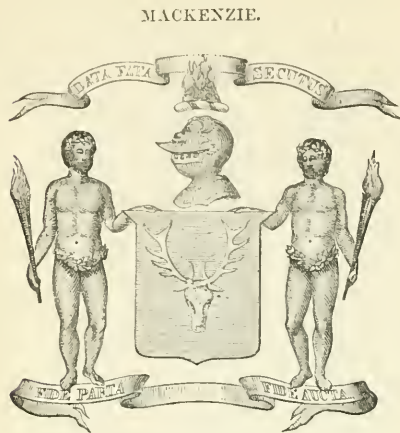
"Now, there are a few words omitted in this citation. The original document, now before us, begins thus: 'Paul M'Tyre, afore-said, *grandchild to Leandris*;' that is, grandchild to Gilleanrias, the founder of the clan, and its name-giver. If he was the grandson of the founder of the sept, Paul Mactyre could certainly never have been the heir of the fifth Earl of Ross, unless he had lived to a most unconscionable age. It would seem as if Mr Skene here erred from the old cause—that is, from his not unnatural anxiety to enhance the value and authenticity of the MS. of 1450, which was his own discovery, and certainly was a document of great interest. That MS. speaks of Paul Mactyre as heading the clan at a comparatively late period. We greatly prefer the view of the case already given by us, which is, that Paul Mactyre was either kinsman or *quasi* tutor to one of the first Ross earls, or successfully usurped their place for a time.

"Besides, the ancient document quoted by Mr Skene to show the greatness of Paul Mactyre, mentions also the marriage of 'his daughter and heire' to Walter, Lord of Balnagowne. If the document be good for one thing, it must be held good also for others. Such a marriage seems quite natural, supposing Mactyre to have been a near kinsman of the Rosses.

"Perhaps too much has been already said on this subject to please general readers; but one of our main objects is to give to clansmen all the rational information procurable on their several family histories."

"Among another class of Rosses or Roses," says the same authority, "noticed by Nisbet as bearing distinct arms, the principal family appears to be that of Rose of KILRAVOCK," to which a number of landed houses trace their origin. According to a tradition at one period prevalent among the clan Donald, the first of the Kilravock family came from Ireland, with one of the Macdonalds, Lords of the Isles. There does not seem, however, to be any foundation for this, except, perhaps, that as vassals of the Earls of Ross, the clan Rose were connected for about half a century with the lordship of the Isles. Mr Hugh Rose, the genealogist of the Kilravock family, is of opinion that they were originally from England, and from their having three water bougets in their coat armour, like the English family of Roos, it has been conjectured that they were of the same stock. But these figures were carried by other families than those of the name of Rose or Roos. Four water bougets with a cross in the middle were the arms of the Counts D'Eu in Normandy, and of the ancient Earls of Essex in England of the surname of Bourchier. They were indicative of an ancestor of the respective families who bore them having been engaged in the crusades, and forced, in the deserts of Palestine, to fight for and carry water in the leathern vessels called bougets, budgets, or buckets, which were usually slung across the horse or camel's back. The badge of the Roses is Wild Rosemary.

The family of Rose of Kilravock appear to have been settled in the county of Nairn since the reign of David I.



BADGE—Deer Grass.

The clan Kenneth or Mackenzie has long cherished a traditionary belief in its descent from the Norman family of Fitzgerald settled in Ireland. Its pretensions to such an origin are founded upon a fragment of the records of Icolmkill, and a charter of the lands of Kintail in Wester Ross, said to have been granted by Alexander III. to Colin Fitzgerald, their supposed progenitor. According to the Icolmkill fragment, a personage described as "Peregrinus et Hibernus nobilis ex familia Geraldinorum," that is, "a noble stranger and Hibernian, of the family of the Geraldines," being driven from Ireland, with a considerable number of followers, about 1261, was received graciously by the king, and remained thenceforward at the court. Having given powerful aid to the Scots at the battle of Largs two years afterwards, he was rewarded by a grant of Kintail, erected into a free barony by charter dated 9th January, 1266. No such document, however, as this pretended fragment of Icolmkill is known to be in existence, at least, as Mr Skene says, nobody has ever seen it, and as for King Alexander's charter, he declares³ that "it bears the most palpable marks of having been a forgery of later date, and one by no means happy in the execution." Besides, the words "Colino Hiberno," contained in it, do not prove the said Colin to have been an Irishman, as Hiberni was at that period a common appellation of the Gael of Scotland.

³ *Highlanders*. vol. ii. p. 235.

The ancestor of the clan Kenzie was Gilleon-og, or Colin the younger, a son of Gilleon na hair'de, that is, Colin of the Aird, progenitor of the Earls of Ross, and from the M.S. of 1450 their Gaelic descent may be considered established. Colin of Kintail is said to have married a daughter of Walter, lord high steward of Scotland. He died in 1278, and his son, Kenneth, being, in 1304, succeeded by his son, also called Kenneth, with the addition of Mackenneth, the latter, softened into Mackenny or Mackenzie, became the name of the whole clan. Murloch, or Murcha, the son of Kenneth, received from David II. a charter of the lands of Kintail as early as 1362. At the beginning of the 15th century, the clan Kenzie appears to have been both numerous and powerful, for its chief, Kenneth More, when arrested, in 1427, with his son-in-law, Angus of Moray, and Macmathan, by James I. in his parliament at Inverness, was said to be able to muster 2,000 men.

In 1463, Alexander Mackenzie of Kintail received Strathgarve and many other lands from John, Earl of Ross, the same who was forfeited in 1476. The Mackenzie chiefs were originally vassals of the Earls of Ross, but after their forfeiture, they became independent of any superior but the crown. They strenuously opposed the Macdonalds in every attempt which they made to regain possession of the earldom. Alexander was succeeded by his son, Kenneth, who had taken for his first wife Lady Margaret Macdonald, daughter of the forfeited earl, John, Lord of the Isles, and having, about 1480, divorced his wife, he brought upon himself the resentment of her family.

Kenneth Oig, his son by the divorced wife, was chief in 1493. Two years afterwards, he and Farquhar Mackintosh were imprisoned by James V. in the castle of Edinburgh. In 1497, Ross and Mackintosh made their escape, but on their way to the Highlands they were treacherously seized at the Torwood, by the laird of Buchanan. Kenneth Oig resisted and was slain, and his head presented to the king by Buchanan.

Kenneth Oig having no issue, was succeeded by his brother, John, whose mother, Agnes Fraser, was a daughter of Lord Lovat. She had other sons, from whom sprung numerous

branches of this wide-spread family. As he was very young, his kinsman, Hector Roy Mackenzie, progenitor of the house of Gairloch, assumed the command of the clan, as guardian of the young chief. "Under his rule," says Mr. Gregory,⁴ "the clan Kenzie became involved in feuds with the Munroes and other clans; and Hector Roy himself became obnoxious to government, as a disturber of the public peace. His intentions towards the young Lord of Kintail were considered very dubious; and the apprehensions of the latter and his friends having been roused, Hector was compelled by law to yield up the estate and the command of the tribe to the proper heir." John, at the call of James IV., marched with his clan to the fatal field of Flodden, where he was taken prisoner by the English.

On King James the Fifth's expedition to the Isles in 1540, he was joined at Kintail by John, chief of the Mackenzies, who accompanied him throughout his voyage. He fought at the battle of Pinkie at the head of his clan in 1547. On his death in 1556, he was succeeded by his son, Kenneth, who, by a daughter of the Earl of Athole, had Colin and Roderick, the latter ancestor of the Mackenzies of Redcastle, Kincaig, Rosend, and other branches.

Colin, eleventh chief, son of Kenneth, fought on the side of Queen Mary at the battle of Langside. He was twice married. By his first wife, Barbara, a daughter of Grant of Grant, he had, with three daughters, four sons, namely, Kenneth, his successor; Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Tarbat, ancestor of the Earls of Cromarty; Colin, ancestor of the Mackenzies of Kennock and Pitlundie; and Alexander, of the Mackenzies of Kileoy, and other families of the name. By a second wife, Mary, eldest daughter of Roderick Mackenzie of Davochmaluak, he had a son, Alexander, from whom the Mackenzies of Applecross, Coul, Delvin, Assint, and other families are sprung.

Kenneth, the eldest son, twelfth chief of the Mackenzies, soon after succeeding his father, was engaged in supporting the claims of Torquil Macleod, surnamed Connanach, the disinherited son of Macleod of Lewis, whose mother was the sister of John Mackenzie of Kintail,

and whose daughter had married Roderick Mackenzie, Kenneth's brother. The barony of Lewis he conveyed by writings to the Mackenzie chief, who caused the usurper thereof and some of his followers to be beheaded in July 1597. In the following year he joined Macleod of Harris and Macdonald of Sleat in opposing the project of James VI. for the colonization of the Lewis, by some Lowland gentlemen, chiefly belonging to Fife.

In 1601, Neill Macleod deserted the cause of the colonists, and Mackenzie, who had detained in captivity for several years Torquil the only surviving legitimate son of Ruari Macleod of the Lewis, set him at liberty, and sent him into that island to assist Neill in opposing the settlers. In 1602, the feud between the Mackenzies and the Glengarry Macdonalds, regarding their lands in Wester Ross, was renewed with great violence. Ultimately, after much bloodshed on both sides, an agreement was entered into, by which Glengarry renounced in favour of Mackenzie the castle of Strone, with the lands of Lochalsh, Loch carron, and others, so long the subject of dispute between them. A crown charter of these lands was granted to Kenneth Mackenzie in 1607. The territories of the clan Kenzie at this time were very extensive. "All the Highlands and Isles, from Ardnamurchan to Strathnaver, were either the Mackenzies' property, or under their vassalage, some few excepted," and all about them were bound to them "by very strict bonds of friendship." The same year, Kenneth Mackenzie obtained, through the influence of the lord-chancellor, a gift, under the great seal, of the Lewis to himself, in virtue of the resignation formerly made in his favour by Torquil Macleod; but on the complaint to the king of those of the colonists who survived, he was forced to resign it. He was created a peer, by the title of Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, by patent, dated 19th November 1609. On the abandonment of the scheme for colonising the Lewis, the remaining adventurers, Sir George Hay and Sir James Spens, were easily prevailed upon to sell their title to Lord Kintail, who likewise succeeded in obtaining from the king a grant of the share in the island forfeited by Lord Balmerino, another of the grantees. Having thus

⁴ *Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, p. 111.

at length acquired a legal right to the Lewis, he procured from the government a commission of fire and sword against the Islanders, and landing there with a large force, he speedily reduced them to obedience, with the exception of Neil Macleod and a few others, his kinsmen and followers. The struggle for the Lewis between the Mackenzies and the Macleods continued some time longer; an account of it has been already given. The Mackenzies ultimately succeeded in obtaining possession of the island.

Lord Kintail died in March 1611. He had married, first, Anne, daughter of George Ross of Balmagowan, and had, with two daughters, two sons, Colin, second Lord Kintail, and first Earl of Seaforth, and the Hon. John Mackenzie of Lochslin. His second wife was Isabel, daughter of Sir Alexander Ogilvie of Powrie, by whom, with a daughter, Sybilla, Mrs Macleod of Macleod, he had four sons, viz., Alexander; George, second Earl of Seaforth; Thomas of Pluscardine; and Simon of Lochslin, whose eldest son was the celebrated Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, lord advocate in the reigns of Charles II. and James VII.



Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh. From a painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

Earl of Seaforth, by patent dated at Theobald's, 3d December 1623, to him and his heirs male.

The great-grandson of the third Earl of Seaforth, and male heir of the family, was Colonel Thomas Frederick Humberston Mackenzie, who fell at Gheriah in India in 1783. His brother, Francis Humberston Mackenzie, obtained the Seaforth estates, and was created Baron Seaforth in the peerage of the United Kingdom in 1796. Dying without surviving male issue, his title became extinct, and his eldest daughter, the Hon. Mary Frederica Elizabeth, having taken for her second husband J. A. Stewart of Glaserton, a cadet of the house of Galloway, that gentleman assumed the name of Stewart Mackenzie of Seaforth.

The clan Kenzie from small beginnings had increased in territory and influence till they became, next to the Campbells, the greatest clan in the West Highlands. They remained loyal to the Stuarts, but the forfeiture of the Earl of Seaforth in 1715, and of the Earl of Cromarty in 1745, weakened their power greatly. They are still, however, one of the most numerous tribes in the Highlands. In 1745 their effective strength was calculated at 2500. No fewer than seven families of the name possess baronetcies.

The armorial bearings of the Mackenzies are a stag's head and horns. It is said that they were assumed in consequence of Kenneth, the ancestor of the family, having rescued the king of Scotland from an infuriated stag, which he had wounded. "In gratitude for his assistance," says Stewart of Garth, "the king gave him a grant of the castle and lands of Castle Donnan, and thus laid the foundation of the family and clan Mackenneth or Mackenzie." From the stag's head in their arms the term "Caberfae" was applied to the chiefs.

The progenitor of the GERLOCH or GAIRLOCH branch of the Mackenzies was, as above shown, Hector, the elder of the two sons of Alexander, seventh chief, by his second wife, Margaret Macdowall, daughter of John, Lord of Lorn. He lived in the reigns of Kings James III. and IV., and was by the Highlanders called "Eachin Roy," or Red Hector, from the colour of his hair. To the assistance of the former of these monarchs, when the confederated

Colin, second Lord Kintail, was created

nobles collected in arms against him, he raised a considerable body of the clan Kenzie, and fought at their head at the battle of Sauchieburn. After the defeat of his party, he retreated to the north, and, taking possession of Redcastle, put a garrison in it. Thereafter he joined the Earl of Huntly, and from James IV. he obtained in 1494 a grant of the lands and barony of Gerloch, or Gairloch, in Ross-shire. These lands originally belonged to the Siol-Vic-Gillichallum, or Macleods of Rasay, a branch of the family of Lewis; but Hector, by means of a mortgage or wadset, had acquired a small portion of them, and in 1508 he got Brachan, the lands of Moy, the royal forest of Glassiter, and other lands, united to them. In process of time, his successors came to possess the whole district, but not till after a long and bloody feud with the Siol-Vic-Gillichallum, which lasted till 1611, when it was brought to a sudden close by a skirmish, in which Gillichallum Oig, laird of Rasay, and Murdoch Mackenzie, a younger son of the laird of Gairloch, were slain. From that time the Mackenzies possessed Gairloch without interruption from the Macleods.

Kenneth Mackenzie, eighth Baron of Gairloch, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1700. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Findon, and was succeeded, in 1704, by his son, Sir Alexander, second baronet. His eldest son, Sir Alexander, third baronet, married—first, Margaret, eldest daughter of Roderick Mackenzie of Redcastle, issue one son, Hector; second, Jean, only daughter of John Gorrie, Esq., commissary of Ross, issue two sons, John, a general officer, and Kenneth, an officer in India, and three daughters. He died 13th April 1770.

Sir Hector Mackenzie, his eldest son, fourth baronet of the Gairloch branch, died in April 1826. His son, Sir Francis Alexander, fifth baronet, born in 1798, died June 2, 1843. The eldest son of Sir Francis, Sir Kenneth Smith Mackenzie, sixth baronet, born 1832, married in 1860 the second daughter of Walter Frederick Campbell of Islay.

The first of the Mackenzies of TARBET and ROYSTON, in the county of Cromarty, was Sir Roderick Mackenzie, second son of Colin Mackenzie of Kintail, brother of the first Lord

Mackenzie of Kintail. Having married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Torquil Macleod of the Lewes, he added the armorial bearings of the Macleods to his own. His son, John Mackenzie of Tarbet, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia, 21st May 1628. He had four sons.

The eldest son, Sir George Mackenzie, second baronet, was the first Earl of Cromarty. His eldest son becoming a bankrupt, his estate of Cromarty was sold in 1741 to William Urquhart of Meldrum. He was succeeded by his brother, Sir Kenneth, fourth baronet, at whose death, without issue, in 1763, the baronetcy lay dormant until revived in favour of Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Tarbet, elder son of Robert Mackenzie, lieutenant-colonel in the East India Company's service, great-great-grandson of the first baronet. Colonel Mackenzie's father was Alexander Mackenzie of Ardlock, and his mother the daughter of Robert Sutherland, Esq. of Langwell, Caithness, twelfth in descent from William de Sutherland, fifth Earl of Sutherland, and the Princess Margaret Bruce, sister and heiress of David II. Sir Alexander, fifth baronet, was in the military service of the East India Company. On his death, April 28, 1843, his brother, Sir James Wemyss Mackenzie, became sixth baronet of Tarbet and Royston. He died November 24, 1858, and was succeeded by his son, Sir James John Randall Mackenzie.

The first of the family of COUL, Ross-shire, was Alexander Mackenzie, brother of Kenneth, first Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, who, before his death, made him a present of his own sword, as a testimony of his particular esteem and affection. His son, Kenneth Mackenzie of Coul, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia, October 16, 1673. His eldest son, Sir Alexander, second baronet, died in 1702. His son, Sir John Mackenzie, third baronet, for being concerned in the rebellion of 1715, was forfeited. He died without male issue, and the attainder not extending to collateral branches of the family, the title and estates devolved upon his brother, Sir Colin, fourth baronet, clerk to the pipe in the exchequer. He died in 1740.

The Mackenzies of SCATWELL, Ross-shire, who also possess a baronetcy, are descended

from Sir Roderick Mackenzie, knight, of Tarbet and Cogeach, second son of Colin, eleventh feudal baron of Kintail, father of Sir John Mackenzie, ancestor of the Earls of Cromarty, and Kenneth Mackenzie of Seatwell, whose son, Kenneth, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia, February 22, 1703. By his marriage with Lilius, daughter and heiress of Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Findon, that branch of the Mackenzie family merged in that of Seatwell.

Other principal families of the name are Mackenzie of ALLANGRANGE, heir male of the Earls of Seaforth; of APPECROSS, also a branch of the house of Seaforth; of ORD, of GRUINARD, and of HILTON, all in Ross-shire.

MATHIESON.

The name MATHIESON, or Clan *Mhathain*, is said to come from the Gaelic *Mathaineach*, heroes, or rather, from Mathan, pronounced Mahan, a bear. The MacMathans were settled in Lochalsh, a district of Wester Ross, from an early period. They are derived by ancient genealogies from the same stock as the Earls of Ross and are represented by the MS. of 1450 as a branch of the Mackenzies. Kenneth MacMathan, who was constable of the castle of Ellandonan, is mentioned both in the Norse account of the expedition of the king of Norway against Scotland in 1263, and in the Chamberlain's Rolls for that year, in connection with that expedition. He is said to have married a sister of the Earl of Ross. The chief of the clan was engaged in the rebellion of Donald, Lord of the Isles, in 1411, and was one of the chiefs arrested at Inverness by James I., in 1427, when he is said to have been able to muster 2000 men. The possessions of the Mathiesons, at one time very extensive, were greatly reduced, in the course of the 16th century, by feuds with their turbulent neighbours, the Macdonalds of Glengarry.

Of this clan Mr Skene says,—“Of the history of this clan we know nothing whatever. Although they are now extinct, they must at one time have been one of the most powerful clans in the north, for among the Highland chiefs seized by James I. at the parliament held at Inverness in 1427, Bower mentions

Macmaken leader of two thousand men, and this circumstance affords a most striking instance of the rise and fall of different families; for, while the Mathison appears at that early period as the leader of two thousand men, the Mackenzie has the same number only, and we now see the clan of Mackenzie extending their numberless branches over a great part of the North, and possessing an extent of territory of which few families can exhibit a parallel, while the one powerful clan of the Mathisons has disappeared, and their name become nearly forgotten.”

SIOL ALPINE.

Under the general denomination of Siol Alpine are included several clans situated at considerable distances from one another, but all of them supposed to have been descended from Kenneth Macalpine, the founder of the Scottish monarchy, and the ancestor of a long line of Scottish kings. The validity of this lofty pretension has, however, been disputed; and, in point of fact, it appears that the clans, composing the Siol Alpine, were never united under the authority of a common chief, but, on the contrary, were, from the earliest period, at variance amongst themselves; in consequence of which they sunk into insignificance, and became of little account or importance in a general estimate of the Highland tribes. The principal clan appears to have been that of the Macgregors, a race famous for their misfortunes as well as the unbroken spirit with which they maintained themselves linked and banded together in spite of the most severe laws executed with the greatest rigour against all who bore this proscribed name.

MACGREGOR.

THE MACGREGORS are generally esteemed one of the purest of all the Celtic tribes, and there seems to be no doubt of their unmixed and direct descent from the ancient Celtic inhabitants of Scotland. They were once numerous in Balquhidder and Menteith, and also in Glenorchy, which appears to have been their original seat. An air of romance has been thrown around this particular clan from the exploits and adventures of the celebrated Rob Roy, and the cruel sufferings and pro-

scriptions to which they were, at different times, subjected by the government.

MACGREGOR.



BADGE—Pine.

Claiming a regal origin, their motto anciently was, "My race is royal." Griogar, said to have been the third son of Alpin, king of Scotland, who commenced his reign in 833, is mentioned as their remote ancestor, but it is impossible to trace their descent from any such personage, or from his eldest brother, Kenneth Macalpine, from whom they also claim to be sprung.

According to Buchanan of Auchmar, the clan Gregor were located in Glenorchy as early as the reign of Malcolm Canmore (1057-1093). As, however, they were in the reign of Alexander II. (1214-1249) vassals of the Earl of Ross, Skene thinks it probable that Glenorchy was given to them, when that monarch conferred a large extent of territory on that potent noble. Hugh of Glenorchy appears to have been the first of their chiefs who was so styled. Malcolm, the chief of the clan in the days of Bruce, fought bravely on the national side at the battle of Bannockburn. He accompanied Edward Bruce to Ireland, and being severely wounded at Dundalk, he was ever afterwards known as "the lame lord."

In the reign of David II., the Campbells managed to procure a legal title to the lands of Glenorchy; nevertheless, the Macgregors maintained, for a long time, the actual possession of them by the strong hand. They knew no other right than that of the sword, but, ulti-

mately, that was found unavailing, and, at last, expelled from their own territory, they became an outlawed, lawless, and landless clan.

John Macgregor of Glenorchy, who died in 1390, is said to have had three sons: Patrick, his successor; John Dow, ancestor of the family of Glenstrae, who became the chief of the clan; and Gregor, ancestor of the Macgregors of Roro. Patrick's son, Malcolm, was compelled by the Campbells to sell the lands of Auchinevaeh in Strathfillan, to Campbell of Glenorchy, who thus obtained the first footing in Breadalbane, which afterwards gave the title of earl to his family.

The principal families of the Macgregors, in process of time, except that of Glenstrae, who held that estate as vassals of the Earl of Argyll, found themselves reduced to the position of tenants on the lands of Campbell of Glenorchy and other powerful barons. It being the policy of the latter to get rid of them altogether, the unfortunate clan were driven, by a continuous system of oppression and annoyance, to acts of rapine and violence, which brought upon them the vengeance of the government. The clan had no other means of subsistence than the plunder of their neighbours' property, and as they naturally directed their attacks chiefly against those who had wrested from them their own lands, it became still more the interest of their oppressors to represent to the king that nothing could put a stop to their lawless conduct, "save the cutting off the tribe of Macgregor root and branch." In 1488, soon after the youthful James IV. had ascended the throne which the murder of his father had rendered vacant, an act was passed "for staunching of thiftreif and other enormities throw all the realme;" evidently designed against the Macgregors, for among the barons to whom power was given for enforcing it, were Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, Neil Stewart of Fortingall, and Erwin Campbell of Strachur. At this time the Macgregors were still a numerous clan. Besides those in Glenorchy, they were settled in great numbers in the districts of Breadalbane and Athol, and they all acknowledged Macgregor of Glenstrae, who bore the title of captain of the clan, as their chief.

With the view of reducing these branches, Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy obtained, in 1492, the office of bailiary of the crown lands of Disher and Toyer, Glenlyon, and Glendochart, and in 1502 he procured a charter of the lands of Glenlyon. "From this period," says Mr Skene, "the history of the Macgregors consists of a mere list of acts of privy council, by which commissions are granted to pursue the clan with fire and sword, and of various atrocities which a state of desperation, the natural result of these measures, as well as a deep spirit of vengeance, against both the framers and executors of them, frequently led the clan to committ. These actions led to the enactment of still severer laws, and at length to the complete proscription of the clan."

But still the Macgregors were not subdued. Taking refuge in their mountain fastnesses, they set at defiance all the efforts made by their enemies for their entire extermination, and inflicted upon some of them a terrible vengeance. In 1589 they seized and murdered John Drummond of Drummond Ernoch, a forester of the royal forest of Glenartney, an act which forms the foundation of the incident detailed in Sir Walter Scott's "Legend of Montrose." The clan swore upon the head of the victim that they would avow and defend the deed in common. An outrage like this led at once to the most rigorous proceedings on the part of the crown. Fresh letters of fire and sword for three years were issued against the whole clan, and all persons were interdicted from harbouring or having any communication with them. Then followed the conflict at Glenfruin in 1603, when the Macgregors, under Alexander Macgregor of Glenstrae, their chief, defeated the Colquhouns, under the laird of Luss, and 140 of the latter were killed. Details of this celebrated clan battle have been already given in the former part of this work, and more will be found under the Colquhouns. Dugald Ciar Mohr, ancestor of Rob Roy, is said on this occasion to have exhibited extraordinary ferocity and courage.

In relation to the betrayal and melancholy end of the unfortunate chief, Alexander, Macgregor of Glenstrae, there is the following entry in the MS. diary of Robert Birrell: "The 2 of

October (1603), Allester M'Gregour Glainstre tane be the laird of Arkyules, bot escapit againe; bot efter, taken be the Earle of Argyll the 4 of Januar; and brocht to Edinburgh the 9 of Januar 1604, with mae of 18 his freindis, M'Gregouris. He wes convoyit to Berwick be the gaird, conforme to the earlis promese; for he promesit to put him out of Scottis grund. Swa he keipit ane Hielandmanis promes; in respect he sent the gaird to convoy him out of Scottis grund: Bot thair wer not directit to pairt with him back agane! The 18 of Januar, at evine, he come agane to Edinburgh; and vpon the 20 day, he was hangit at the croce, and ij (eiven) of his freindis and name, upone ane gallous: Himself, being chief, he was hangit his awin hicht above the rest of his freindis." That Argyll had an interest in his death appears from a declaration, printed in Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*,⁵ which the chief made before his execution, wherein he says that the earl had enticed him to commit several slaughters and disorders, and had endeavoured to prevail upon him to commit "sundrie mair."

Among other severe measures passed against this doomed clan was one which deprived them of their very name. By an act of the privy council, dated 3d April 1603, all of the name of Macgregor were compelled, on pain of death, to adopt another surname, and all who had been engaged at the battle of Glenfruin, and other marauding expeditions detailed in the act, were prohibited, also under the pain of death, from carrying any weapon but a knife without a point to cut their victuals. They were also forbidden, under the same penalty of death, to meet in greater numbers than four at a time. The Earls of Argyll and Athole were charged with the execution of these enactments, and it has been shown how the former carried out the task assigned to him. With regard to the ill-fated chief so treacherously "done to death" by him, the following interesting tradition is related:—His son, while out hunting one day, met the young laird of Lamond travelling with a servant from Cowal towards Inverlochry. They dined together at a house on the Blackmount, between Tyndrum and King's House.

but having unfortunately quarrelled during the evening, dirks were drawn, and the young Macgregor was killed. Lamond instantly fled, and was closely pursued by some of the clan Gregor. Outstripping his foes, he reached the house of the chief of Glenstrae, whom he besought earnestly, without stating his crime, to afford him protection. "You are safe with me," said the chief, "whatever you may have done." On the pursuers arriving, they informed the unfortunate father of what had occurred, and demanded the murderer; but Macgregor refused to deliver him up, as he had passed his word to protect him. "Let none of you dare to injure the man," he exclaimed; "Macgregor has promised him safety, and, as I live, he shall be safe while with me." He afterwards, with a party of his clan, escorted the youth home; and, on bidding him farewell, said, "Lamond, you are now safe on your own land. I cannot, and I will not protect you farther! Keep away from my people; and may God forgive you for what you have done!" Shortly afterwards the name of Macgregor was proscribed, and the chief of Glenstrae became a wanderer without a name or a home. But the laird of Lamond, remembering that he owed his life to him, hastened to protect the old chief and his family, and not only received the fugitives into his house, but shielded them for a time from their enemies.

Logan states, that on the death of Alexander, the executed chief, without surviving lawful issue, the clan, then in a state of disorder, elected a chief, but the head of the collateral branch, deeming Gregor, the natural son of the late chief, better entitled to the honour, without ceremony dragged the chief-elect from his inaugural chair in the kirk of Strathfillan, and placed Gregor therein, in his stead.

The favourite names assumed by the clan while compelled to relinquish their own, were Campbell, Graham, Stewart, and Drummond. Their unity as a clan remained unbroken, and they even seemed to increase in numbers, notwithstanding all the oppressive

proceedings directed against them. These did not cease with the reign of James VI., for under Charles I. all the enactments against them were renewed, and yet in 1644, when the Marquis of Montrose set up the king's standard in the Highlands, the clan Gregor, to the number of 1000 fighting men, joined him, under the command of Patrick Macgregor of Glenstrae, their chief. In reward for their loyalty, at the Restoration the various statutes against them were annulled, when the clan men were enabled to resume their own name. In the reign of William III., however, the penal enactments against them were renewed in their full force. The clan were again proscribed, and compelled once more to take other names.

According to Buchanan of Auchmar, the direct male line of the chiefs became extinct in the reign of the latter monarch, and the representation fell, by "a formal renunciation of the chiefship," into the branch of Glengyle.



Rob Roy. From an original painting in the possession of Herbert Buchanan, Esq., of Arden.

Of this branch was the celebrated Rob Roy, that is, Red Rob, who assumed the name of Campbell under the proscriptive act.

As we promised in the former part of the

work, we shall here give some account of this celebrated robber-chief. Born about 1660, he was the younger son of Donald Macgregor of Glengyle, a lieutenant-colonel in the service of King James VII., by his wife, the daughter of William Campbell of Glenfalloch, the third son of Sir Robert Campbell of Glenorchy. Rob Roy himself married Helen-Mary, the daughter of Macgregor of Cromar. His own designation was that of Inversnaid, but he seems to have acquired a right to the property of Craig Royston, a domain of rock and forest lying on the east side of Loch Lomond. He became tutor to his nephew, the head of the Glengyle branch, then in his minority, who claimed the chiefship of the clan.

Like many other Highland gentlemen, Rob Roy was a trader in cattle or master drover, and in this capacity he had borrowed several sums of money from the Duke of Montrose, but becoming insolvent, he absconded. In June 1712 an advertisement appeared for his apprehension, and he was involved in prosecutions which nearly ruined him. Some messengers of the law who visited his house in his absence are said to have abused his wife in a most shameful manner, and she, being a high-spirited woman, incited her husband to acts of vengeance. At the same time, she gave vent to her feelings in a fine piece of pipe music, still well known by the name of "Rob Roy's Lament." As the duke had contrived to get possession of Rob's lands of Craig Royston, he was driven to become the "bold outlaw" which he is represented in song and story.

"Determined," says General Stewart of Garth, "that his grace should not enjoy his lands with impunity, he collected a band of about twenty followers, declared open war against him, and gave up his old course of regular droving, declaring that the estate of Montrose should in future supply him with cattle, and that he would make the duke rue the day he quarrelled with him. He kept his word; and for nearly thirty years—that is, till the day of his death—regularly levied contributions on the duke and his tenants, not by nightly depredations, but in broad day, and in a systematic manner; on an appointed time making a complete sweep of all the cattle of a district—always passing over those not be-

longing to the duke's estates, or the estates of his friends and adherents; and having previously given notice where he was to be on a certain day with his cattle, he was met there by people from all parts of the country, to whom he sold them publicly. These meetings, or trysts, as they were called, were held in different parts of the country; sometimes the cattle were driven south, but oftener to the north and west, where the influence of his friend the Duke of Argyll protected him. When the cattle were in this manner driven away, the tenants paid no rent, so that the duke was the ultimate sufferer. But he was made to suffer in every way. The rents of the lower farms were partly paid in grain and meal, which was generally lodged in a storehouse or granary, called a *giral*, near the Loch of Monteath. When Macgregor wanted a supply of meal, he sent notice to a certain number of the duke's tenants to meet him at the *giral* on a certain day, with their horses to carry home his meal. They met accordingly, when he ordered the horses to be loaded, and, giving a regular receipt to his grace's storekeeper for the quantity taken, he marched away, always entertaining the people very handsomely, and careful never to take the meal till it had been lodged in the duke's storehouse in payment of rent. When the money rents were paid, Macgregor frequently attended. On one occasion, when Mr Graham of Killearn, the factor, had collected the tenants to pay their rents, all Rob Roy's men happened to be absent, except Alexander Stewart, called 'the bailie.' With this single attendant he descended to Chapel Errock, where the factor and the tenants were assembled. He reached the house after it was dark, and, looking in at a window, saw Killearn, surrounded by a number of the tenants, with a bag full of money which he had received, and was in the act of depositing it in a press or cupboard, at the same time saying that he would cheerfully give all that he had in the bag for Rob Roy's head. This notification was not lost on the outside visitor, who instantly gave orders in a loud voice to place two men at each window, two at each corner, and four at each of two doors, thus appearing to have twenty men. Immediately the door opened, and he walked

in with his attendant close behind, each armed with a sword in his right hand and a pistol in his left hand, and with dirks and pistols slung in their belts. The company started up, but he desired them to sit down, as his business was only with Killearn, whom he ordered to hand down the bag and put it on the table. When this was done, he desired the money to be counted, and proper receipts to be drawn out, certifying that he received the money from the Duke of Montrose's agent, as the duke's property, the tenants having paid their rents, so that no after demand could be made on them on account of this transaction; and finding that some of the people had not obtained receipts, he desired the factor to grant them immediately, 'to show his grace,' said he, 'that it is from him I take the money, and not from these honest men who have paid him.' After the whole was concluded, he ordered supper, saying that, as he had got the purse, it was proper he should pay the bill; and after they had drunk heartily together for several hours, he called his bailie to produce his dirk, and lay it naked on the table. Killearn was then sworn that he would not move, nor direct any one else to move, from that spot for an hour after the departure of Macgregor, who thus cautioned him—'If you break your oath, you know what you are to expect in the next world, and in this,' pointing to his dirk. He then walked away, and was beyond pursuit before the hour expired."

At the breaking out of the rebellion of 1715, in spite of the obligations which he owed to the indirect protection of the Duke of Argyll, Rob Roy's Jacobite partialities induced him to join the rebel forces under the Earl of Mar.

On this occasion none of the Clan Gregor, except the sept of Ciar Mohr, to which Rob Roy belonged, took up arms for the Chevalier, though they were joined by connexions of the family, and among others by Leckie of Croy-Leckie, a large landed proprietor in Dumbartonshire, who had married a daughter of Donald M'Gregor, by his wife the daughter of Campbell of Glenfalloch, and who was thus the brother-in-law of Rob Roy. "They were not," says Sir Walter Scott, "commanded by Rob Roy, but by his nephew already mentioned, Gregor Macgregor, otherwise called

James Grahame of Glengyle, and still better remembered by the Gaelic epithet of *Ghlanne Dhu*, i.e. Black Knee, from a black spot on one of his knees, which his Highland garb rendered visible. There can be no question, however, that being then very young, Glengyle must have acted on most occasions by the advice and direction of so experienced a leader as his uncle. The Macgregors assembled in numbers at that period, and began even to threaten the lowlands towards the lower extremity of Loch Lomond. They suddenly seized all the boats which were upon the lake, and, probably with a view to some enterprise of their own, drew them overland to Inversnaid, in order to intercept the progress of a large body of west country whigs who were in arms for the government, and moving in that direction. The whigs made an excursion for the recovery of the boats. Their forces consisted of volunteers from Paisley, Kilpatrick, and elsewhere, who, with the assistance of a body of seamen, were towed up the river Leven in long boats belonging to the ships of war then lying in the Clyde. At Luss, they were joined by the forces of Sir Humphrey Colquhoun, and James Grant, his son-in-law, with their followers, attired in the Highland dress of the period, which is picturesquely described. The whole party crossed to Craig Royston, but the Macgregors did not offer combat. If we were to believe the account of the expedition given by the historian Rae, they leaped on shore at Craig Royston with the utmost intrepidity, no enemy appearing to oppose them, and by the noise of their drums, which they beat incessantly, and the discharge of their artillery and small arms, terrified the Macgregors, whom they appear never to have seen, out of their fastnesses, and caused them to fly in a panic to the general camp of the Highlanders at Strathfillan. The low-countymen succeeded in getting possession of the boats, at a great expenditure of noise and courage, and little risk of danger.

"After this temporary removal from his old haunts, Rob Roy was sent by the Earl of Mar to Aberdeen, to raise, it is believed, a part of the clan Gregor, which is settled in that country. These men were of his own family (the race of the Ciar Mohr). They were the

descendants of about three hundred Macgregors whom the Earl of Moray, about the year 1624, transported from his estates in Monteith to oppose against his enemies the Mackintoshes, a race as hardy and restless as they were themselves. We have already stated that Rob Roy's conduct during the insurrection of 1715 was very equivocal. His person and followers were in the Highland army, but his heart seems to have been with the Duke of Argyll's. Yet the insurgents were constrained to trust to him as their only guide, when they marched from Perth towards Dunblane, with the view of crossing the Forth at what are called the Fords of Frew, and when they themselves said he could not be relied upon.

"This movement to the westward, on the part of the insurgents, brought on the battle of Sheriffmuir; indecisive, indeed, in its immediate results, but of which the Duke of Argyll reaped the whole advantage." We have already given an account of Rob Roy's vacillating behaviour at this battle. "One of the Macphersons, named Alexander, one of Rob's original profession, *videlicet* a drover, but a man of great strength and spirit, was so incensed at the inactivity of his temporary leader, that he threw off his plaid, drew his sword, and called out to his clansmen, 'Let us endure this no longer! if he will not lead you, I will.' Rob Roy replied, with great coolness, 'Were the question about driving Highland stots or kyloes, Sandie, I would yield to your superior skill; but as it respects the leading of men, I must be allowed to be the better judge.' 'Did the matter respect driving Glen-Eigas stots,' answered Macpherson, 'the question with Rob would not be, which was to be last, but which was to be foremost.' Incensed at this sarcasm, Macgregor drew his sword, and they would have fought upon the spot if their friends on both sides had not interfered.

"Notwithstanding the sort of neutrality which Rob Roy had continued to observe during the progress of the rebellion, he did not escape some of its penalties. He was included in the act of attainder, and the house in Breadalbane, which was his place of retreat, was burned by General Lord Cadogan, when, after the conclusion of the insurrection, he marched through the Highlands to disarm and

punish the offending clans. But upon going to Inverary with about forty or fifty of his followers, Rob obtained favour, by an apparent surrender of their arms to Colonel Patrick Campbell of Fannah, who furnished them and their leader with protections under his hand. Being thus in a great measure secured from the resentment of government, Rob Roy established his residence at Craig Royston, near Loch Lomond, in the midst of his own kinsmen, and lost no time in resuming his private quarrel with the Duke of Montrose. For this purpose, he soon got on foot as many men, and well armed too, as he had yet commanded. He never stirred without a body guard of ten or twelve picked followers, and without much effort could increase them to fifty or sixty."⁶

For some years he continued to levy blackmail from those whose cattle and estates he protected, and although an English garrison was stationed at Inversnaid, near Aberfoyle, his activity, address, and courage continually saved him from falling into their hands. The year of his death is uncertain, but it is supposed to have been after 1738. He died at an advanced age in his bed, in his own house at Balquhider. When he found death approaching, "he expressed," says Sir Walter Scott, "some contrition for particular parts of his life. His wife laughed at these scruples of conscience, and exhorted him to die like a man, as he had lived. In reply, he rebuked her for her violent passions, and the counsels she had given him. 'You have put strife,' he said, 'between me and the best men of the country, and now you would place enmity between me and my God.' There is a tradition noway inconsistent with the former, if the character of Rob Roy be justly considered, that, while on his deathbed, he learned that a person with whom he was at enmity, proposed to visit him. 'Raise me from my bed,' said the invalid, 'throw my plaid around me, and bring me my claymore, dirk, and pistols; it shall never be said that a foeman saw Rob Roy Macgregor defenceless and unarmed.' His foe-man, conjectured to be one of the Maclarens, entered and paid his compliments, inquiring after the health of his formidable neighbour.

⁶ Introduction to *Rob Roy*.

Rob Roy maintained a cold haughty civility during their short conference, and as soon as he had left the house, 'Now,' he said, 'all is over; let the piper play *Ha til mi tulidh*' (we return no more), and he is said to have expired before the dirge was finished." The grave of Macgregor, in the churchyard of Balquhiddler, is distinguished by a rude tombstone, over which a sword is carved.

Rob Roy had five sons—Coll, Ranald, James (called James Roy, after his father, and James Mohr, or big James, from his height), Duncan, and Robert, called Robin Oig, or Young Robin.

On the breaking out of the rebellion of 1745, the clan Gregor adhered to the cause of the Pretender. A Macgregor regiment, 300 strong, was raised by Robert Macgregor of Glencairnock, who was generally considered chief of the clan, which joined the prince's army. The branch of *Ciar Mohr*, however, regarded William Macgregor Drummond of Bohaldie, then in France, as their head, and a separate corps formed by them, commanded by Glengyle, and James Roy Macgregor, united themselves to the levies of the titular Duke of Perth, James assuming the name of Drummond, the duke's family name, instead of that of Campbell. This corps was the relics of Rob Roy's band, and with only twelve men of it, James Roy, who seems to have held the rank of captain or major, succeeded in surprising and burning, for the second time, the fort at Inversnaid, constructed for the express purpose of keeping the country of the Macgregors in order.

At the battle of Prestonpans, the Duke of Perth's men and the Macgregors composed the centre. Armed only with scythes, this party cut off the legs of the horses, and severed, it is said, the bodies of their riders in twain. Captain James Roy, at the commencement of the battle, received five wounds, but recovered from them, and rejoined the prince's army with six companies. He was present at the battle of Culloden, and after that defeat the clan Gregor returned in a body to their own country, when they dispersed. James Roy was antainted for high treason, but from some letters of his, published in *Blackwood's Magazine* for December 1817, it appears that

he had entered into some communication with the government, as he mentions having obtained a pass from the Lord Justice-clerk in 1747, which was a sufficient protection to him from the military.

On James Roy's arrival in France, he seems to have been in very poor circumstances, as he addressed a letter to Mr Edgar, secretary to the Chevalier de St George, dated Boulogne-sur-Mer, May 22, 1753, craving assistance "for the support of a man who has always shown the strongest attachment to his majesty's person and cause." To relieve his necessities, James ordered his banker at Paris to pay Macgregor 300 livres. James Roy, availing himself of a permission he had received to return to Britain, made a journey to London, and had an interview, according to his own statement, with Lord Holderness, secretary of state. The latter and the under secretary offered him, he says, a situation in the government service, which he rejected, as he avers his acceptance of it would have been a disgrace to his birth, and would have rendered him a scourge to his country. On this he was ordered instantly to quit England. On his return to France, an information was lodged against him by Macdonnell of Lochgarry, before the high bailie of Dunkirk, accusing him of being a spy. In consequence, he was obliged to quit that town and proceed to Paris, with only thirteen livres in his pocket. In his last letter to his acknowledged chief, Macgregor of Bohaldie, dated Paris, 25th September 1754, he describes himself as being in a state of extreme destitution, and expresses his anxiety to obtain some employment as a breaker and breeder of horses, or as a hunter or fowler, "till better east up." In a postscript he asks his chief to lend him his bagpipes, "to play some melancholy tunes." He died about a week after writing this letter, it is supposed of absolute starvation.

It was not till 1784 that the oppressive acts against the Macgregors, which, however, for several years had fallen into desuetude, were rescinded by the British parliament, when they were allowed to resume their own name, and were restored to all the rights and privileges of British citizens. A deed was immediately entered into, subscribed by 826 persons of the name of Macgregor, recognising John Murray

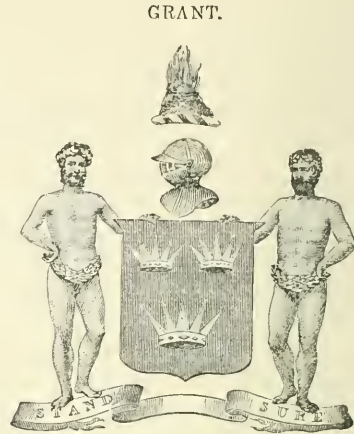
of Lanrick, representative of the family of Glencarnock, as their chief, Murray being the name assumed, under the Proscriptive act, by John Macgregor, who was chief in 1715. Although he secretly favoured the rebellion of that year, the latter took no active part in it; but Robert, the next chief, mortgaged his estate, to support the cause of the Stuarts, and he commanded that portion of the clan who acknowledged him as their head in the rebellion of 1745. Altogether, with the Ciar Mohr branch, the Macgregors could then muster 700 fighting men. To induce Glencarnock's followers to lay down their arms, the Duke of Cumberland authorised Mr Gordon, at that time minister of Alva, in Strathspey, to treat with them, offering them the restoration of their name, and other favours, but the chief replied that they could not desert the cause. They chose rather to risk all, and die with the characters of honest men, than live in infamy, and disgrace their posterity.

After the battle of Culloden, the chief was long confined in Edinburgh castle, and on his death in 1758, he was succeeded by his brother Evan, who held a commission in the 41st regiment, and served with distinction in Germany. His son, John Murray of Lanrick, was the chief acknowledged by the clan, on the restoration of their rights in 1784. He was a general in the East India Company's service, and auditor-general in Bengal. Created a baronet of Great Britain 23d July 1795, he resumed in 1822 the original surname of the family, Macgregor, by royal license. He died the same year. The chiefship, however, was disputed by the Glengyle family, to which Rob Roy belonged.

Sir John Murray Macgregor's only son, Sir Evan John Macgregor, second baronet, was born in January 1785. He was a major-general in the army, K.C.B., and G.C.H., and governor-general of the Windward Isles. He died at his seat of government, 14th June 1841. By his wife, Lady Elizabeth Murray, daughter of John, fourth Duke of Athole, he had five sons and four daughters.

His eldest son, Sir John Athole Bannatyne Macgregor, third baronet, born 20th January 1810, was lieutenant-governor of the Virgin Islands, and died at Tortola, his seat of govern-

ment, 11th May 1851. He had four sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Sir Malcolm Murray Macgregor, fourth baronet, was born 29th August 1834, and styled of Macgregor, county Perth.



BADGE—Pine (or, according to some, Cranberry Heath).

With regard to the clan GRANT, Mr Skene says,—“Nothing certain is known regarding the origin of the Grants. They have been said to be of Danish, English, French, Norman, and of Gaelic extraction; but each of these suppositions depends for support upon conjecture alone, and amidst so many conflicting opinions it is difficult to fix upon the most probable. It is maintained by the supporters of their Gaelic origin, that they are a branch of the Macgregors, and in this opinion they are certainly borne out by the ancient and unvarying tradition of the country; for their Norman origin, I have upon examination entirely failed in discovering any further reason than that their name may be derived from the French, grand or great, and that they occasionally use the Norman form of de Grant. The latter reason, however, is not of any force, for it is impossible to trace an instance of their using the form de Grant until the 15th century; on the contrary, the form is invariably Grant or le Grant, and on the very first appearance of the family it is ‘dictus Grant.’ It is certainly not a territorial name, for there was no ancient property of that name, and the peculiar form under which it invariably appears in the earlier generations, proves that the name

is derived from a personal epithet. It so happens, however, that there was no epithet so common among the Gael as that of Grant, as a perusal of the Irish annals will evince; and at the same time Ragman's Roll shows that the Highland epithets always appear among the Norman signatures with the Norman 'de' prefixed to them. The clan themselves unanimously assert their descent from Gregor Mor Macgregor, who lived in the 12th century; and this is supported by their using to this day the same badge of distinction. So strong is this belief in both the clans of Grant and Macgregor, that in the early part of the last century a meeting of the two was held in the Blair of Athole, to consider the policy of re-uniting them. Upon this point all agreed, and also that the common surname should be Macgregor, if the reversal of the attainer of that name could be got from government. If that could not be obtained it was agreed that either MacAlpine or Grant should be substituted. This assembly of the clan Alpine lasted for fourteen days, and was only rendered abortive by disputes as to the chieftainship of the combined clan. Here then is as strong an attestation of a tradition as it is possible to conceive, and when to this is added the utter absence of the name in the old Norman rolls, the only trustworthy mark of a Norman descent, we are warranted in placing the Grants among the Siol Alpine."

With Mr Smibert we are inclined to think that, come the clan designation whence it may, the great body of the Grants were Gael of the stock of Alpine, which, as he truly says, is after all the main point to be considered.¹

The first of the name on record in Scotland is Gregory de Grant, who, in the reign of Alexander II. (1214 to 1249), was sheriff of

the shire of Inverness, which then, and till 1583, comprehended Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, besides what is now Inverness-shire. By his marriage with Mary, daughter of Sir John Bisset of Lovat, he became possessed of the lands of Stratherrick, at that period a part of the province of Moray, and had two sons, namely, Sir Lawrence, his heir, and Robert, who appears to have succeeded his father as sheriff of Inverness.

The elder son, Sir Lawrence de Grant, with his brother Robert, witnessed an agreement, dated 9th Sept. 1258, between Archibald, bishop of Moray, and John Bisset of Lovat; Sir Lawrence is particularly mentioned as the friend and kinsman of the latter. Chalmers² states that he married Bigla, the heiress of Comyn of Glenchernach, and obtained his father-in-law's estates in Strathspey, and a connection with the most potent family in Scotland. Douglas, however, in his *Baronage*,³ says that she was the wife of his elder son, John. He had two sons, Sir John and Rudolph. They supported the interest of Bruce against Baliol, and were taken prisoners in 1296, at the battle of Dunbar. After Baliol's surrender of his crown and kingdom to Edward, the English monarch, with his victorious army, marched north as far as Elgin. On his return to Berwick he received the submission of many of the Scottish barons, whose names were written upon four large rolls of parchment, so frequently referred to as the Ragman Roll. Most of them were dismissed on their swearing allegiance to him, among whom was Rudolph de Grant, but his brother, John de Grant, was carried to London. He was released the following year, on condition of serving King Edward in France, John Comyn of Badenoch being his surety on the occasion. Robert de Grant, who also swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296, is supposed to have been his uncle.

At the accession of Robert the Bruce in 1306, the Grants do not seem to have been very numerous in Scotland; but as the people of Strathspey, which from that period was known as "the country of the Grants," came to form a clan, with their name, they soon acquired the position and power of Highland chiefs.

¹ A MS., part of it evidently of ancient date, a copy of which was kindly lent to the editor by John Grant of Kilgraston, Esq., boldly sets out by declaring that the great progenitor of the Grants was the Scandinavian god Wodin, who "came out of Asia about the year 600" A.D. While a thread of genealogical truth seems to run through this MS., little reliance can be placed on the accuracy of its statements. It pushes dates, till about the 16th century, back more than 200 years, and contains many stories which are evidently traditionary or wholly fabulous. The latter part of it, however, written about the end of last century, may undoubtedly be relied upon as the work of a contemporary.

² *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 596.

³ P. 321.

Sir John had three sons—Sir John, who succeeded him; Sir Allan, progenitor of the clan Allan, a tribe of the Grants, of whom the Grants of Auchernick are the head; and Thomas, ancestor of some families of the name. Sir John's grandson, John de Grant, had a son; and a daughter, Agnes, married to Sir Richard Comyn, ancestor of the Cummings of Altyre. The son, Sir Robert de Grant, in 1385, when the king of France, then at war with Richard II., remitted to Scotland a subsidy of 40,000 French crowns, to induce the Scots to invade England, was one of the principal barons, about twenty in all, among whom the money was divided. He died in the succeeding reign.

At this point there is some confusion in the pedigree of the Grants. The family papers state that the male line was continued by the son of Sir Robert, named Malcolm, who soon after his father's death began to make a figure as chief of the clan. On the other hand, some writers maintain that Sir Robert had no son, but a daughter, Maud or Matilda, heiress of the estate, and lineal representative of the family of Grant, who about the year 1400 married Andrew Stewart, son of Sir John Stewart, commonly called the Black Stewart, sheriff of Bute, and son of King Robert II., and that this Andrew sunk the royal name, and assumed instead the name and arms of Grant. This marriage, however, though supported by the tradition of the country, is not acknowledged by the family or the clan, and the very existence of such an heiress is denied.

Malcolm de Grant, above mentioned, had a son, Duncan de Grant, the first designed of Freuchie, the family title for several generations. By his wife, Muriel, a daughter of Mackintosh of Mackintosh, captain of the clan Chattan, he had, with a daughter, two sons, John and Patrick. The latter, by his elder son, John, was ancestor of the Grants of Ballindalloch, county of Elgin, of whom afterwards, and of those of Tomnavoulen, Tulloch, &c.; and by his younger son, Patrick, of the Grants of Dunlugas in Banffshire.

Duncan's elder son, John Grant of Frenchie, by his wife, Margaret, daughter of Sir James Ogilvie of Deskford, ancestor of the Earls of Findlater, had, with a daughter, married to her

cousin, Hector, son of the chief of Mackintosh, three sons—John, his heir; Peter or Patrick, said to be the ancestor of the tribe of Phadrig, or house of Tullochgoram; and Duncan, progenitor of the tribe called clan Donachie, or house of Gartenbeg. By the daughter of Baron Stewart of Kincardine, he had another son, also named John, ancestor of the Grants of Glenmoriston.

His eldest son, John, the tenth laird, called, from his poetical talents, the Bard, succeeded in 1508. He obtained four charters under the great seal, all dated 3d December 1509, of various lands, among which were Urquhart and Glenmoriston in Inverness-shire. He had three sons; John, the second son, was ancestor of the Grants of Shoggie, and of those of Corrimony in Urquhart.

The younger son, Patrick, was the progenitor of the Grants of Bonhard in Perthshire. John the Bard died in 1525.

His eldest son, James Grant of Freuchie, called, from his daring character, *Shemas nan Creach*, or James the Bold, was much employed, during the reign of King James V., in quelling insurrections in the northern counties. His lands in Urquhart were, in November 1513, plundered and laid waste by the adherents of the Lord of the Isles, and again in 1544 by the Clanranald, when his castle of Urquhart was taken possession of. This chief of the Grants was in such high favour with King James V. that he obtained from that monarch a charter, dated 1535, exempting him from the jurisdiction of all the courts of judicature, except the court of session, then newly instituted. He died in 1553. He had, with two daughters, two sons, John and Archibald; the latter the ancestor of the Grants of Cullen, Monymusk, &c.

His eldest son, John, usually called *Evan Baold*, or the Gentle, was a strenuous promoter of the Reformation, and was a member of that parliament which, in 1560, abolished Popery as the established religion in Scotland. He died in 1585, having been twice married—first, to Margaret Stewart, daughter of the Earl of Athole, by whom he had, with two daughters, two sons, Duncan and Patrick, the latter ancestor of the Grants of Rothiemurchus; and, secondly, to a daughter of Barclay of

Towie, by whom he had an only son, Archibald, ancestor of the Grants of Bellintomb, represented by the Grants of Monynusk.

Duncan, the elder son, predeceased his father in 1581, leaving four sons—John; Patrick, ancestor of the Grants of Easter Elchies, of which family was Patrick Grant, Lord Elchies, a lord of session; Robert, progenitor of the Grants of Lurg; and James, of Arduellie, ancestor of those of Moyness.

John, the eldest son, succeeded his grandfather in 1585, and was much employed in public affairs. A large body of his clan, at the battle of Glenlivet, was commanded by John Grant of Gartenbeg, to whose treachery, in having, in terms of a concerted plan, retreated with his men as soon as the action began, as well as to that of Campbell of Lochnell, Argyll owed his defeat in that engagement. This laird of Grant greatly extended and improved his paternal estates, and is said to have been offered by James VI., in 1610, a patent of honour, which he declined. From the Shaws he purchased the lands of Rothiemurchus, which he exchanged with his uncle Patrick for the lands of Muchrach. On his marriage with Lillias Murray, daughter of John, Earl of Athole, the nuptials were honoured with the presence of King James VI. and his queen. Besides a son and daughter by his wife, he had a natural son, Duncan, progenitor of the Grants of Cluny. He died in 1622.

His son, Sir John, by his extravagance and attendance at court, greatly reduced his estates, and when he was knighted he got the name of "Sir John Sell-the-land." He had eight sons and three daughters, and dying at Edinburgh in April 1637, was buried at the abbey church of Holyroodhouse.

His elder son, James, joined the Covenanters on the north of the Spey in 1638, and on 19th July 1644, was, by the Estates, appointed one of the committee for trying the malignants in the north. After the battle of Inverlochy, however, in the following year, he joined the standard of the Marquis of Montrose, then in arms for the king, and ever after remained faithful to the royal cause. In 1663, he went to Edinburgh, to see justice done to his kinsman, Allan Grant of Tulloch, in a criminal

prosecution for manslaughter, in which he was successful; but he died in that city soon after his arrival there. A patent had been made out creating him Earl of Strathspey, and Lord Grant of Freuchie and Urquhart, but in consequence of his death it did not pass the seals. The patent itself is said to be preserved in the family archives. He had two sons, Ludovick and Patrick, the latter ancestor of the family of Wester Elchies in Speyside.

Ludovick, the eldest son, being a minor, was placed under the guardianship of his uncle, Colonel Patrick Grant, who faithfully discharged his trust, and so was enabled to remove some of the burdens on the encumbered family estates. Ludovick Grant of Grant and Freuchie took for his wife Janet, only child of Alexander Brodie of Lethen. By the favour of his father-in-law, the laird of Grant was enabled in 1685, to purchase the barony of Pluscardine, which was always to descend to the second son. By King William he was appointed colonel of a regiment of foot, and sheriff of Inverness. In 1700 he raised a regiment of his own clan, being the only commoner that did so, and kept his regiment in pay a whole year at his own expense. In compensation, three of his sons got commissions in the army, and his lands were erected into a barony. He died at Edinburgh in 1718, in his 66th year, and, like his father and grandfather, was buried in Holyrood abbey.

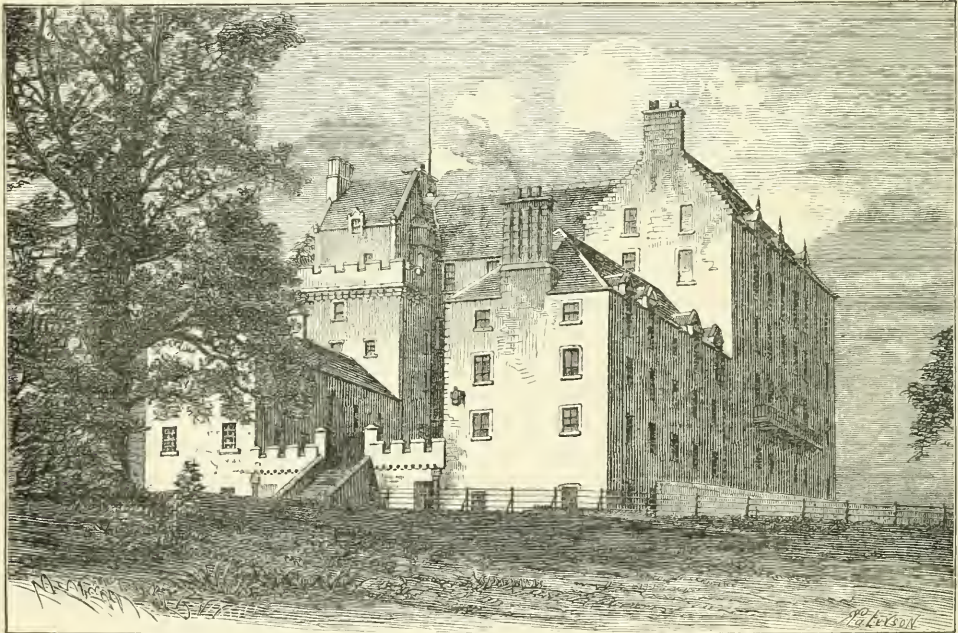
Alexander, his eldest son, after studying the civil law on the continent, entered the army, and soon obtained the command of a regiment of foot, with the rank of brigadier. When the rebellion broke out, being with his regiment in the south, he wrote to his brother, Captain George Grant, to raise the clan for the service of government, which he did, and a portion of them assisted at the reduction of Inverness. As justiciary of the counties of Inverness, Moray, and Banff, he was successful in suppressing the bands of outlaws and robbers which infested these counties in that unsettled time. He succeeded his father in 1718, but died at Leith the following year, aged 40. Though twice married, he had no children.

His brother, Sir James Grant of Pluscardine, was the next laird. In 1702, in his father's lifetime, he married Anne, only daughter of

Sir Humphrey Colquhoun of Luss, Baronet. By the marriage contract it was specially provided that he should assume the surname and arms of Colquhoun, and if he should at any time succeed to the estate of Grant, his second son should, with the name of Colquhoun, become proprietor of Luss. In 1704, Sir Humphrey obtained a new patent in favour of his son-in-law, James Grant, who on his death, in 1715, became in consequence Sir James Grant Colquhoun of Luss, Baronet. On succeeding, however, to the estate of Grant four years after, he dropped the name of Colquhoun, retaining the baronetcy, and the estate of Luss went to his second surviving son. He had five daughters, and as many sons, viz. Humphrey, who predeceased him in 1732; Ludovick; James, a major in the army, who succeeded to the estate and baronetcy of Luss, and took the name of Colquhoun; Francis, who died a

general in the army; and Charles, a captain in the Royal Navy.

The second son, Ludovick, was admitted advocate in 1728; but on the death of his brother he relinquished his practice at the bar, and his father devolving on him the management of the estate, he represented him thereafter as chief of the clan. He was twice married—first, to a daughter of Sir Robert Dalrymple of North Berwick, by whom he had a daughter, who died young; secondly, to Lady Margaret Ogilvie, eldest daughter of James Earl of Findlater and Seafield, in virtue of which marriage his grandson succeeded to the earldom of Seafield. By his second wife Sir Ludovick had one son, James, and eleven daughters, six of whom survived him. Penuel, the third of these, was the wife of Henry Mackenzie, Esq., author of the *Man of Feeling*. Sir Ludovick died at Castle Grant, 18th March 1773.



Castle Grant. From a photograph.

His only son, Sir James Grant of Grant, Baronet, born in 1738, was distinguished for his patriotism and public spirit. On the declaration of war by France in 1793, he was among the first to raise a regiment of fencibles, called the Grant or Strathspey fencibles, of which he was appointed colonel. After a

lingering illness, he died at Castle Grant on 18th February 1811. He had married, in 1763, Jean, only child of Alexander Duff, Esq. of Hatton, Aberdeenshire, and had by her three sons and three daughters. Sir Lewis Alexander Grant, the eldest son, in 1811 succeeded to the estates and earldom of Seafield, on the

death of his cousin, James Earl of Findlater and Seafield, and his brother, Francis William, became, in 1810, sixth earl. The younger children obtained in 1822 the rank and precedence of an earl's junior issue.

The Grants of BALLINDALLOCH, in the parish of Inveravon, Banffshire—commonly called the Craig-Achrochcan Grants—as already stated, descend from Patrick, twin brother of John, ninth laird of Freuchie. Patrick's grandson, John Grant, was killed by his kinsman, John Roy Grant of Carron, as afterwards mentioned, and his son, also John Grant, was father of another Patrick, whose son, John Roy Grant, by his extravagant living and unhappy differences with his lady, a daughter of Leslie of Balquhain, entirely ruined his estate, and was obliged to consent to placing it under the management and trust of three of his kinsmen, Brigadier Grant, Captain Grant of Elchies, and Walter Grant of Arndilly, which gave occasion to W. Elchies' verses of "What meant the man?"

General James Grant of Ballindalloch succeeded to the estate on the death of his nephew, Major William Grant, in 1770. He died at Ballindalloch, on 13th April 1806, at the age of 86. Having no children, he was succeeded by his maternal grand-nephew, George Macpherson, Esq. of Invereshie, who assumed in consequence the additional name of Grant, and was created a baronet in 1838.

The Grants of GLENMORISTON, in Invernesshire, are sprung from John More Grant, natural son of John Grant, ninth laird of Freuchie. His son, John Roy Grant, acquired the lands of Carron from the Marquis of Huntly. In a dispute about the marches of their respective properties, he killed his kinsman, John Grant of Ballindalloch, in 1588, an event which led to a lasting feud between the families, of which, in the first part of the work we have given a detailed account. John Roy Grant had four sons—Patrick, who succeeded him in Carron; Robert of Nether Glen of Rothes; James *an Tuim*, or James of the hill; and Thomas.

The Glenmoriston branch of the Grants adhered faithfully to the Stuarts. Patrick Grant of Glenmoriston appeared in arms in Viscount Dundee's army at Killiecrankie. He

was also at the skirmish at Cromdale against the government soon after, and at the battle of Sheriffmuir in 1715. His estate was, in consequence, forfeited, but through the interposition of the chief of the Grants, was bought back from the barons of the Exchequer. The laird of Glenmoriston in 1745 also took arms for the Pretender; but means were found to preserve the estate to the family. The families proceeding from this branch, besides that of Carron, which estate is near Elchies, on the river Spey, are those of LYNACHOARN, AVIEMORE, CROSKIE, &c.

The favourite song of "Roy's Wife of Aldivalloch" (the only one she was ever known to compose), was written by a Mrs Grant of Carron, whose maiden name was Grant, born, near Aberlour, about 1745. Mr Grant of Carron, whose wife she became about 1763, was her cousin. After his death she married, a second time, an Irish physician practising at Bath, of the name of Murray, and died in that city in 1814.

The Grants of DALVEY, who possess a baronetcy, are descended from Duncan, second son of John the Bard, tenth laird of Grant.

The Grants of MONYMUSK, who also possess a baronetcy (date of creation, December 7, 1705), are descended from Archibald Grant of Ballintomb, an estate conferred on him by charter, dated 8th March 1580. He was the younger son of John Grant of Freuchie, called *Evan Bould*, or the Gentle, by his second wife, Isobel Barclay. With three daughters, Archibald Grant had two sons. The younger son, James, was designed of Tombreak. Duncan of Ballintomb, the elder, had three sons—Archibald, his heir; Alexander, of Allachie; and William, of Arndillie. The eldest son, Archibald, had, with two daughters, two sons, the elder of whom, Archibald Grant, Esq. of Bellinton, had a son, Sir Francis, a lord of session, under the title of Lord Cullen, the first baronet of this family.

The Grants of KILGRASTON, in Perthshire, are lineally descended, through the line of the Grants of Glenloch, from the ninth laird of Grant. Peter Grant, the last of the lairds of Glenloch, which estate he sold, had two sons, John and Francis. The elder son, John, chief justice of Jamaica from 1783 to 1790, purchased the estates of Kilgraston and Pitcaith-

ley, lying contiguous to each other in Strathearn; and, dying in 1793, without issue, he was succeeded by his brother, Francis. This gentleman married Anne, eldest daughter of Robert Oliphant, Esq. of Rossie, postmaster-general of Scotland, and had five sons and two daughters. He died in 1819, and was succeeded by his son, John Grant, the present representative of the Kilgraston family. He married—first, 1820, Margaret, second daughter of the late Lord Gray; second, 1828, Lucy, third daughter of Thomas, late Earl of Elgin. Heir, his son, Charles Thomas Constantine, born, 1831, and married, 1856, Matilda, fifth daughter of William Hay, Esq. of Dunse Castle.

The badge of the clan Grant was the pine or cranberry heath, and their slogan or gathering cry, "Stand fast, Craigellachie!" the bold projecting rock of that name ("the rock of alarm") in the united parishes of Duthil and Rothiemurchus, being their hill of rendezvous. The Grants had a long-standing feud with the Gordons, and even among the different branches of themselves there were faction fights, as between the Ballindalloch and Carron Grants. The clan, with few exceptions, was noted for its loyalty, being generally, and the family of the chief invariably, found on the side of government. In Strathspey the name prevailed almost to the exclusion of every other, and to this day Grant is the predominant surname in the district, as alluded to by Sir Alexander Boswell, Baronet, in his lively verses—

"Come the Grants of Tullochgorum,
Wi' their pipers gann before 'em,
Proud the mothers are that bore 'em.

Next the Grants of Rothiemurchus,
Every man his sword and durk has,
Every man as proud 's a Turk is."

In 1715, the force of the clan was 800, and in 1745, 850.

MACKINNON.

The clan FINGON or the MACKINNONS, another clan belonging to the Siol Alpine, are said to have sprung from Fingon, brother of Anrias or Andrew, an ancestor of the Macgregors. This Fingon or Finguin is mentioned in the MS. of 1450 as the founder of the clan

Finguin, that is, the Mackinnons. Of the history of this clan, Mr Skene says, little is known. At an early period they became followers of the Lords of the Isles, and they appear to have been engaged in few transactions "by which their name is separately brought forward."

MACKINNON.



BADGE—Pine.

Their seat was in the islands of Skye and Mull, and the first authentic notice of them is to be found in an indenture (printed in the Appendix to the second edition of Hailes' *Annals of Scotland*) between the Lords of the Isles and the Lord of Lorn. The latter stipulates, in surrendering to the Lord of the Isles the island of Mull and other lands, that the keeping of the castle of Kerneburg in the Treshinish Isles, is not to be given to any of the race of clan Finnon. "This," says Mr Gregory, "proves that the Mackinnons were then connected with Mull. They originally possessed the district of Griban in that island, but exchanged it for the district of Mishnish, being that part of Mull immediately to the north and west of Tobermory. They, likewise, possessed the lands of Strathairdle in Skye, from which the chiefs usually took their style. Lauchlan Macfingon, or Mac kinnon, chief of his clan, witnessed a charter by Donald, Lord of the Isles, in 1409. The name of the chief in 1493 is uncertain; but Neil Mackinnon of Mishnish was at the head of the tribe in 1515."¹ Two years afterwards

¹ *Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, p. 80.

this Neil and several others, described as "kin, men, servants, and part-takers" of Lauchlan Maclean of Dowart, were included in a remission which that chief obtained for their share in the rebellion of Sir Donald Macdonald of Lochalsh. In 1545 the chief's name was Ewen. He was one of the barons and council of the Isles who, in that year, swore allegiance to the king of England at Knockfergus in Ireland.

"In consequence," says Mr Skene, "of their connection with the Macdonalds, the Mackinnons have no history independent of that clan; and the internal state of these tribes during the government of the Lords of the Isles is so obscure that little can be learned regarding them, until the forfeiture of the last of these lords. During their dependence upon the Macdonalds there is but one event of any importance in which we find the Mackinnons taking a share, for it would appear that on the death of John of the Isles, in the fourteenth century, Mackinnon, with what object it is impossible now to ascertain, stirred up his second son, John Mor, to rebel against his eldest brother, apparently with a view to the chiefship, and his faction was joined by the Macleans and the Macleods. But Donald, his elder brother, was supported by so great a proportion of the tribe, that he drove John Mor and his party out of the Isles, and pursued him to Galloway, and from thence to Ireland. The rebellion being thus put down, John Mor threw himself upon his brother's mercy, and received his pardon, but Mackinnon was taken and hanged, as having been the instigator of the disturbance."² This appears to have taken place after 1380, as John, Lord of the Isles, died that year. In the disturbances in the Isles, during the 16th century, Sir Lauchlan Mackinnon bore an active part.

As a proof of the common descent of the Mackinnons, the Macgregors and the Macnabs, although their territories were far distant from each other, two bonds of friendship exist, which are curious specimens of the manners of the times. The one dated 12th July 1606, was entered into between Lauchlan

Mackinnon of Strathairdle and Finlay Macnab of Bowaine, who, as its tenor runs, happened "to forgether togedder, with certain of the said Finlay's friends, in their rooms, in the laird of Glenurchy's country, and the said Lauchlan and Finlay, being come of ane house, and being of one surname and lineage, notwithstanding the said Lauchlan and Finlay this long time bygane oversaw their awn dueties, till udderis, in respect of the long distance betwixt their dwelling places," agreed, with the consent of their kin and friends, to give all assistance and service to each other. And are "content to subscribe to the same, *with their hands led to the pen.*" Mackinnon's signature is characteristic. It is "Lauchland, mise (L. e. myself) Mac Fingon." The other bond of manrent, dated at Kilmorie in 1671, was between Lauchlan Mackinnon of Strathairdle and James Macgregor of Macgregor, and it is therein stated that "for the special love and amitie between these persons, and condescending that they are descended lawfully *fra tua breethren of auld descent*, wherefore and for certain onerous causes moving, we witt ye we to be bound and obleisit, likeas by the tenor hereof we faithfully bind and obleise us and our successors, our kin, friends, and followers, faithfully to serve ane anither in all causes with our men and servants, against all who live or die."

During the civil wars the Mackinnons joined the standard of the Marquis of Montrose, and formed part of his force at the battle of Inverlochy, Feb. 2, 1645. In 1650, Lauchlan Mackinnon, the chief, raised a regiment of his clan for the service of Charles II., and, at the battle of Worcester, in 1646, he was made a knight banneret. His son, Daniel Mohr, had two sons, John, whose great-grandson died in India, unmarried, in 1808, and Daniel, who emigrated to Antigua, and died in 1720. The latter's eldest son and heir, William Mackinnon of Antigua, an eminent member of the legislature of that island, died at Bath, in 1767. The son of the latter, William Mackinnon of Antigua and Binfield, Berkshire, died in 1809. The youngest of his four sons, Henry, major-general Mackinnon, a distinguished officer, was killed by the explosion of a magazine, while leading on the

² Skene's *Highlanders*, vol. ii. p. 259.

main storming party, at Ciudad Rodrigo, Feb. 29, 1812. The eldest son, William Mackinnon, died young, leaving, with two daughters, two sons, William Alexander Mackinnon, who succeeded his grandfather, and Daniel, colonel of the Coldstream Guards.

William Alexander Mackinnon of Mackinnon, M.P., the chief magistrate and deputy lieutenant for the counties of Middlesex, Hampshire, and Essex, born in 1789, succeeded in 1809. He married Emma, daughter of Joseph Palmer, Esq. of Rush House, county Dublin, with issue, three sons and three daughters. The eldest son, William Alexander, also M.P., born in 1812, married daughter of F. Willes, Esq.

Lauchlan Mackinnon of Letterfearn also claims to be the heir-male of the family. Although there are many gentlemen of the name still resident in Skye, there is no Mackinnon proprietor of lands now either in that island or in Mull.

The Mackinnons engaged in both rebellions in favour of the Stuarts. In 1715, 150 of them fought with the Macdonalds of Sleat at the battle of Sheriffmuir, for which the chief was forfeited, but received a pardon, 4th January 1727. In 1745, Mackinnon, though then old and infirm, joined Prince Charles with a battalion of his clan. President Forbes estimated their effective force at that period at 200 men. After the battle of Culloden, the prince, in his wanderings, took refuge in the country of the Mackinnons, when travelling in disguise through Skye, and was concealed by the chief in a cave, to which Lady Mackinnon brought him a refreshment of cold meat and wine.

MACNAB.

The clan ANABA or MACNAB has been said by some to have been a branch of the Macdonalds, but we have given above a bond of manrent which shows that they were allied to the Mackinnons and the Macgregors. "From their comparatively central position in the Highlands," says Smibert, "as well as other circumstances, it seems much more likely that they were of the primitive Albionic race, a shoot of the Siol Alpine." The chief has his residence at Kinnell, on the banks of the Dochart, and the family possessions, which

originally were considerable, lay mainly on the western shores of Loch Tay. The founder of the Macnabs, like the founder of the Macphersons, is said to have belonged to the clerical profession, the name Mac-anab being said to mean in Gaelic, the son of the abbot. He is said to have been abbot of Glendochart.

MACNAB.



BADGE—Common Heath.

The Macnabs were a considerable clan before the reign of Alexander III. When Robert the Bruce commenced his struggle for the crown, the baron of Macnab, with his clan, joined the Macdougalls of Lorn, and fought against Bruce at the battle of Dalree. Afterwards, when the cause of Bruce prevailed, the lands of the Macnabs were ravaged by his victorious troops, their houses burnt, and all their family writs destroyed. Of all their possessions only the barony of Bovain or Bovain, in Glendochart, remained to them, and of it, Gilbert Macnab of that ilk, from whom the line is usually deduced, as the first undoubted laird of Macnab, received from David II., on being reconciled to that monarch, a charter, under the great seal, to him and his heirs whomsoever, dated in 1336. He died in the reign of Robert II.

His son, Finlay Macnab, styled of Bovain, as well as "of that ilk," died in the reign of James I. He is said to have been a famous bard. According to tradition he composed one of the Gaelic poems which Macpherson attributed to Ossian. He was the father of Patrick Macnab of Bovain and of that ilk, whose son was named Finlay Macnab, after

his grandfather. Indeed, Finlay appears to have been, at this time, a favourite name of the chief, as the next three lairds were so designated. Upon his father's resignation, he got a charter, under the great seal, in the reign of James III., of the lands of Ardhyle, and Wester Duinish, in the barony of Glendochart and county of Perth, dated January 1, 1486. He had also a charter from James IV., of the lands of Ewir and Leiragan, in the same barony, dated January 9, 1502. He died soon thereafter, leaving a son, Finlay Macnab, fifth laird of Macnab, who is witness in a charter, under the great seal, to Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, wherein he is designed "*Finlaus Macnab, dominus de eodem,*" &c., Sept. 18, 1511. He died about the close of the reign of James V.

His son, Finlay Macnab of Bovain and of that ilk, sixth chief from Gilbert, alienated or mortgaged a great portion of his lands to Campbell of Glenorchy, ancestor of the Marquis of Breadalbane, as appears by a charter to "Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, his heirs and assignees whatever, according to the deed granted to him by Finlay Macnab of Bovain, 24th November 1552, of all and sundry the lands of Bovain and Ardhyle, &c., confirmed by a charter under the great seal from Mary, dated 27th June 1553." Glenorchy's right of superiority the Macnabs always refused to acknowledge.

His son, Finlay Macnab, the seventh laird, who lived in the reign of James VI., was the chief who entered into the bond of friendship and manrent with his cousin, Lauchlan Mackinnon of Strathairdle, 12th July 1606. This chief carried on a deadly feud with the Neishes or M'Iduys, a tribe which possessed the upper parts of Strathearn, and inhabited an island in the lower part of Loch Earn, called from them Neish Island. Many battles were fought between them, with various success. The last was at Glenboultachan, about two miles north of Loch Earn foot, in which the Macnabs were victorious, and the Neishes cut off almost to a man. A small remnant of them, however, still lived in the island referred to, the head of which was an old man, who subsisted by plundering the people in the neighbourhood. One Christmas, the chief of

the Macnabs had sent his servant to Crieff for provisions, but, on his return, he was waylaid, and robbed of all his purchases. He went home, therefore, empty-handed, and told his tale to the laird. Macnab had twelve sons, all men of great strength, but one in particular exceedingly athletic, who was called for a by-name, *Iain mion Mac an Appa*, or "Smooth John Macnab." In the evening, these men were gloomily meditating some signal revenge on their old enemies, when their father entered, and said in Gaelic, "The night is the night, if the lads were but lads!" Each man instantly started to his feet, and belted on his dirk, his claymore, and his pistols. Led by their brother John, they set out, taking a fishing-boat on their shoulders from Loch Tay, carrying it over the mountains and glens till they reached Loch Earn, where they launched it, and passed over to the island. All was silent in the habitation of Neish. Having all the boats at the island secured, they had gone to sleep without fear of surprise. Smooth John, with his foot dashed open the door of Neish's house; and the party, rushing in, attacked the unfortunate family, every one of whom was put to the sword, with the exception of one man and a boy, who concealed themselves under a bed. Carrying off the heads of the Neishes, and any plunder they could secure, the youths presented themselves to their father, while the piper struck up the pibroch of victory.

The next laird, "Smooth John," the son of this Finlay, made a distinguished figure in the reign of Charles I., and suffered many hardships on account of his attachment to the royal cause. He was killed at the battle of Worcester in 1651. During the commonwealth, his castle of Eilan Rowan was burned, his estates ravaged and sequestered, and the family papers again lost. Taking advantage of the troubles of the times, his powerful neighbour, Campbell of Glenorchy, in the heart of whose possessions Macnab's lands were situated, on the pretence that he had sustained considerable losses from the clan Macnab, got possession of the estates in recompense thereof.

The chief of the Macnabs married a daughter of Campbell of Glenlyon, and with one daughter,

had a son, Alexander Macnab, ninth laird, who was only four years old when his father was killed on Worcester battle-field. His mother and friends applied to General Monk for some relief from the family estates for herself and children. That general made a favourable report on the application, but it had no effect.

After the Restoration, application was made to the Scottish estates, by Lady Macnab and her son, for redress, and in 1661 they received a considerable portion of their lands, which the family enjoyed till the beginning of the present century, when they were sold.

By his wife, Elizabeth, a sister of Sir Alexander Menzies of Weem, Baronet, Alexander Macnab of that ilk had a son and heir, Robert Macnab, tenth laird, who married Anne Campbell, sister of the Earl of Breadalbane. Of several children only two survived, John, who succeeded his father, and Archibald. The elder son, John, held a commission in the Black Watch, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Prestonpans, and, with several others, confined in Doune Castle, under the charge of Macgregor of Glengyle, where he remained till after the battle of Culloden. The majority of the clan took the side of the house of Stuart, and were led by Allister Macnab of Inshewan and Archibald Macnab of Acharne.

John Macnab, the eleventh laird, married the only sister of Francis Buchanan, Esq. of Arnprior, and had a son, Francis, twelfth laird.

Francis, twelfth laird, died, unmarried, at Callander, Perthshire, May 25, 1816, in his 82d year. One of the most eccentric men of his time, many anecdotes are related of his curious sayings and doings.

We give the following as a specimen, for which we are indebted to Mr Smibert's excellent work on the clans:—

“Macnab had an intense antipathy to excisemen, whom he looked on as a race of intruders, commissioned to suck the blood of his country; he never gave them any better name than *vermin*. One day, early in the last war, he was marching to Stirling at the head of a corps of fencibles, of which he was commander. In those days the Highlanders were notorious for incurable smuggling propensities; and an excursion to the Lowlands, whatever might be

its cause or import, was an opportunity by no means to be neglected. The Breadalbane men had accordingly contrived to stow a considerable quantity of the genuine ‘peat reek’ (whisky) into the baggage carts. All went well with the party for some time. On passing Alloa, however, the excisemen there having got a hint as to what the carts contained, hurried out by a shorter path to intercept them. In the meantime, Macnab, accompanied by a gillie, in the true feudal style, was proceeding slowly at the head of his men, not far in the rear of the baggage. Soon after leaving Alloa, one of the party in charge of the carts came running back and informed their chief that they had all been seized by a posse of excisemen. This intelligence at once roused the blood of Macnab. ‘Did the lousy villains *dare* to obstruct the march of the Breadalbane Highlanders!’ he exclaimed, inspired with the wrath of a thousand heroes; and away he rushed to the scene of contention. There, sure enough, he found a party of excisemen in possession of the carts. ‘Who the devil are you?’ demanded the angry chieftain. ‘Gentlemen of the excise,’ was the answer. ‘Robbers! thieves! you mean; how dare you lay hands on His Majesty’s stores? If you be gaugers, show me your commissions.’ Unfortunately for the excisemen, they had not deemed it necessary in their haste to bring such documents with them. In vain they asserted their authority, and declared they were well known in the neighbourhood. ‘Ay, just what I took ye for; a parcel of highway robbers and scoundrels. Come, my good fellows,’ (addressing the soldiers in charge of the baggage, and extending his voice with the lungs of a stentor,) ‘prime!—load!’ The excisemen did not wait the completion of the sentence; away they fled at top speed towards Alloa, no doubt glad they had not caused the waste of His Majesty’s ammunition. ‘Now, my lads,’ said Macnab, ‘proceed—your whisky’s safe.’”

He was a man of gigantic height and strong originality of character, and cherished many of the manners and ideas of a Highland gentleman, having in particular a high notion of the dignity of the chieftainship. He left numerous illegitimate children.

The only portion of the property of the Macnabs remaining is the small islet of Innis-Buie, formed by the parting of the water of the Dochart just before it issues into Loch Tay, in which is the most ancient burial place of the family; and outside there are numerous gravestones of other members of the clan. The lands of the town of Callander chiefly belong to a descendant of this laird, not in marriage.

Archibald Macnab of Macnab, nephew of Francis, succeeded as thirteenth chief. The estates being considerably encumbered, he was obliged to sell his property for behoof of his creditors.

Many of the clan having emigrated to Canada about the beginning of the nineteenth century, and being very successful, 300 of those remaining in Scotland were induced about 1817 to try their fortunes in America, and in 1821, the chief himself, with some more of the clan, took their departure for Canada. He returned in 1853, and died at Lannion, Cotes du Nord, France, Aug. 12, 1860, aged 83. Subjoined is his portrait, from a daguerreotype, taken at Saratoga, United States of America, in 1848.



The last Laird of Macnab.

He is survived by one only daughter, Sarah Anne Macnab of Macnab.

The next Macnabs by descent entitled to the chiefship are believed to be Sir Allan Napier Macnab, Bart., Canada; Dr Robert Macnab, 5th Fusileers; and Mr John Macnab, Glenmavis, Bathgate.

The lairds of Macnab, previous to the reign of Charles I., intermarried with the families of Lord Gray of Kilfauns, Gleneagies, Inchbraeo, Robertson of Strowan, &c

The chief cadets of the family were the Macnabs of Dundurn, Acharne, Newton, Cowie, and Inchewen.

CLAN DUFFIE OR MACFIE.

The clan DUFFIE (in Gaelic, *clann Dhubhie* means "the coloured tribe") or MACFIE (generally spelt Macfie) appear to have been the original inhabitants of the island of Colonsay, which they held till the middle of the 17th century, when they were dispossessed of it by the Macdonalds. They were probably a branch of the ancient Albionie race of Scotland, and their genealogy given in the MS. of 1450, according to Skene, evinces their connection by descent with the Macgregors and Mac-kinnons.

On the south side of the church of the monastery of St Augustine in Colonsay, according to Martin (writing in 1703), "lie the tombs of Macduffie, and of the cadets of his family; there is a ship under sail, and a two-handed sword engraven on the principal tombstone, and this inscription: 'Hic jacet Malcolmus Macduffie de Collonsay;' his coat of arms and colour-staff is fixed in a stone, through which a hole is made to hold it. About a quarter of a mile on the south side of the church there is a cairn, in which there is a stone cross fixed, called Macduffie's cross; for when any of the heads of this family were to be interred, their corpses were laid on this cross for some moments, in their way toward the church."

Donald Macduffie is witness to a charter by John, Earl of Ross, and Lord of the Isles, dated at the Earl's castle of Dingwall, 12th April 1463.³ After the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles in 1493, the clan Duffie followed the Macdonalds of Isla. The name of

³ *Register of the Great Seal*, lib. vi. No. 17

the Macduffie chief in 1531 was Murroch. In 1609 Donald Macfie in Colonsay was one of the twelve chiefs and gentlemen who met the bishop of the Isles, the king's representative, at Iona, when, with their consent, the nine celebrated "Statutes of Icolmkill" were enacted. In 1615, Malcolm Macfie of Colonsay joined Sir James Macdonald of Isla, after his escape from the castle of Edinburgh, and was one of the principal leaders in his subsequent rebellion. He and eighteen others were delivered up by Coil Macgillespick Macdonald, the celebrated Colkitto, to the Earl of Argyll, by whom he was brought before the privy council. He appears afterwards to have been slain by Colkitto, as by the Council Records for 1623 we learn that the latter was accused, with several of his followers, of being "art and part guilty of the felonie and cruell slaughter of umquhill Malcolm Macphie of Collonsay."

"From this period," says Skene, "their estate seems to have gone into the possession of the Macdonalds, and afterwards of the Macneills, by whom it is still held; while the clan gradually sunk until they were only to be found, as at present, forming a small part of the inhabitants of Colonsay."

A branch of the clan Duffie, after they had lost their inheritance, followed Cameron of Lochiel, and settled in Lochaber.

MACQUARRIE.



BADGE—Pine.

The clan QUARRIE or MACQUARRIE is another clan held by Mr Skene to belong to the ancient

stock of Alpine, their possessions being the small island of Ulva, and a portion of Mull.

The Gaelic MS. of 1450 deduces their descent from Guarie or Godfrey, called by the Highland Sennachies, Gor or Gorbred, said to have been "a brother of Fingon, ancestor of the Mackinnons, and Anrias or Andrew, ancestor of the Macgregors." This is the belief of Mr Skene, who adds, "The history of the Macquarries resembles that of the Mackinnons in many respects; like them they had migrated far from the head-quarters of their race, they became dependent on the Lords of the Isles, and followed them as if they had become a branch of the clan."

Mr Smibert, however, thinks this origin highly improbable, and is inclined to believe that they constituted one branch of the Celto-Irish immigrants. "Their mere name," he says, "connects them strongly with Ireland—the tribe of the Macquarries, Macquires, Macguires (for the names are the same), being very numerous at this day in that island, and having indeed been so at all times." We do not think he makes out a very strong case in behalf of this origin.

According to a history of the family, by one of its members, in 1249 Cormac Mohr, then "chief of Ulva's Isle," joined Alexander II., with his followers and three galleys of sixteen oars each, in his expedition against the western islands, and after that monarch's death in the Island of Kerrera, was attacked by Haec of Norway, defeated and slain. His two sons, Allan and Gregor, were compelled to take refuge in Ireland, where the latter, surnamed Garbh or the rough, is said to have founded the powerful tribe of the MacGuires, the chief of which at one time possessed the title of Lord Inniskillen. Allan returned to Scotland, and his descendant, Hector Macquarrie of Ulva, chief in the time of Robert the Bruce, fought with his clan at Bannockburn.

The first chief of whom there is any notice in the public records was John Macquarrie of Ulva, who died in 1473.⁴ His son, Dunslass, was chief when the last Lord of the Isles was forfeited twenty years afterwards. After that event, the Macquarries, like the other vassal

⁴ Register of Great Seal, 31, No. 159

tribes of the Macdonalds, became independent. In war, however, they followed the banner of their neighbour, Maclean of Dowart. With the latter, Dunsloff supported the claims of Donald Dubh to the Lordship of the Isles, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and in 1504, "MacGorry of Ullowaa" was summoned, with some other chiefs, before the Estates of the kingdom, to answer for his share in Donald Dubh's rebellion.

His son, John Macquarrie of Ulva, was one of the thirteen chiefs who were denounced the same year for carrying on a traitorous correspondence with the king of England, with the view of transferring their allegiance to him.

Allan Macquarrie of Ulva was slain, with most of his followers, at the battle of Inverkeithing against the English parliamentary troops, 20th July 1651, when the Scots army was defeated, and a free passage opened to Cromwell to the whole north of Scotland.

According to tradition one of the chiefs of Ulva preserved his life and estate by the exercise of a timely hospitality under the following circumstances:—Maclean of Dowart had a natural son by a beautiful young woman of his own clan, and the boy having been born in a barn was named, from his birth-place, *Allan-a-Sop*, or Allan of the straw. The girl afterwards became the wife of Maclean of Torloisk, residing in Mull, but though he loved the mother he cared nothing for her boy, and when the latter came to see her, he was very unkind to him. One morning the lady saw from her window her son approaching and hastened to put a cake on the fire for his breakfast. Her husband noticed this, and snatching the cake hot from the girdle, thrust it into his stepson's hands, forcibly clasping them on the burning bread. The lad's hands were severely burnt, and in consequence he refrained from going again to Torloisk. As he grew up Allan became a mariner, and joined the Danish pirates who infested the western isles. From his courage he soon got the command of one galley, and subsequently of a flotilla, and made his name both feared and famous. Of him it may be said that—

And now, grown rich with plunder'd store,
He steers his way for Scotland's shore."

The thought of his mother brought him back once more to the island of Mull, and one morning he anchored his galleys in front of the house of Torloisk. His mother had been long dead, but his stepfather hastened to the shore, and welcomed him with apparent kindness. The crafty old man had a feud with Macquarrie of Ulva, and thought this a favourable opportunity to execute his vengeance on that chief. With this object he suggested to Allan that it was time he should settle on land, and said that he could easily get possession of the island of Ulva, by only putting to death the laird, who was old and useless. Allan agreed to the proposal, and, setting sail next morning, appeared before Macquarrie's house. The chief of Ulva was greatly alarmed when he saw the pirate galleys, but he resolved to receive their commander hospitably, in the hope that good treatment would induce him to go away, without plundering his house or doing him any injury. He caused a splendid feast to be prepared, and welcomed Allan to Ulva with every appearance of sincerity. After feasting together the whole day, in the evening the pirate-chief, when about to retire to his ships, thanked the chief for his entertainment, remarking, at the same time, that it had cost him dear. "How so?" said Macquarrie, "when I bestowed this entertainment upon you in free good will." "It is true," said Allan, who, notwithstanding his being a pirate, seems to have been of a frank and generous disposition, "but it has disarranged all my plans, and quite altered the purpose for which I came hither, which was to put you to death, seize your castle and lands, and settle myself here in your stead." Macquarrie replied that he was sure such a suggestion was not his own, but must have originated with his stepfather, old Torloisk, who was his personal enemy. He then reminded him that he had made but an indifferent husband to his mother, and was a cruel stepfather to himself, adding, "Consider this matter better, Allan, and you will see that the estate and harbour of Torloisk lie as conveniently for you as those of Ulva, and if you must make a settlement by force, it is much better you

"Sir Ralph the Rover sailed away,
He scoured the seas for many a day,

should do so at the expense of the old churl, who never showed you kindness, than of a friend like me who always loved and honoured you."

Allan-a-Sop, remembering his scorched fingers, straightway sailed back to Torloisk, and meeting his stepfather, who came eagerly expecting to hear of Macquarrie's death, thus accosted him: "You hoary old villain, you instigated me to murder a better man than yourself. Have you forgotten how you scorched my fingers twenty years ago with a burning cake? The day has come when that breakfast must be paid for." So saying, with one stroke of his battle-axe he cut down his stepfather, took possession of his castle and property, and established there that branch of the clan Maclean afterwards represented by Mr Clephane Maclean.

Hector, brother of Allan Macquarrie of Ulva, and second son of Donald the twelfth chief of the Macquarries, by his wife, a daughter of Lauchlan Oig Maclean, founder of the Macleans of Torloisk, obtained from his father the lands of Ormaig in Ulva, and was the first of the Macquarries of Ormaig. This family frequently intermarried with the Macleans, both of Lochbuy and Dowart. Lauchlan, Donald's third son, was ancestor of the Macquarries of Laggan, and John, the fourth son, of those of Ballighartan.

Lauchlan Macquarrie of Ulva, the sixteenth chief in regular succession, was compelled to dispose of his lands for behoof of his creditors, and in 1778, at the age of 63, he entered the army. He served in the American war, and died in 1818, at the age of 103, without male issue. He was the last chief of the Macquarries, and was the proprietor of Ulva when Dr Samuel Johnson and Mr Boswell visited that island in 1773.

A large portion of the ancient patrimonial property was repurchased by General Macquarrie, long governor of New South Wales, and from whom Macquarrie county, Macquarrie river, and Port Macquarrie in that colony, Macquarrie's harbour, and Macquarrie's island in the South Pacific, derive their name. He was the eldest cadet of his family, and was twice married, first, to Miss Baillie of Jerviswood, and secondly, to a daughter of Sir John

Campbell of Airds, by whom he had an only son, Lauchlan, who died without issue.

MACAULAY.

The last clan claimed by Mr Skene as belonging to the Siol Alpine is the minor one or MacAulay, or clan Aula. Many formerly held that the MacAulays derived their origin from the ancient earls of Lennox, and that their ancestor was Maurice, brother of Earl Maldouin and son of Aulay, whose name appears in the Ragman Roll as having sworn fealty to Edward I. in 1296. According to Skene, these Aulays were of the family of De Fasselan, who afterwards succeeded to the earldom.

The MacAulays consider themselves a sept of the clan Gregor, their chief being designed of Ardincaple from his residence in Dumbartonshire. That property was in their possession in the reign of Edward I. They early settled in the Lennox, and their names often occur in the Lennox chartulary, hence the very natural supposition that they sprung from that distinguished house. In a bond of manrent, or deed of clanship, entered into between MacGregor of Glenstrae and MacAulay of Ardincaple, of date 27th May 1591, the latter acknowledges his being a cadet of the former, and agrees to pay him the "calp," that is, a tribute of cattle given in acknowledgment or superiority. In 1694, in a similar bond given to Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, they again declared themselves MacGregors. "Their connection with the MacGregors," says Mr Skene, "led them to take some part in the feuds that unfortunate race were at all times engaged in, but the protection of the Earls of Lennox seems to have relieved the MacAulays from the consequences which fell so heavily on the MacGregors."

Mr Joseph Irving, in his *History of Dumbartonshire* (p. 418), states that the surname of the family was originally Ardincaple of that ilk, and seems inclined to believe in their descent from the Earl of Lennox. He says, "A Celtic derivation may be claimed for this family, founded on the agreement entered into between the chief of the clan Gregor and Ardincaple in 1591, where they describe themselves as originally descended from the same stock, 'M'Alpins of auld,' but the

theory most in harmony with the annals of the house (of Ardincaple of that ilk) fixes their descent from a younger son of the second Alwyn, Earl of Lennox." Alexander de Ardincaple who lived in the reign of James V., son of Aulay de Ardincaple, was the first to assume the name of MacAulay, as stated in the *Historical and Critical Remarks on the Ragman Roll*,⁵ "to humour a patronymical designation, as being more agreeable to the head of a clan than the designation of Ardincaple of that ilk."

When the MacGregors fell under the ban of the law, Sir Aulay MacAulay, the then chief, became conspicuous by the energy with which he turned against them, probably to avert suspicion from himself, as a bond of caution was entered into on his account on Sept. 8, 1610. He died in Dec. 1617, and was succeeded by his cousin-german, Alexander.

Walter MacAulay, the son of Alexander, was twice sheriff of Dumbarton.

With Aulay MacAulay, his son and successor, commenced the decline of the family. He and his successors indulged in a system of extravagant living, which compelled them to dispose, piece by piece, of every acre of their once large possessions. Although attached to Episcopacy, he was by no means a partisan of James VII., for in 1689 he raised a company of fencibles in aid of William and Mary.

Aulay MacAulay, the twelfth and last chief of the MacAulays, having seen the patrimony of his house sold, and his castle roofless, died about 1767. Ardincaple had been purchased by John, fourth Duke of Argyll, and now belongs to the Argyll family.

About the beginning of the 18th century, a number of MacAulays settled in Caithness and Sutherland. Others went into Argyleshire, and some of the MacPheiderans of that county acknowledged their descent from the MacAulays.

A tribe of MacAulays were settled at Uig, Ross-shire, in the south-west of the island of Lewis, and many were the feuds which they had with the Morrisons, or clan *Alle Mhuire*, the tribe of the servant or disciple of Marg, who were located at Ness, at the north end

of the same island. In the reign of James VI., one of the Lewis MacAulays, Donald Cam, so called from being blind of one eye, renowned for his great strength, distinguished himself on the patriotic side, in the troubles that took place, first with the Fifeshire colonies at Stornoway. Donald Cam Macaulay had a son, *Fear Bhreinis*, "The Man," or Tacksman "of Brenish," of whose feats of strength many songs and stories are told. His son, Aulay MacAulay, minister of Harris, had six sons and some daughters. Five of his sons were educated for the church, and one named Zachary he bred for the bar.

One of Aulay MacAulay's sons was the Rev. John Macaulay, A.M., was grandfather of the celebrated orator, statesman, and historian, Lord Macaulay. One of his sons entered the East India Company's military service, and attained the rank of general.

Another son, Aulay Macaulay, was known as a miscellaneous writer. In 1796 he was presented to the vicarage of Rothley, by Thomas Babington, Esq., M.P., who had married his sister Jane. He died February 24, 1819.

Zachary, a third son, was for some years a merchant at Sierra Leone. On his return to London, he became a prominent member of the Anti-slavery Society, and obtained a monument in Westminster Abbey. He married Miss Mills, daughter of a Bristol merchant, and had a son, Thomas Babington Macaulay, LORD MACAULAY, author of "The History of England," "Lays of Ancient Rome," &c., and M.P. for the city of Edinburgh.

CHAPTER VIII.

Mackay, or Siol Mhorgan—Mackays of Clan Abrach—Bighouse—Strathy—Melness—Kinloch—Mackays of Holland—Maenicol—Sutherland—Gunn—Maclaurin or Maclaren—Macrae—Buchanan—"The King of Kippen"—Buchanan of Auchmar—Colquhoun—Macgregors and Macfarlanes in Dumbartonshire—Forbes—Forbes of Tolquhoun—Craigievar—Pitsligo and Fettercairn—Culloden—Urquhart.

THE most northern mainland county of Scotland is that of Caithness, and the principal clan inhabiting this district is the important

⁵ *Nisbet*, vol. ii. App.

one of Mackay, or the siol Mhorgan. With regard to Caithness, Mr Skene says—"The district of Caithness was originally of much greater extent than the modern county of that name, as it included the whole of the extensive and mountainous district of Strathnaver. Towards the middle of the tenth century the Norwegian Jarl of Orkney obtained possession of this province, and with the exception of a few short intervals, it continued to form a part of his extensive territories for a period of nearly two hundred years. The district of Strathnaver, which formed the western portion of the ancient district of Caithness, differed very much in appearance from the rest of it, exhibiting indeed the most complete contrast which could well be conceived, for while the eastern division was in general low, destitute of mountains, and altogether of a Lowland character, Strathnaver possessed the characteristics of the rudest and most inaccessible of Highland countries; the consequence of this was, that while the population of Caithness proper became speedily and permanently Norse, that of Strathnaver must, from the nature of the country, have remained in a great measure Gaelic; and this distinction between the two districts is very strongly marked throughout the Norse Sagas, the eastern part being termed simply *Katenesi*, while Strathnaver, on the other hand, is always designated 'Dölum a Katenesi,' or the Glens of Caithness. That the population of Strathnaver remained Gaelic we have the distinct authority of the Sagas, for they inform us that the Dölum, or glens, were inhabited by the 'Gaddgedli,' a word plainly signifying some tribe of the Gael, as in the latter syllable we recognise the word Gaedil or Gael, which at all events shews that the population of that portion was not Norse.

MACKAY.

"The oldest Gaelic clan which we find in possession of this part of the ancient district of Caithness is the clan Morgan or Mackay."

The accounts of the origin of the Mackays are various. In the MS. of 1450, there is no reference to it, although mention is made of the Mackays of Kintyre, who were called of Ugadale. These, however, were vassals of the

Isles, and had no connection with the Mackays of Strathnaver. Pennant assigns to them a Celto-Irish descent, in the 12th century, after King William the Lion had defeated Harald, Earl of Orkney and Caithness, and taken possession of these districts. Mr Skene⁶ supposes that they were descended from what he calls the aboriginal Gaelic inhabitants of Caithness. The Norse Sagas state that about the beginning of the twelfth century, "there lived in the Dölum of Katenesi (or Strathnaver) a man named Moddan, a noble and rich man," and that his sons were Magnus Orfi and Ottar, the Jarl in Thurso. The title of jarl was the same as the Gaelic maormor, and Mr Skene is of opinion that Moddan and his son Ottar were the Gaelic maormors of Caithness.

MACKAY.



BADGE.—Bulrush.

Sir Robert Gordon, in his *History of Sutherland* (p. 302), from a similarity of badge and armorial bearings, accounts the clan Mackay a branch of the Forbesees, but this is by no means probable.

Mr Smibert is of opinion that the Mackays took their name from the old *Catti* of Caithness, and that the chiefs were of the Celto-Irish stock. This, however, is a very improbable supposition. Whatever may have been the origin of the chiefs, there is every reason to believe that the great body of the clan Mackay originally belonged to the early Celtic population of Scotland, although, from their

⁶ *Highlands of Scotland*, p. 288.

proximity to the Norse immigrants, it is not at all improbable that latterly the two races became largely blended.

As we have already, in the first part of the work, had occasion to enter somewhat minutely into the early history of this important clan, it will be unnecessary to enter into lengthened detail in this place, although it will be scarcely possible to avoid some slight repetition. We must refer the reader for details to the earlier chapters of the general history.

Alexander, who is said to have been the first of the family, aided in driving the Danes from the north. His son, Walter, chamberlain to Adam, bishop of Caithness, married that prelate's daughter, and had a son, Martin, who received from his maternal grandfather certain church lands in Strathnaver, being the first of the family who obtained possessions there. Martin had a son, Magnus or Manus, who fought at Bannockburn under Bruce, and had two sons, Morgan and Farquhar. From Morgan the clan derived their Gaelic name of Clan-wic-Worgan, or Morgan, and from Farquhar were descended the Clan-wic-Farquhar in Strathnaver.

Donald, Morgan's son, married a daughter of Macneill of Gigha, who was named Iye, and had a son of the same name, in Gaelic Aodh, pronounced like Y or I.

Aodh had a son, another Donald, called Donald Macaodh, or Mackaoi, and it is from this son that the clan has acquired the patronymic of Mackay. He and his son were killed in the castle of Dingwall, by William, Earl of Sutherland, in 1395. The Mackays, however, were too weak to take revenge, and a reconciliation took place between Robert, the next earl, and Angus Mackay, the eldest of Donald's surviving sons, of whom there were other two, viz., Houcheon Dubh, and Neill. Angus, the eldest son, married a sister of Malcolm Macleod of the Lewis, and had by her two sons, Angus Dubh, that is, dark-complexioned, and Roderick Gald, that is, Lowland. On their father's death, their uncle, Houcheon Dubh, became their tutor, and entered upon the management of their lands.

In 1411, when Donald, Lord of the Isles, in prosecution of his claim to the earldom of Ross, burst into Sutherland, he was attacked

at Dingwall, by Angus Dubh, or Black Angus Mackay. The latter, however, was defeated and taken prisoner, and his brother, Roriegald, and many of his men were slain. After a short confinement, Angus was released by the Lord of the Isles, who, desirous of cultivating the alliance of so powerful a chief, gave him his daughter, Elizabeth, in marriage, and with her bestowed upon him many lands by charter in 1415. He was called *Enneas-en-Imprisi*, or "Angus the Absolute," from his great power. At this time, we are told, Angus Dubh could bring into the field 4000 fighting men.

Angus Dubh, with his four sons, was arrested at Inverness by James I. After a short confinement, Angus was pardoned and released with three of them, the eldest, Neill Mackay, being kept as a hostage for his good behaviour. Being confined in the Bass at the mouth of the Firth of Forth, he was ever after called Neill Wasse (or Bass) Mackay.

In 1437, Neill Wasse Mackay was released from confinement in the Bass, and on assuming the chiefship, he bestowed on John Aberigh, for his attention to his father, the lands of Lochnaver, in fee simple, which were long possessed by his posterity, that particular branch of the Mackays, called the Sliochd-ean-Aberigh, or an-Abrach. Neill Wasse, soon after his accession, ravaged Caithness, but died the same year, leaving two sons, Angus, and John Roy Mackay, the latter founder of another branch, called the Sliochd-ean-Roy.

Angus Mackay, the elder son, assisted the Keiths in invading Caithness in 1464, when they defeated the inhabitants of that district in an engagement at Blaretannie. He was burnt to death in the church of Tarbet in 1475, by the men of Ross, whom he had often molested. With a daughter, married to Sutherland of Dilred, he had three sons, viz., John Reawigh, meaning yellowish red, the colour of his hair; Y-Roy Mackay; and Neill Naverigh Mackay.

To revenge his father's death, John Reawigh Mackay, the eldest son, raised a large force, and assisted by Robert Sutherland, uncle to the Earl of Sutherland, invaded Strathoikell, and laid waste the lands of the Rosses in that district. A battle took place, 11th July 1487,

at Aldy-Charrish, when the Rosses were defeated, and their chief, Alexander Ross of Falnagowan, and seventeen other principal men of that clan were slain. The victims returned home with a large booty.

It was by forays such as these that the great Highland chiefs, and even some of the Lowland nobles, contrived, in former times, to increase their stores and add to their possessions, and the Mackays about this time obtained a large accession to their lands by a circumstance narrated in the former part of this history, connected with Alexander Sutherland of Dillard, nephew of Y-Roy Mackay, the then chief.

In 1516, Y-Roy Mackay gave his bond of service to Adam Gordon of Aboyne, brother of the Earl of Huntly, who had become Earl of Sutherland, by marriage with Elizabeth, sister and heiress of the ninth earl, but died soon after. Donald, his youngest son, slain at Morinsb, was ancestor of a branch of the Mackays called the Sliochd-Donald-Mackay. John, the eldest son, had no sooner taken possession of his father's lands, than his uncle, Neill Naverigh Mackay and his two sons, assisted by a force furnished them by the Earl of Caithness, entered Strathnaver, and endeavoured unsuccessfully to dispossess him of his inheritance.

In 1517, in the absence of the Earl of Sutherland, who had wrested from John Mackay a portion of his lands, he and his brother Donald invaded Sutherland with a large force. But after several reverses, John Mackay submitted to the Earl of Sutherland in 1518, and granted him his bond of service. But such was his restless and turbulent disposition that he afterwards prevailed upon Alexander Sutherland, the bastard, who had married his sister and pretended a claim to the earldom, to raise the standard of insurrection against the earl. After this he again submitted to the earl, and a second time gave him his bond of service and manrent in 1522. He died in 1529, and was succeeded by his brother, Donald.

In 1539, Donald Mackay obtained restitution of the greater part of the family estates, which had been seized by the Sutherland Gordons, and in 1542 he was present in the engagement at Solway Moss. Soon after, he

committed various ravages in Sutherland, but after a considerable time, became reconciled to the earl, to whom he again gave his bond of service and manrent on 8th April 1549. He died in 1550

He was succeeded by his son, Y-Mackay, who, with the Earl of Caithness, was perpetually at strife with the powerful house of Sutherland, and so great was his power, and so extensive his spoliations, that in the first parliament of James VI. (Dec. 1567), the lords of the articles were required to report, "By what means might Mackay be danted." He died in 1571, full of remorse, it is said, for the wickedness of his life.

His son, Houcheon, or Hugh, succeeded him when only eleven years old. In 1587, he joined the Earl of Caithness, when attacked by the Earl of Sutherland, although the latter was his superior. He was excluded from the temporary truce agreed to by the two earls in March of that year, and in the following year they came to a resolution to attack him together. Having received secret notice of their intention from the Earl of Caithness, he made his submission to the Earl of Sutherland, and ever after remained faithful to him.

Of the army raised by the Earl of Sutherland in 1601, to oppose the threatened invasion of his territories by the Earl of Caithness, the advance guard was commanded by Patrick Gordon of Gartay and Donald Mackay of Scourie, and the right wing by Hugh Mackay. Hugh Mackay died at Tongue, 11th September 1614, in his 55th year. He was connected with both the rival houses by marriage; his first wife being Lady Elizabeth Sinclair, second daughter of George, fourth Earl of Caithness, and relict of Alexander Sutherland of Duffus; and his second, Lady Jane Gordon, eldest daughter of Alexander, eleventh Earl of Sutherland. The former lady was drowned, and left a daughter. By the latter he had two sons, Sir Donald Mackay of Far, first Lord Reay, and John, who married in 1619, a daughter of James Sinclair of Murkle, by whom he had Hugh Mackay and other children. Sir Donald Mackay of Far, the elder son, was, by Charles I., created a peer of Scotland, by the title of Lord Reay, by patent, dated 20th June 1628, to him and his heirs male

whatever. From him the land of the Mackays in Sutherland acquired the name of "Lord Reay's Country," which it has ever since retained.

On the breaking out of the civil wars, Lord Reay, with the Earl of Sutherland and others, joined the Covenanters on the north of the river Spey. He afterwards took arms in defence of Charles I., and in 1643 arrived from Denmark, with ships and arms, and a large sum of money, for the service of the king. He was in Newcastle in 1644, when that town was stormed by the Scots, and being made prisoner, was conveyed to Edinburgh tolbooth. He obtained his release after the battle of Kilsyth in August 1645, and embarked at Thurso in July 1648 for Denmark, where he died in February 1649. He married, first, in 1610, Barbara, eldest daughter of Kenneth, Lord Kintail, and had by her Y-Mackay, who died in 1617; John, second Lord Reay, two other sons and two daughters. By a second wife, Rachel Winterfield or Harrison, he had two sons, the Hon. Robert Mackay Forbes and the Hon. Hugh Forbes. Of this marriage he procured a sentence of nullity, and then took to wife Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Thomson of Greenwich, but in 1637 was ordained to pay his second wife £2,000 sterling for part maintenance, and £3,000 sterling yearly during his non-adherence. By Elizabeth Thomson he had one daughter.

John, second Lord Reay, joined the royalists under the Earl of Glencairn in 1654, and was taken at Balveny and imprisoned. By his wife, a daughter of Donald Mackay of Scourie, he had three sons; 1. Donald, master of Reay, who predeceased his father, leaving by his wife Ann, daughter of Sir George Munro of Culcairn, a son, George, third Lord Reay; 2. The Hon. Brigadier-General Æneas Mackay, who married Margareta, Countess of Puchlor; and 3. The Hon. Colin Mackay. Æneas, the second son, was colonel of the Mackay Dutch regiment. His family settled at the Hague, where they obtained considerable possessions, and formed alliances with several noble families. Their representative, Berthold Baron Mackay, died 26th December 1854, at his chateau of Ophemert, in Guelderland, aged eighty-one.

He married the Baroness Van Renasse Van Wilp, and his eldest son, the Baron Æneas Mackay, at one time chamberlain to the king of Holland, became next heir to the peerage of Reay, after the present family.

George, third Lord Reay, F.R.S., took the oaths and his seat in parliament, 29th October 1700. In the rebellion of 1715, he raised his clan in support of the government. In 1719, when the Earls Marischal and Seaforth, and the Marquis of Tullibardine, with 300 Spaniards, landed in the Western Highlands, he did the same, and also in 1745. He died at Tongue, 21st March 1748. He was thrice married, and had by his first wife, one son, Donald, fourth Lord Reay.

Donald, fourth Lord Reay, succeeded his father in 1748, and died at Durness, 18th August 1761. He was twice married, and, with one daughter, the Hon. Mrs Edgar, had two sons, George, fifth Lord Reay, who died at Rosebank, near Edinburgh, 27th February 1768, and Hugh, sixth lord. The fifth Lord Reay was also twice married, but had issue only by his second wife, a son, who died young, and three daughters. Hugh, his half-brother, who succeeded him, was for some years in a state of mental imbecility. He died at Skerry, 26th January 1797, unmarried, when the title devolved on Eric Mackay, son of the Hon. George Mackay of Skibo, third son of the third Lord Reay. He died at Tongue, June 25, 1782. By his wife, Anne, third daughter of Hon. Eric Sutherland, only son of the attainted Lord Duffus, he had five sons and four daughters. His eldest son, George, died in 1790. Eric, the second son, became seventh Lord Reay. Alexander, the next, an officer in the army, succeeded as eighth Lord Reay. Donald Hugh, the fourth son, a vice-admiral, died March 26, 1850. Patrick, the youngest, died an infant.

Eric, seventh Lord Reay, was, in 1806, elected one of the representative Scots peers. He died, unmarried, July 8, 1847, and was succeeded, as eighth Lord Reay, by his brother, Alexander, barrack-master at Malta, born in 1775. He married in 1809, Marion, daughter of Colonel Goll, military secretary to Warren Hastings, and relict of David Ross, Esq. of Calcutta, eldest son of the Scottish judge,

Lord Ankerville; he had two sons and six daughters. He died in 1863, and was succeeded by his second son, Eric, who was born in 1813, George, the eldest son, having died in 1811.

The Mackays became very numerous in the northern counties, and the descent of their chiefs, in the male line, has continued unbroken from their first appearance in the north down to the present time. In the county of Sutherland, they multiplied greatly also, under other names, such as MacPhail, Polson, Bain, Nielson, &c. The names of Mackie and MacGhie are also said to be derived from Mackay. The old family of MacGhie of Balmaghie, which for about 600 years possessed estates in Galloway, used the same arms as the chief of the Mackays. They continued in possession of their lands till 1786. Balmaghie means Mackay town. The name MacCrie is supposed to be a corruption of MacGhie.

At the time of the rebellion of 1745, the effective force of the Mackays was estimated at 800 men by President Forbes. It is said that in the last Sutherland fencibles, raised in 1793 and disbanded in 1797, there were 33 John Mackays in one company alone. In 1794 the Reay fencibles, 800 strong, were raised in a few weeks, in "Lord Reay's country," the residence of the clan Mackay. The names of no fewer than 700 of them had the prefix *Mac*.

With regard to the term *Siol Mhorgan* applied to the clan Mackay, it is right to state that Mr Robert Mackay of Thurso, the family historian, denies that as a clan they were ever known by that designation, which rests, he says, only on the affirmation of Sir Robert Gordon, without any authority. He adds: "There are, indeed, to this day, persons of the surname Morgan and Morganach, who are understood to be of the Mackays, but that the whole clan, at any period, went under that designation, is incorrect; and those of them who did so, were always few and of but small account. The name seems to be of Welsh origin; but how it obtained among the Mackays it is impossible now to say."

Of the branches of the clan Mackay, the family of Scourie is the most celebrated. They

were descended from Donald Mackay of Scourie and Eriboll, elder son of Y Mackay III., chief of the clan from 1550 to 1571, by his first wife, a daughter of Hugh Macleod of Assynt.

Donald Mackay, by his wife, Euphemia, daughter of Hugh Munro of Assynt in Ross, brother of the laird of Foulis, had three sons and four daughters. The sons were Hugh, Donald, and William. Hugh, the eldest, succeeded his father, and by the Scots Estates was appointed colonel of the Reay countrymen. He married a daughter of James Corbet of Rheims, by whom he had five sons, William, Hector, Hugh, the celebrated General Mackay,⁷ commander of the government forces at the battle of Killiecrankie, James and Roderick. He had also three daughters, Barbara, married to John, Lord Reay; Elizabeth, to Hugh Munro of Eriboll, and Ann, to the Hon. Capt. William Mackay of Kinloch. William and Hector, the two eldest sons, both unmarried, met with untimely deaths. In February 1688, the Earl of Caithness, whose wife was younger than himself, having conceived some jealousy against William, caused him to be seized at Dunnet, while on his way to Orkney, with a party of 30 persons. He was conveyed to Thurso, where he was immured in a dungeon, and after long confinement was sent home in an open boat, and died the day after. In August of the same year, his brother, Hector, accompanied by a servant, having gone to Aberdeenshire, on his way to Edinburgh, was waylaid and murdered by William Sinclair of Dunbeath and John Sinclair of Murkle, and their two servants. A complaint was immediately raised before the justiciary, at the instance of John, Earl of Sutherland, and the relatives of the deceased, against the Earl of Caithness and the two Sinclairs for these crimes. A counter complaint was brought by Caithness against the pursuers, for several alleged crimes from 1649 downwards, but a compromise took place between the parties.

General Mackay's only son, Hugh, major of his father's regiment, died at Cambray, in 1708, aged about 28. He left two sons, Hugh and Gabriel, and a daughter. Hugh died at

⁷ For portrait of General Hugh Mackay, *vide* vol. i. p. 361.

Breda, a lieutenant-general in the Dutch service, and colonel of the Mackay Dutch regiment, which took its name from his father. He had an only daughter, the wife of lieutenant-general Prevost, of the British service, who, on the death of his father-in-law, without male issue, obtained the king's license to bear the name and arms of Mackay of Scourie in addition to his own, which his descendants in Holland still bear. Gabriel, the younger son, lieutenant-colonel of the Mackay regiment, died without issue. James, the next brother of General Mackay, a lieutenant-colonel in his regiment, was killed at Killiecrankie, and Roderick, the youngest, died in the East Indies, both unmarried.

The eldest branch of the Mackays was that of the Clan-Abrach, descended from John Aberigh Mackay, second son of Angus Dubh, who received the lands of Auchness, Breachat, and others, from his brother, Neill Wasse. Of this family was Robert Mackay, writer, Thurso, historian of the clan Mackay. According to this gentleman, John Aberigh, the first of this branch, gave his name to the district of Strathnaver. In the Gaelic language, he says, the inhabitants of Strathnaver are called Naverigh, and that tribe the *Sliechd-nan-Aberigh*. John, their founder, some say, took his appellation of Aberigh from Lochaber, where he resided in his youth with some relatives, and from Strath-na-Aberich the transition is natural to Strath-n'-Averich. Neill Naverich, above mentioned, was so called from his having belonged to the Reay Country, that is, Strathnaver. The Clan-Abrach were the most numerous and powerful branch of the Mackays. They acted as wardens of their country, and never betrayed their trust.

The BIGHOUSE branch were descendants of William Mackay of Far, younger half-brother of Donald Mackay of Scourie, by his second wife, Christian Sinclair, daughter of the laird of Dun.

The STRATHY branch sprung from John Mackay of Dilred and Strathy, brother of the first Lord Reay, and son of Hugh Mackay of Far, by his wife, Lady Jane Gordon, eldest daughter of Alexander, Earl of Sutherland.

The MELNESS branch came from the Hon. Colonel Æneas Mackay, second son of the

first Lord Reay, by his first wife, the Hon. Barbara Mackenzie, daughter of Lord Kintail.

The KINLOCH branch descended from the Hon. Captain William Mackay, and the SANDWOOD branch from the Hon. Charles Mackay, sons of the first Lord Reay by his last wife, Marjory Sinclair, daughter of Francis Sinclair of Stirocke.

The founder of the HOLLAND branch of the Mackays, General Hugh Mackay, prior to 1680, when a colonel in the Dutch service, and having no prospect of leaving Holland, wrote for some of his near relatives to go over and settle in that country. Amongst those were his brother, James, and his nephews, Æneas and Robert, sons of the first Lord Reay. The former he took into his own regiment, in which, in a few years, he became lieutenant-colonel. The latter he sent to school at Utrecht for a short time, and afterwards obtained commissions for them in his own regiment. In the beginning of 1687, several British officers in the Dutch service were recalled to England by King James, and amongst others was Æneas Mackay, then a captain. On his arrival in London, the King made him some favourable propositions to enter his service, which he declined, and, in consequence, when he reached Scotland, he was ordered to be apprehended as a spy. He had been imprisoned nearly seven months in Edinburgh Castle, when the Prince of Orange landed at Torbay, and he was liberated upon granting his personal bond to appear before the privy council when called upon, under a penalty of £500 sterling. The Dutch Mackays married among the nobility of Holland, and one of the families of that branch held the title of baron.

MACNICOL.

In a district mostly in Ross-shire, anciently known by the name of Ness, there was originally located a small and broken clan, known as the MACNICOLS. The only districts, according to Skene, which at all answers to the description of Ness, are those of Assynt, Edderachylis, and Duirness.

The Macnicols were descended from one Mackrycul (the letter r in the Gaelic being invariably pronounced like n), who, tradition

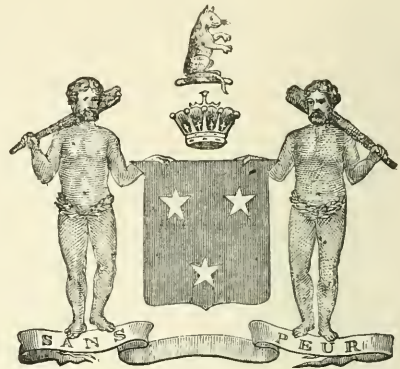
says, as a reward for having rescued from some Scandinavians a great quantity of cattle carried off from Sutherland, received from one of the ancient thanes of that province, the district of Assynt, then a forest belonging to them. This Mackrycul held that part of the coast of Cogeach, which is called Ullapool. In the MS. of 1450, the descent of the clan Nicail is traced in a direct line from a certain Gregall, plainly the Krycul here mentioned, who is supposed to have lived in the twelfth century. He is said to have been the ancestor, besides the Macnicols, of the Nicols and the Nicholsons. When Gregall lived, Sutherland was occupied by Gaelic tribes, and the Macnicols may therefore be considered of Gaelic origin.

About the beginning of the 14th century, the family of the chief ended in an heiress, who married Torquil Macleod, a younger son of Macleod of Lewis. Macleod obtained a crown charter of the district of Assynt and other lands in Wester Ross, which had been the property of the Macnicols. That sept subsequently removed to the Isle of Skye, and the residence of their head or chief was at Scorebreac, on the margin of the loch near Portree.

Even after their removal to Skye the Macnicols seem to have retained their independence, for tradition relates that on one occasion when the head of this clan, called Macnicol Mor, was engaged in a warm discussion with Macleod of Rasay, carried on in the English language, the servant of the latter coming into the room, imagined they were quarrelling, and drawing his sword mortally wounded Macnicol. To prevent a feud between the two septs, a council of chieftains and elders was held to determine in what manner the Macnicols could be appeased, when, upon some old precedent, it was agreed that the meanest person in the clan Nicol should behead the laird of Rasay. The individual of least note among them was one Lomach, a maker of pannier baskets, and he accordingly cut off the head of the laird of Rasay.

In Argyleshire there were many Macnicols, but the clan may be said to have long been extinct.

SUTHERLAND.



BADGE—Broom (butcher's broom).

The clan SUTHERLAND, which gets its name from being located in the district of that name, is regarded by Skene and others as almost purely Gaelic. The district of Sutherland, which was originally considerably smaller than the modern county of that name, got its name from the Orcadian Norsemen, because it lay south from Caithness, which, for a long time, was their only possession in the mainland of Scotland.

According to Skene, the ancient Gaelic population of the district now known by the name of Sutherland were driven out or destroyed by the Norwegians when they took possession of the country, after its conquest by Thorfinn, the Norse Jarl of Orkney, in 1034, and were replaced by settlers from Moray and Ross. He says, "There are consequently no clans whatever descended from the Gaelic tribe which anciently inhabited the district of Sutherland, and the modern Gaelic population of part of that region is derived from two sources. In the first place, several of the tribes of the neighbouring district of Ross, at an early period, gradually spread themselves into the nearest and most mountainous parts of the country, and they consisted chiefly of the clan Anrias. Secondly, Hugh Freskin, a descendant of Freskin de Moravia, and whose family was a branch of the ancient Gaelic tribe of Moray, obtained from King William the territory of Sutherland, although it is impossible to discover the circumstances which occasioned the grant. He was of course

accompanied in this expedition by numbers of his followers, who increased in Sutherland to an extensive tribe; and Freskin became the founder of the noble family of Sutherland, who, under the title of Earls of Sutherland, have continued to enjoy possession of this district for so many generations."⁸ We do not altogether agree with this intelligent author that the district in question was at any time entirely colonised by the Norsemen. There can be no doubt that a remnant of the old inhabitants remained, after the Norwegian conquest, and it is certain that the Gaelic population, reinforced as they were undoubtedly by incomers from the neighbouring districts and from Moray, ultimately regained the superiority in Sutherland. Many of them were unquestionably from the province of Moray, and these, like the rest of the inhabitants, adopted the name of Sutherland, from the appellation given by the Norwegians to the district.

The chief of the clan was called "the Great Cat," and the head of the house of Sutherland has long carried a black cat in his coat-of-arms. According to Sir George Mackenzie, the name of Cattu was formerly given to Sutherland and Caithness (originally Cattu-ness), on account of the great number of wild cats with which it was, at one period, infested.

The Earl of Sutherland was the chief of the clan, but on the accession to the earldom in 1766, of Countess Elizabeth, the infant daughter of the eighteenth earl, and afterwards Duchess of Sutherland, as the chiefship could not descend to a female, William Sutherland of Killipheder, who died in 1832, and enjoyed a small annuity from her grace, was accounted the eldest male descendant of the old earls. John Campbell Sutherland, Esq. of Fors, was afterwards considered the real chief.

The clan Sutherland could bring into the field 2,000 fighting men. In 1715 and 1745 they were among the loyal clans, and zealously supported the succession of the house of Hanover. Further details concerning this clan will be given in the History of the Highland Regiments.

The Earldom of Sutherland, the oldest extant in Britain, is said to have been granted

by Alexander II., to William, Lord of Sutherland, about 1228, for assisting to quell a powerful northern savage of the name of Gillespie.⁹ William was the son of Hugh Freskin, who acquired the district of Sutherland by the forfeiture of the Earl of Caithness for rebellion in 1197. Hugh was the grandson of Freskin the Fleming, who came into Scotland in the reign of David I., and obtained from that prince the lands of Strathbrock in Linlithgowshire, also, the lands of Duffus and others in Moray.¹ His son, William, was a constant attendant on King William the Lion, during his frequent expeditions into Moray, and assumed the name of William de Moravia. He died towards the end of the 12th century. His son, Hugh, got the district of Sutherland, as already mentioned. Hugh's son, "Wilhelmus dominus de Sutherlandia filius et hæres quondam Hugonis Freskin," is usually reckoned the first Earl of Sutherland, although Sir Robert Gordon, the family historian, puts it three generations farther back.

The date of the creation of the title is not known; but from an indenture executed in 1275, in which Gilbert, bishop of Caithness, makes a solemn composition of an affair that had been long in debate betwixt his predecessors in the see and the noble men, William of famous memory, and William, his son, Earls of Sutherland, it is clear that there existed an Earl of Sutherland betwixt 1222, the year of Gilbert's consecration as bishop, and 1245, the year of his death, and it is on the strength of this deed that the representative of the house claims the rank of premier earl of Scotland, with the date 1228.

Earl William died at Dunrobin² in 1248. His son, William, second earl, succeeded to the title in his infancy. He was one of the Scots nobles who attended the parliament of Alexander III. at Seone, 5th February 1284, when the succession to the crown of Scotland was settled, and he sat in the great convention at Bingham, 12th March 1290. He was one of the eighteen Highland chiefs who fought at the battle of Bannockburn, in 1314, on the side of Bruce, and he subscribed the

⁹ See p. 61, vol. i.

¹ See p. 60, vol. i.

² For view of old Dunrobin Castle, *vide* vol. I. p. 83.

⁸ *Skene's Highlanders*, vol. ii. p. 301

famous letter of the Scots nobles to the Pope, 6th April 1320. He died in 1325, having enjoyed the title for the long period of 77 years.

His son, Kenneth, the third earl, fell at the battle of Halidon-hill in 1333, valiantly supporting the cause of David II. With a daughter, Eustach, he had two sons, William, fourth earl, and Nicholas, ancestor of the Lords Duffus.

William, fourth earl, married the Princess Margaret, eldest daughter of Robert I., by his second wife, Elizabeth de Burgo, and he made grants of land in the counties of Inverness and Aberdeen to powerful and influential persons, to win their support of his eldest son, John's claim to the succession to the crown. John was selected by his uncle, David II., as heir to the throne, in preference to the high-steward, who had married the Princess Marjory, but he died at Lincoln in England in 1361, while a hostage there for the payment of the king's ransom. His father, Earl William, was one of the commissioners to treat for the release of King David in 1351, also on 13th June 1354, and again in 1357. He was for some years detained in England as a hostage for David's observance of the treaty on his release from his long captivity. The earl did not obtain his full liberty till 20th March 1367. He died at Dunrobin in Sutherland in 1370. His son, William, fifth earl, was present at the surprise of Berwick by the Scots in November 1384.

With their neighbours, the Mackays, the clan Sutherland were often at feud, and in all their contests with them they generally came off victorious.³

John, seventh earl, resigned the earldom in favour of John, his son and heir, 22d February 1456, reserving to himself the liferent of it, and died in 1460. He had married Margaret, daughter of Sir William Baillie of Lamington, Lanarkshire, and by her had four sons and two daughters. The sons were—1. Alexander, who predeceased his father; 2. John, eighth Earl of Sutherland; 3. Nicholas; 4. Thomas Beg. The elder daughter, Lady Jane, married Sir James Dunbar of Cumnock, and was the mother of Gawin Dunbar, bishop of Aberdeen.

John, eighth earl, died in 1508. He had married Lady Margaret Macdonald, eldest daughter of Alexander, Earl of Ross, Lord of the Isles, and by her, who was drowned crossing the ferry of Uness, he had two sons—John ninth earl, and Alexander, who died young, and a daughter, Elizabeth, Countess of Sutherland.

The ninth earl died, without issue, in 1514, when the succession devolved upon his sister Elizabeth, Countess of Sutherland in her own right. This lady had married Adam Gordon of Aboyne, second son of George, second Earl of Huntly, high-chancellor of Scotland, and in his wife's right, according to the custom of the age, he was styled Earl of Sutherland. The Earl of Sutherland, when far advanced in life, retired for the most part to Strathbogie and Aboyne, in Aberdeenshire, to spend the remainder of his days among his friends, and intrusted the charge of the country to his eldest son, Alexander Gordon, master of Sutherland, a young man of great intrepidity and talent; and on the countess' resignation, a charter of the earldom was granted to him by King James V., on 1st December 1527. She died in 1535, and her husband in 1537. Their issue were—1. Alexander, master of Sutherland, who was infeft in the earldom in 1527, under the charter above mentioned, and died in 1529, leaving, by his wife, Lady Jane Stewart, eldest daughter of the second Earl of Athole, three sons—John, Alexander, and William, and two daughters; 2. John Gordon; 3. Adam Gordon, killed at the battle of Pinkie, 10th September 1547; 4. Gilbert Gordon of Gartay, who married Isobel Sinclair, daughter of the laird of Dunbeath.

Alexander's eldest son, John, born about 1525, succeeded his grandfather as eleventh earl. He was lieutenant of Moray in 1547 and 1548, and with George, Earl of Huntly, was selected to accompany the queen regent to France in September 1550.

On the charge of having engaged in the rebellion of the Earl of Huntly in 1562, the Earl of Sutherland was forfeited, 28th May 1563, when he retired to Flanders. He returned to Scotland in 1565, and his forfeiture was rescinded by act of parliament, 19th April 1567. He and his countess, who was then in

³ Details of these feuds will be found in vol. i.

a state of pregnancy, were poisoned at Helmsdale Castle by Isobel Sinclair, the wife of the earl's uncle, Gilbert Gordon of Gartay, and the cousin of the Earl of Caithness, and died five days afterwards at Dunrobin Castle. This happened in July 1567, when the earl was in his 42d year.⁴ Their only son, Alexander, master of Sutherland, then in his fifteenth year, fortunately escaped the same fate.

The eleventh earl, styled the good Earl John, was thrice married—1st, to Lady Elizabeth Campbell, only daughter of the third Earl of Argyll, relict of James, Earl of Moray, natural son of James IV.; 2dly, to Lady Helen Stewart, daughter of the third Earl of Lennox, relict of the fifth Earl of Errol; and 3dly, to Marion, eldest daughter of the fourth Lord Seton, relict of the fourth Earl of Menteith. This was the lady who was poisoned with him. He had issue by his second wife only—two sons and three daughters. John, the elder son, died an infant. Alexander, the younger, was the twelfth Earl of Sutherland.

Being under age when he succeeded to the earldom, the ward of this young nobleman was granted to his eldest sister, Lady Margaret Gordon, who committed it to the care of John, Earl of Athole. The latter sold the wardship to George, Earl of Caithness, the enemy of his house. Having by treachery got possession of the castle of Skibo, in which the young earl resided, he seized his person and carried him off to Caithness, where he forced him to marry his daughter, Lady Barbara Sinclair, a profligate woman of double his own age. When he attained his majority he divorced her. In 1569, he escaped from the Earl of Caithness, who had taken up his residence at Dunrobin Castle and formed a design upon his life.

In 1583 he obtained from the Earl of Huntly, the king's lieutenant in the north, a grant of the superiority of Strathnaver, and of the heritable sheriffship of Sutherland and Strathnaver, which last was granted in lieu of the lordship of Aboyne. This grant was confirmed by his majesty in a charter under the great seal, by which Sutherland and Strath-

naver were disjoined and dismembered from the sheriffdom of Inverness. The earl died at Dunrobin, 6th December 1594, in his 43d year. Having divorced Lady Barbara Sinclair in 1573, he married, secondly, Lady Jean Gordon, third daughter of the fourth Earl of Huntly, high-chancellor of Scotland, who had been previously married to the Earl of Bothwell, but repudiated to enable that ambitious and profligate nobleman to marry Queen Mary. She subsequently married Alexander Ogilvy of Boyne, whom she also survived. To the Earl of Sutherland she had, with two daughters, four sons—1. John, thirteenth earl; 2. Hon. Sir Alexander Gordon; 3. Hon. Adam Gordon; 4. Hon. Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, the historian of the family of Sutherland, created a baronet of Nova Scotia, being the first of that order, 28th May 1625.

John, thirteenth Earl of Sutherland, was born 20th July 1576. Many details concerning him will be found in the former part of this work. He died at Dornoch, 11th September 1615, aged 40. By his countess, Lady Anna Elphinston, he had, with two daughters, four sons, namely—1. Patrick, master of Sutherland, who died young; 2. John, fourteenth earl; 3. Hon. Adam Gordon, who entered the Swedish service, and was killed at the battle of Nordlingen, 27th August 1634, aged 22; 4. Hon. George Posthumus Gordon, born after his father's death, 9th February 1616, a lieutenant-colonel in the army.

John, fourteenth Earl of Sutherland, born 4th March 1609, was only six years old when he succeeded his father, and during his minority his uncle, Sir Robert Gordon, was tutor of Sutherland. In this capacity the latter was much engaged in securing the peace of the country, so often broken by the lawless proceedings of the Earl of Caithness. By Sir Robert's judicious management of the affairs of the house of Sutherland, his nephew, the earl, on attaining his majority, found the hostility of the enemy of his house, the Earl of Caithness, either neutralised, or rendered no longer dangerous. In 1637, the earl joined the supplicants against the service book, and on the breaking out of the civil war in the following year, espoused the liberal cause. In

⁴ For the circumstances attending this unnatural murder, which the Earl of Caithness is said to have instigated, see vol. i. p. 90.

1641 he was appointed by parliament a privy councillor for life, and in 1644 he was sent north with a commission for disarming malignants, as the royalists were called. In 1645 he was one of the committee of estates. The same year he joined General Hurry, with his retainers at Inverness, just immediately before the battle of Auldearn. In 1650 he accompanied General David Leslie when he was sent by the parliament against the royalists in the north.

On the Marquis of Montrose's arrival in Caithness, the earl assembled all his countrymen to oppose his advance into Sutherland. Montrose, however, had secured the important pass of the Ord, and on his entering Sutherland, the earl, not conceiving himself strong enough to resist him, retired with about 300 men into Ross. In August of the same year, the earl set off to Edinburgh, with 1,000 men, to join the forces under General Leslie, collected to oppose Cromwell, but was too late for the battle of Dunbar, which was fought before his arrival. During the Protectorate of Cromwell the earl lived retired. He is commonly said to have died in 1663, but the portrait of John, who must be this earl, prefixed to Gordon's history of the family (Ed. 1813) has upon it "*Aetatis Suae* 60 : 1669." This would seem to prove that he was then alive.

His son, George, fifteenth earl, died 4th March 1703, aged 70, and was buried at Holyrood-house, where a monument was erected to his memory. The son of this nobleman, John, sixteenth earl, married, when Lord Strathnaver, Helen, second daughter of William, Lord Cochrane, sister of the Viscountess Dundee. He was one of the sixteen representatives of the Scots peerage chosen in the last Scots parliament in 1707, and subsequently three times re-elected. His services in quelling the rebellion were acknowledged by George I., who, in June 1716, invested him with the order of the Thistle, and in the following September settled a pension of £1,200 per annum upon him. He figured conspicuously both as a statesman and a soldier, and obtained leave to add to his armorial bearings the double "tressure circum-fleur-de-lire," to indicate his descent from the

royal family of Bruce. His lordship died at London, 27th June 1733.

His son, William, Lord Strathnaver, predeceased his father 19th July 1720. He had five sons and two daughters. His two eldest sons died young. William, the third son, became seventeenth Earl of Sutherland. The elder daughter, the Hon. Helen Sutherland, was the wife of Sir James Colquhoun of Luss. The younger, the Hon. Janet Sutherland, married George Sinclair, Esq. of Ulbster, and was the mother of the celebrated Sir John Sinclair, baronet.

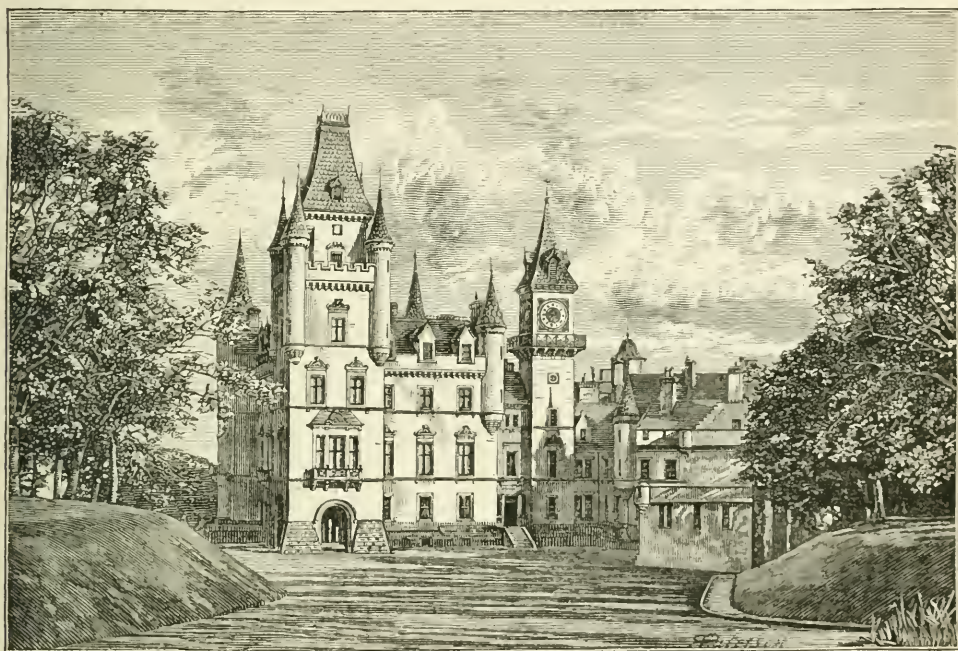
William, seventeenth Earl of Sutherland, contributed greatly to the suppression of the rebellion in the north. Under the heritable jurisdictions' abolition act of 1747, he had £1,000 allowed him for the redeemable sheriffship of Sutherland. He died in France, December 7, 1750, aged 50. By his countess, Lady Elizabeth Wemyss, eldest daughter of the third Earl of Wemyss, he had, with a daughter, Lady Elizabeth, wife of her cousin, Hon. James Wemyss of Wemyss, a son, William.

The son, William, eighteenth Earl of Sutherland, born May 29, 1735, was an officer in the army, and in 1759, when an invasion was expected, he raised a battalion of infantry, of which he was constituted lieutenant-colonel. He was appointed aide-de-camp to the king, with the rank of colonel in the army, 20th April 1763. He was one of the sixteen representative Scots peers, and died at Bath, 16th June 1766, aged 31. He had married at Edinburgh, 14th April 1761, Mary, eldest daughter and coheirress of William Maxwell, Esq. of Preston, stewardry of Kirkcudbright, and had two daughters, Lady Catherine and Lady Elizabeth. The former, born 24th May 1764, died at Dunrobin Castle, 3d January 1766. The loss of their daughter so deeply affected the earl and countess that they went to Bath, in the hope that the amusements of that place would dispel their grief. There, however, the earl was seized with a fever, and the countess devoted herself so entirely to the care of her husband, sitting up with him for twenty-one days and nights without retiring to bed, that her health was affected, and she died 1st June the same year, sixteen days before his lordship. Their bodies were

brought to Scotland, and interred in Holyrood-house.

Their only surviving daughter, Elizabeth, born at Leven Lodge, near Edinburgh, 24th May 1765, succeeded as Countess of Sutherland, when little more than a year old. She was placed under the guardianship of John, Duke of Athole, Charles, Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, Sir Adam Fergusson of Kilkerran, and Sir David Dalrymple of Hailes, baronets, and John Mackenzie, Esq. of Delvin. A sharp

contest arose for the title, her right to the earldom being disputed on the ground that it could not legally descend to a female heir. Her opponents were Sir Robert Gordon of Gordons-toun and Letterfourie, baronet, and George Sutherland, Esq. of Fors. Lord Hailes drew up a paper for her ladyship, entitled "Additional Case for Elizabeth, claiming the title and dignity of Countess of Sutherland," which evinced great ability, accuracy, and depth of research. The House of Lords decided in her



Dunrobin Castle, from a photograph by Collier and Park, Inverness.

(For view of Dunrobin Castle in 1700, *v.* vol. i. p. 83.)

favour, 21st March 1771. The countess, the nineteenth in succession to the earldom, married 4th September 1785, George Granville Leveson Gower, Viscount of Trentham, eldest son of Earl Gower, afterwards Marquis of Stafford, by his second wife, Lady Louisa Egerton, daughter of the first Duke of Bridgewater. His lordship succeeded to his father's titles, and became the second Marquis of Stafford. On 14th January 1833 he was created Duke of Sutherland, and died 19th July, the same year. The Duchess of Sutherland, countess in her own right, thenceforth styled Duchess-Countess of Sutherland, held the earl-

dom during the long period of 72 years and seven months, and died in January 1839.

Her eldest son, George Granville, born in 1786, succeeded his father as second Duke of Sutherland, in 1833, and his mother in the Scottish titles, in 1839. He married in 1823, Lady Harriet Elizabeth Georgiana, third daughter of the sixth Earl of Carlisle; issue—four sons and seven daughters. His grace died Feb. 28, 1861, and was succeeded by his eldest son, George Granville William. The second duke's eldest daughter married in 1844, the Duke of Argyll; the second daughter married in 1843, Lord Blantyre; the third

daughter married in 1847, the Marquis of Kildare, eldest son of the Duke of Leinster.

George Granville William, third Duke of Sutherland, previously styled Marquis of Stafford and Lord Strathnaver, born Dec. 19, 1828, married in 1849, Anne, only child of John Hay Mackenzie, Esq. of Cromartie and Newhall, and niece of Sir William Gibson Craig, Bart.; issue—three sons and two daughters. Sons—1. George Granville, Earl Gower, born July 25, 1850, died July 5, 1858; 2. Cromartie, Marquis of Stafford, born 20th July 1851; 3. Lord Francis, Viscount Taret, born August 3, 1852. Daughters, Lady Florence and Lady Alexandra; for the latter the Princess of Wales was sponsor.

There are a number of clans not dignified by Mr Skene with separate notice, probably because he considers them subordinate branches of other clans. The principal of these, however, we shall shortly notice here, before giving an account of four important clans located in the Highlands, which are generally admitted to be of foreign origin, at least so far as their names and chiefs are concerned.



BADGE—Juniper.

As we have given in minute detail the history of the somewhat turbulent clan Gunn in the first part of the work, our notice of it here will be brief.

The clan, a martial and hardy, though not a numerous race, originally belonged to Caithness, but in the sixteenth century they settled in Sutherland. Mr Smibert thinks they are perhaps among the very purest remnants of

the Gael to be found about Sutherlandshire and the adjoining parts. "It is probable," he says, "that they belong to the same stock which produced the great body of the Sutherland population. But tradition gives the chieftains at least a Norse origin. They are said to have been descended from *Gun*, or *Gunn*, or *Guin*, second son of Olans, or Olav, the Black, one of the Norwegian kings of Man and the Isles, who died 18th June 1237. One tradition gives them a settlement in Caithness more than a century earlier, deducing their descent from Gun, the second of three sons of Olaf, described as a man of great bravery, who, in 1100, dwelt in the Orcadian isle of Græmsay. The above-mentioned *Gun* or *Guin* is said to have received from his grandfather on the mother's side, Farquhar, Earl of Ross, the possessions in Caithness which long formed the patrimony of his descendants: the earliest stronghold of the chief in that county being Halbury castle, or Easter Clythe, situated on a precipitous rock, overhanging the sea. From a subsequent chief who held the office of coroner, it was called *Crowner Gun's Castle*. It may be mentioned here that the name *Gun* is the same as the Welsh *Gwynn*, and the Manx *Gawne*. It was originally *Gun*, but is now spelled *Gunn*.

The clan Gunn continued to extend their possessions in Caithness till about the middle of the fifteenth century, when, in consequence of their deadly feuds with the Keiths, and other neighbouring clans, they found it necessary to remove into Sutherland, where they settled on the lands of Kildonan, under the protection of the Earls of Sutherland, from whom they had obtained them. Mixed up as they were with the clan feuds of Caithness and Sutherland, and at war with the Mackays as well as the Keiths, the history of the clan up to this time is full of incidents which have more the character of romance than reality. In one place Sir Robert Gordon, alluding to "the inveterat deidlie feud betuein the clan Gun and the Slaightean-Aberigh,"—a branch of the Mackays,—says: "The long, the many, the horrible encounters which happened between these two trybes, with the bloodshed and infinit spoils

committed in every part of the diocry of Catteynes by them and their associates, are of so disordered and troublesome memorie," that he declines to give details.

Previous to their removal into Sutherland, George Gun, commonly called the *Chruiner*, or Coroner, and by the Highlanders, *Fear N'm Braisteach-more*, from the great brooch which he wore as the badge of his office of coroner, was killed by the Keiths of Caithness, as formerly narrated.

The Crowner's eldest son, James, succeeded as chief, and he it was who, with his family and the greater portion of his clan, removed into Sutherland. The principal dwelling-house of the chiefs was, thereafter, Killernan, in the parish of Kildonan, until the house was accidentally destroyed by fire about 1690. From this chief, the patronymic of Mac-Sheumais, or MacKeamish, (that is, the son of James,) which then became the Gaelic sept-name of the chiefs, is derived. From one of the sons of the Crowner, named William, are descended the Wilsons of Caithness, (as from a subsequent chief of the same name, the Williamsons,) and from another, Henry, the Hendersons. Another son, Robert, who was killed with his father, was the progenitor of the Gun Robsons; and another son, John, also slain by the Keiths, of the Gun MacEans, or MacEans, that is Johnsons, of Caithness. The Gallies are also of this clan, a party of whom settling in Ross-shire being designated as coming from *Gall-aobh*, the stranger's side.

William Gunn, the eighth MacKeamish, an officer in the army, was killed in battle in India, without leaving issue, when the chiefship devolved on Hector, great-grandson of George, second son of Alexander, the fifth MacKeamish, to whom he was served nearest male heir, on the 31st May 1803, and George Gunn, Esq. of Rhives, county of Sutherland, his only son, became, on his death, chief of the clan Gunn, and the tenth MacKeamish.

MACLAURIN.

MACLAURIN, more commonly spelled Mac-laren, is the name of a small clan belonging to Perthshire, and called in Gaelic the *clann Labhrin*. The name is said to have been derived from the district of Lorn, in Argyre-

shire, the Gaelic orthography of which is *Lubhrin*. The Maclaurins bear the word *Dal-riada*, as a motto above their coat of arms.

MACLAURIN OR MACLAREN.



From Argyreshire the tribe of Laurin moved into Perthshire, having, it is said, acquired from Kenneth Macalpin, after his conquest of the Picts in the 9th century, the districts of Balquhider and Strathearn, and three brothers are mentioned as having got assigned to them in that territory the lands of Bruach, Auchleskin, and Stank. In the churchyard of Balquhider, celebrated as containing the grave of Rob Roy, the burial places of their different families are marked off separately, so as to correspond with the situation which these estates bear to each other, a circumstance which so far favours the tradition regarding them.

When the earldom of Strathearn became vested in the crown in 1370, the Maclaurins were reduced from the condition of proprietors to that of "kyndly" or perpetual tenants, which they continued to be till 1508, when it was deemed expedient that this Celtic holding should be changed, and the lands set in feu, "for increase of policie and augmentation of the king's rental."

About 1497, some of the clan Laurin having carried off the cattle from the Braes of Lochaber, the Macdonalds followed the spoilers, and, overtaking them in Glenurchy, after a sharp fight, recovered the "lifting." The Maclaurins straightway sought the assistance of their kinsman, Dugal Stewart of Appin, who

at once joined them with his followers, and a conflict took place, when both Dugal and Macdonald of Keppoch, the chiefs of their respective clans, were among the slain. This Dugal was the first of the Stewarts of Appin. He was an illegitimate son of John Stewart, third Lord of Lorn, by a lady of the clan Laurin, and in 1469 when he attempted, by force of arms, to obtain possession of his father's lands, he was assisted by the Maclaurins, 130 of whom fell in a battle that took place at the foot of Bendoran, a mountain in Glenurchy.

The clan Laurin were the strongest sept in Balquhiddier, which was called "the country of the Maclaurins." Although there are few families of the name there now, so numerous were they at one period that none dared enter the church until the Maclaurins had taken their seats. This invidious right claimed by them often led to unseemly brawls and fights at the church door, and lives were sometimes lost in consequence. In 1532, Sir John Maclaurin, vicar of Balquhiddier, was killed in one of these quarrels, and several of his kinsmen, implicated in the deed, were outlawed.

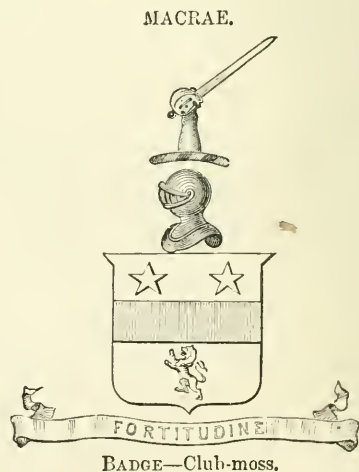
A deadly feud existed between the Maclaurins and their neighbours, the Macgregors of Rob Roy's tribe. In the 16th century, the latter slaughtered no fewer than eighteen householders of the Maclaurin name, with the whole of their families, and took possession of the farms which had belonged to them. The deed was not investigated till 1604, forty-six years afterwards, when it was thus described in their trial for the slaughter of the Colquhouns: "And siclyk, John M'Coull cheire, ffor airt and pairt of the crewall murthour and burning of auchtene housholders of the clan Lawren, thair wyves and bairns, committit fourtie sax zeir syne, or thairby." The verdict was that he was "clene, innocent, and acquit of the said crymes."⁵ The hill farm of

⁵ In reference to this, we extract the following from the *Scotsman*, Feb. 12, 1869:—"Within the last few days a handsome monument from the granite works of Messrs Macdonald, Field, & Co., Aberdeen, has been erected in the churchyard of Balquhiddier, bearing the following inscription:—"In memoriam of the Clan Laurin, anciently the allodial inhabitants of Balquhiddier and Strathearn, the chief of whom, in the decrepitude of old age, together with his aged and infirm adherents, their wives and children, the widows of their departed kindred—all were destroyed in the silent midnight hour by fire and sword, by the hands

Inverenty, on "The Braes of Balquhiddier," was one of the farms thus forcibly occupied by the Macgregors, although the property of a Maclaurin family, and in the days of Rob Roy, two centuries afterwards, the aid of Stewart of Appin was called in to replace the Maclaurins in their own, which he did at the head of 200 of his men. All these farms, however, are now the property of the chief of clan Gregor, having been purchased about 1798 from the commissioners of the forfeited estates.

The Maclaurins were out in the rebellion of 1745. According to President Forbes, they were followers of the Murrays of Athole, but although some of them might have been so, the majority of the clan fought for the Pretender with the Stewarts of Appin under Stewart of Ardsheil.

The chiefship was claimed by the family to which belonged Colin Maclaurin, the eminent mathematician and philosopher, and his son, John Maclaurin, Lord Dreghorn. In the application given in for the latter to the Lyon Court, he proved his descent from a family which had long been in possession of the island of Tiree, one of the Argyleshire Hebrides.



MACRAE (MACRA or MACRATH)⁶ is the name of a Ross-shire clan at one time very numerous of a banditti of incendiaries from Glendochart, A.D. 1558. Erected by Daniel Maclaurin, Esq. of St John's Wood, London, author of a short history of his own clan, and for the use of his clansmen only.—October 1868."

⁶ For the information here given, we are mainly indebted to the MS. above referred to.

on the shores of Kintail, but now widely scattered through Scotland and the colonies, more especially Canada. The oldest form of the name "McRath" signifies "son-of-good-luck." The clan is generally considered to be of pure Gaelic stock, although its earliest traditions point to an Irish origin. They are said to have come over with Colin Fitzgerald, the founder of the clan Mackenzie, of whose family they continued through their whole history the warm friends and adherents, so much so that they were jocularly called "Seaforth's shirt," and under his leadership they fought at the battle of Largs, in 1263. They settled first in the Aird of Lovat, but subsequently emigrated into Glenshiel, in the district of Kintail. At the battle of Auldearn, in May 1645, the Macraes fought under the "Caber-Fey," on the side of Montrose, where they lost a great number of men. The chief of the Macraes is Macrae of Inverinate, in Kintail, whose family since about the year 1520 held the honourable post of constables of Islandonan. A MS. genealogical account of the clans, written by the Rev. John Macrae, minister of Dingwall, who died in 1704, was formerly in possession of Lieut.-Col. Sir John Macrae of Ardintoul, and is now possessed by the present head of the Inverinate family, Colin Macrae, Esq., W.S., who has also a copy of a treaty of friendship between the Campbells of Craignish and the Macraes of Kintail, dated 1702. This history contains many interesting stories, descriptive of the great size, strength, and courage for which the clan was remarkable. One Duncan Mòr, a man of immense strength, contributed largely to the defeat of the Macdonalds at the battle of Park, in 1464, and it was said of him that, though engaged in many conflicts and always victorious, he never came off without a wound; and another Duncan, who lived in the beginning of the 18th century, was possessed of so great strength that he is said to have carried for some distance a stone of huge size, and laid it down on the farm of Auchnangart, where it is still to be seen. He was the author of several poetical pieces, and was killed with many of his clan at Sheriffmuir, in 1715, his two brothers falling at his side. His sword, long preserved in the Tower of London, was shown as "the great Highlander's sword."

Both males and females of the Macraes are said to have evinced a strong taste, not only for severe literary studies, but for the gentler arts of poetry and music. From the beginning of the 15th century, one of the Inverinate family always held the office of vicar of Kintail; and John, the first vicar, was much revered for his learning, which he acquired with the monks of Beaulieu. Farquhar Macrae, born 1580, who entered the church, is said to have been a great Latin scholar. It is told of this Farquhar, that on his first visit to the island of Lewes, he had to baptize the whole population under forty years of age, no minister being resident on the island.

We shall here give a short account of the Buchanans and Colquhouns, because, as Smibert says of the latter, they have ever been placed among the clans practically, although the neighbouring Lowlanders gave to them early Saxon names. It is probable that primitively they were both of Gaelic origin.

BUCHANAN.



BADGE—Bilberry or Oak.

The BUCHANANS belong to a numerous clan in Stirlingshire, and the country on the north side of Loch Lomond. The reputed founder of the clan was Anselan, son of O'Kyan, king of Ulster, in Ireland, who is said to have been compelled to leave his native country by the incursions of the Danes, and take refuge in Scotland. He landed, with some attendants, on the northern coast of Argyleshire, near the Lennox, about the year 1016, and having, according to the family tradition, in all such

cases made and provided, lent his assistance to King Malcolm the Second in repelling his old enemies the Danes. on two different occasions of their arrival in Scotland, he received from that king for his services a grant of land in the north of Scotland. The improbable character of this genealogy is manifested by its farther stating that the aforesaid Anselan married the heiress of the lands of Buchanan, a lady named Dennistoun; for the Dennistouns deriving their name from lands given to a family of the name of Danziel, who came into Scotland with Alan, the father of the founder of the Abbey of Paisley, and the first *dapifer*, seneschal, or steward of Scotland, no heiress of that name could have been in Scotland until long after the period here referred to. It is more probable that a portion of what afterwards became the estate of Buchanan formed a part of some royal grant as being connected with the estates of the Earls of Lennox, whom Skene and Napier have established to have been remotely connected with the royal family of the Canmore line, and to have been in the first instance administrators, on the part of the crown, of the lands which were afterwards bestowed upon them.

The name of Buchanan is territorial, and is now that of a parish in Stirlingshire, which was anciently called Incheailcoch ("old woman's island"), from an island of that name in Loch Lomond, on which in earlier ages there was a nunnery, and latterly the parish church for a century after the Reformation. In 1621 a detached part of the parish of Luss, which comprehends the lands of the family of Buchanan, was included in this parish, when the chapel of Buchanan was used for the only place of worship, and gave the name to the whole parish.

Anselan (in the family genealogies styled the third of that name) the seventh laird of Buchanan, and the sixth in descent from the above-named Irish prince, but not unlikely to be the first of the name, which is Norman French, is dignified in the same records with the magniloquent appellation of seneschal or chamberlain to Malcolm the first Earl of Lennox (as Lennox was then called). In 1225, this Anselan obtained from the same earl a charter of a small island in Lochlomond called

Clarcinch—witnesses Dougal, Gilchrist, and Amalyn, the earl's three brothers—the name of which island afterwards became the rallying cry of the Buchanans. He had three sons, viz., Methlen, said by Buchanan of Auchmar to have been ancestor of the MacMillans; Colman, ancestor of the MacColmans; and his successor Gilbert.

His eldest son, Gilbert, or Gillebrid, appears to have borne the surname of Buchanan.

Sir Maurice Buchanan, grandson of Gilbert, and son of a chief of the same name, received from Donald, Earl of Lennox, a charter of the lands of Sallochy, with confirmation of the upper part of the carrucate of Buchanan. Sir Maurice also obtained a charter of confirmation of the lands of Buchanan from King David II. in the beginning of his reign.

Sir Maurice de Buchanan the second, above mentioned, married a daughter of Menteith of Rusky, and had a son, Walter de Buchanan, who had a charter of confirmation of some of his lands of Buchanan from Robert the Second, in which he is designed the king's "consanguineus," or cousin. His eldest son, John, married Janet, daughter and sole heiress of John Buchanan of Leny, fourth in descent from Allan already noticed. John, who died before his father, had three sons, viz., Sir Alexander, Walter, and John, who inherited the lands of Leny, and carried on that family.

Sir Alexander died unmarried, and the second son, Sir Walter, succeeded to the estate of Buchanan.

This Sir Walter de Buchanan married Isabel, daughter of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, governor of Scotland, by Isabel, countess of Lennox, in her own right. With a daughter, married to Gray of Foulis, ancestor of Lord Gray, he had three sons, viz., Patrick, his successor; Maurice, treasurer to the Princess Margaret, the daughter of King James I., and Dauphiness of France, with whom he left Scotland; and Thomas, founder of the Buchanans of Carbeth.

The eldest son, Patrick, acquired a part of Strathyre in 1455, and had a charter under the great seal of his estate of Buchanan, dated in 1460. He had two sons and a daughter, Anabella, married to her cousin, James Stewart of Baldorrans, grandson of Murdoch.

Duke of Albany. Their younger son, Thomas Buchanan, was, in 1482, founder of the house of Drumakill, whence, in the third generation, came the celebrated George Buchanan. Patrick's elder son, Walter Buchanan of that ilk, married a daughter of Lord Graham, and by her had two sons, Patrick and John, and two daughters, one of them married to the laird of Lamond, and the other to the laird of Ardkinglass.

John Buchanan, the younger son, succeeded by testament to Menzies of Arnprior, and was the facetious "King of Kippen," and faithful ally of James V. The way in which the laird of Arnprior got the name of "King of Kippen" is thus related by a tradition which Sir Walter Scott has introduced into his *Tales of a Grandfather*:—"When James the Fifth travelled in disguise, he used a name which was known only to some of his principal nobility and attendants. He was called the Goodman (the tenant, that is) of Ballengeich. Ballengeich is a steep pass which leads down behind the castle of Stirling. Once upon a time when the court was feasting in Stirling, the king sent for some venison from the neighbouring hills. The deer was killed and put on horses' backs to be transported to Stirling. Unluckily they had to pass the castle gates of Arnprior, belonging to a chief of the Buchanans, who chanced to have a considerable number of guests with him. It was late, and the company were rather short of victuals, though they had more than enough of liquor. The chief, seeing so much fat venison passing his very door, seized on it, and to the expostulations of the keepers, who told him it belonged to King James, he answered insolently, that if James was king in Scotland, he (Buchanan) was king in Kippen; being the name of the district in which Arnprior lay. On hearing what had happened, the king got on horseback, and rode instantly from Stirling to Buchanan's house, where he found a strong fierce-looking Highlander, with an axe on his shoulder, standing sentinel at the door. This grim warder refused the king admittance, saying that the laird of Arnprior was at dinner, and would not be disturbed. 'Yet go up to the company, my good friend,' said the king, 'and tell him that the Goodman of Ballengeich is

come to feast with the King of Kippen.' The porter went grumbling into the house, and told his master that there was a fellow with a red beard at the gate, who called himself the Goodman of Ballengeich, who said he was come to dine with the King of Kippen. As soon as Buchanan heard these words, he knew that the king was come in person, and hastened down to kneel at James's feet, and to ask forgiveness for his insolent behaviour. But the king, who only meant to give him a fright, forgave him freely, and, going into the castle, feasted on his own venison which Buchanan had intercepted. Buchanan of Arnprior was ever afterwards called the King of Kippen."⁷ He was killed at the battle of Pinkie in 1547.

The elder son, Patrick, who fell on Flodden field, during his father's lifetime, had married a daughter of the Earl of Argyll. She bore to him two sons and two daughters. The younger son, Walter, in 1519, conveyed to his son Walter the lands of Spittal, and was thus the founder of that house. On the 14th December of that year, he had a charter from his father of the temple-lands of Easter-Catter.

The elder son, George Buchanan of that ilk, succeeded his grandfather, and was sheriff of Dumbartonshire at the critical epoch of 1561. By Margaret, daughter of Edmonstone of Duntreath, he had a son, John, who died before his father, leaving a son. By a second lady, Janet, daughter of Cunninghame of Craigans, he had William, founder of the now extinct house of Auchmar.

John Buchanan, above mentioned as dying before his father, George Buchanan of that ilk, was twice married, first to the Lord Livingston's daughter, by whom he had one son, George, who succeeded his grandfather. The son, Sir George Buchanan, married Mary Graham, daughter of the Earl of Monteith, and had, with two daughters, a son, Sir John Buchanan of that ilk. Sir John married Anabella Erskine, daughter of Adam, commendator of Cambuskenneth, a son of the Master of Mar. He had a son, George, his successor, and a daughter married to Campbell of Raheine.

Sir George Buchanan the son married Eliza-

⁷ *History of Scotland.*

beth Preston, daughter of the laird of Craigmillar. Sir George was taken prisoner at Inverkeithing, in which state he died in the end of 1651, leaving, with three daughters, one son, John, the last laird of Buchanan, who was twice married, but had no male issue. By his second wife, Jean Pringle, daughter of Mr Andrew Pringle, a minister, he had a daughter Janet, married to Henry Buchanan of Leny. John, the last laird, died in December 1682. His estate was sold by his creditors, and purchased by the ancestor of the Duke of Montrose.

The barons or lairds of Buchanan built a castle in Stirlingshire, where the present Buchanan house stands, formerly called the Peel of Buchanan. Part of it exists, forming the charter-room. A more modern house was built by these chiefs, adjoining the east side. This mansion came into the possession of the first Duke of Montrose, who made several additions to it, as did also subsequent dukes, and it is now the chief seat of that ducal family in Scotland.

The principal line of the Buchanans becoming, as above shown, extinct in 1682, the representation of the family devolved on Buchanan of AUCHMAR. This line became, in its turn, extinct in 1816, and, in the absence of other competitors, the late Dr Francis Hamilton-Buchanan of Bardowie, Spittal, and Leny, as heir-male of Walter, first of the family of Spittal, established in 1826 his claims as chief of the clan.

The last lineal male descendant of the Buchanans of Leny was Henry Buchanan, about 1723, whose daughter and heiress, Catherine, married Thomas Buchanan of Spittal, an officer in the Dutch service, who took for his second wife, Elizabeth, youngest daughter of John Hamilton of Bardowie, the sole survivor of her family, and by her he had four sons and two daughters. Their eldest son John, born in 1758, succeeded to the estate of Bardowie, and assumed the additional name of Hamilton, but dying without male issue, was succeeded by his brother, the above named Dr Francis Hamilton-Buchanan.

There were at one time so many heritors of the name of Buchanan, that it is said the laird of Buchanan could, in a summer's day,

call fifty heritors of his own surname to his house, upon any occasion, and all of them might with convenience return to their respective residences before night, the most distant of their homes not being above ten miles from Buchanan Castle.

COLQUHOUN.



BADGE—Bearberry.

The territory of the COLQUHOUNS is in Dumbartonshire, and the principal families of the name are Colquhoun of Colquhoun and Luss, the chief of the clan, a baronet of Scotland and Nova Scotia, created in 1704, and of Great Britain in 1786; Colquhoun of Killermont and Garscadden; Colquhoun of Ardenconnel; and Colquhoun of Glenmillan. There was likewise Colquhoun of Tilliquhoun, a baronet of Scotland and Nova Scotia (1625), but this family is extinct.

The origin of the name is territorial. One tradition deduces the descent of the first possessor from a younger son of the old Earls of Lennox, because of the similarity of their armorial bearings. It is certain that they were anciently vassals of that potent house.

The immediate ancestor of the family of Luss was Humphry de Kilpatrick, who, in the reign of Alexander II., not later than 1246, obtained from Malcolm, Earl of Lennox, a grant of the lands and barony of Colquhoun, in the parish of Old or West Kilpatrick, *pro servitio unius militis, &c.*, and in consequence assumed the name of Colquhoun, instead of his own.

His grandson, Ingelram, third Colquhoun, lived in the reign of Alexander III.

His son, Humphry de Colquhoun, is witness in a charter of Malcolm, fifth Earl of Lennox, in favour of Sir John de Luss,⁸ between the years 1292-1333. The following remarkable reference to the construction of a house *ad opus Culquhanorum*, by order of King Robert Bruce, is extracted from the *Compotum Constabularii de Cardross*, vol. i., in the accounts of the Great Chamberlains of Scotland, under date 30th July 1329, as quoted by Mr Tytler in the appendix to the second volume of his *History of Scotland*: "Item, in construccione cujusdam domus ad opus *Culquhanorum* Domini Regis ibidem, 10 solidi." Mr Tytler in a note says that *Culquhanorum* is "an obscure word, which occurs nowhere else—conjectured by a learned friend to be 'keepers of the dogs,' from the Gaelic root *Gillen-au-con*—abbreviated, *Gillecon*, Culquhoun."

Sir Robert de Colquhoun, supposed by Mr Fraser, the family historian, to be fifth in descent from the first Humphry, and son of a Humphry, the fourth of Colquhoun, in the reign of David Bruce, married in or previous to the year 1368 the daughter and sole heiress (known in the family tradition as "The Fair Maid of Luss,") of Godfrey de Luss, lord of Luss, head or chief of an ancient family of that name, and the sixth in a direct male line from Malduin, dean of Lennox, who, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, received from Alwyn, second Earl of Lennox, a charter of the lands of Luss. The Luss territories lie in the mountainous but beautiful and picturesque district on the margin of Loch Lomond. Sir Robert was designed "dominus de Colquhoun and de Luss," in a charter dated in 1368; since which time the family have borne the designation of Colquhoun of Colquhoun and Luss. He is also witness in a charter of the lands of Auchmar by Walter of Faslane, Lord of Lennox, to Walter de Buchanan in 1373. He had four sons, namely—Sir Humphry, his heir; Robert, first of the family of Camstraddan, from whom several other families of the name of Colquhoun in Dumbartonshire are descended; Robert mentioned in the Camstraddan charter as "frater junior;" and Patrick, who is mentioned in a

charter from his brother Sir Humphry to his other brother Robert.

The eldest son, Sir Humphry, sixth of Colquhoun, and eighth of Luss, is a witness in three charters by Duncan, Earl of Lennox, in the years 1393, 1394, and 1395. He died in 1406, and left three sons and two daughters. Patrick, his youngest son, was ancestor of the Colquhouns of Glennis, from whom the Colquhouns of Barrowfield, Piemont, and others were descended. The second son, John, succeeded his eldest brother. The eldest son, Sir Robert, died in 1408, and was succeeded by his brother. Sir John Colquhoun was appointed governor of the castle of Dumbarton, by King James I., for his fidelity to that king during his imprisonment in England. From his activity in punishing the depredations of the Highlanders, who often committed great outrages in the low country of Dumbartonshire, he rendered himself obnoxious to them, and a plot was formed for his destruction. He received a civil message from some of their chiefs, desiring a friendly conference, in order to accommodate all their differences. Suspecting no treachery, he went out to meet them but slightly attended, and was immediately attacked by a numerous body of Islanders, under two noted robber-chiefs, Lachlan Maclean and Murdoch Gibson, and slain in Inchmurren, on Loch Lomond, in 1439. By his wife, Jean, daughter of Robert, Lord Erskine, he had a son, Malcolm, a youth of great promise. He died before his father, leaving a son, John, who succeeded his grandfather in 1439. This Sir John Colquhoun was one of the most distinguished men of his age in Scotland, and highly esteemed by King James III., from whom he got a charter in 1457 of the lands of Luss, Colquhoun, and Garscube, in Dumbartonshire, and of the lands of Glyn and Sauchie, in Stirlingshire, incorporating the whole into a free barony, to be called the Barony of Luss; and in the following year he obtained from the king a charter erecting into a free forest the lands of Rosdhu and Glenmachome. From 1465 to 1469 he held the high office of comptroller of the Exchequer, and was subsequently appointed sheriff principal of Dumbartonshire. In 1645 he got a grant of the lands of Kilmardinny, and in 1473 and in 1474,

⁸ Fraser's *Chiefs of Colquhoun*.

of Roseneath, Strone, &c. In 1474 he was appointed lord high chamberlain of Scotland, and immediately thereafter was nominated one of the ambassadors extraordinary to the Court of England, to negotiate a marriage between the Prince Royal of Scotland and the Princess Cicily, daughter of King Edward IV. By a royal charter dated 17th September 1477, he was constituted governor of the castle of Dumbarton for life. He was killed by a cannon-ball at the siege of Dumbarton Castle, probably in 1478. By his wife, daughter of Thomas, Lord Boyd, he had two sons and one daughter. His second son, Robert, was bred to the church, and was first rector of Kippen and Luss, and afterwards bishop of Argyle from 1473 to 1499. The daughter, Margaret, married Sir William Murray, seventh baron of Tullibardine (ancestor of the Dukes of Athole), and bore to him seventeen sons.

His eldest son, Sir Humphry Colquhoun, died in 1493, and was succeeded by his son, Sir John Colquhoun, who received the honour of knighthood from King James IV., and obtained a charter under the great seal of sundry lands and baronies in Dumbartonshire, dated 4th December 1506. On 11th July 1526 he and Patrick Colquhoun his son received a respite for assisting John, Earl of Lennox, in treasonably besieging, taking, and holding the castle of Dumbarton. He died before 16th August 1536. By his first wife, Elizabeth Stewart, daughter of John, Earl of Lennox, Sir John Colquhoun had four sons and four daughters; and by his second wife, Margaret, daughter of William Cunningham of Craighends, he had two sons and two daughters. His eldest son, Sir Humphry Colquhoun, married Lady Catherine Graham, daughter of William, first Earl of Montrose, and died in 1537. By her he had three sons and two daughters. His son James, designated of Garscube, ancestor of the Colquhouns of Garscube, Adam, and Patrick.⁹ His eldest son, Sir John Colquhoun, married, first, Christian Erskine, daughter of Robert, Lord Erskine; and secondly, Agnes, daughter of the fourth Lord Boyd, ancestor of the Earls of Kilmarnock. He died in 1575.

⁹ Fraser's *Chiefs of Colquhoun*.

His eldest son, Humphry, acquired the heritable coronership of the county of Dumbarton, from Robert Graham of Knockdolian, which was ratified and confirmed by a charter under the great seal in 1583.

In July 1592, some of the Macgregors and Macfarlanes came down upon the low country of Dumbartonshire, and committed vast ravages, especially upon the territory of the Colquhouns. At the head of his vassals, and accompanied by several of the gentlemen of the neighbourhood, Sir Humphry Colquhoun attacked the invaders, and after a bloody conflict, which was only put an end to at nightfall, he was overpowered by his assailants, and forced to retreat. To quote from Mr Fraser's *Chiefs of the Colquhouns*—"He betook himself to the castle of Bannachra, a stronghold which had been erected by the Colquhouns at the foot of the north side of the hill of Bennibuie, in the parish of Luss. A party of the Macfarlanes and Macgregors pursued him, and laid siege to his castle. One of the servants who attended the knight was of the same surname as himself. He had been tampered with by the assailants of his master, and treacherously made him their victim. The servant, while conducting his master to his room up a winding stair of the castle, made him by preconcert a mark for the arrows of the clan who pursued him by throwing the glare of a paper torch upon his person when opposite a loophole. A winged arrow, darted from its string with a steady aim, pierced the unhappy knight to the heart, and he fell dead on the spot. The fatal loophole is still pointed out, but the stair, like its unfortunate lord, has crumbled into dust." Sir Humphry married, first, Lady Jean Cunningham, daughter of Alexander, fifth Earl of Glencairn, widow of the Earl of Argyll, by whom he had no children, and secondly, Jean, daughter of John, Lord Hamilton, by whom he had a daughter. Having no male issue, he was succeeded by his younger brother, Alexander.

In Sir Alexander's time occurred the raid of Glenfinlas, and the bloody clan conflict of Glenfruin, between the Colquhouns and Macgregors, in December 1602 and February 1603, regarding which the popular accounts are much at variance with the historical facts. The Col-

quhouns had taken part in the execution of the letters of fire and sword issued by the crown against the Macgregors some years before, and the feud between them had been greatly aggravated by various acts of violence and aggression on both sides.

In 1602, the Macgregors made a regular raid on the laird of Luss's lands in Glenfinlas, and carried off a number of sheep and cattle, as well as slew several of the tenants. Alexander Colquhoun, who had before complained to the privy council against the Earl of Argyll for not repressing the clan Gregor, but who had failed in obtaining any redress, now adopted a tragic method in order to excite the sympathy of the king. He appeared before his majesty at Stirling, accompanied by a number of females, the relatives of those who had been killed or wounded at Glenfinlas, each carrying the bloody shirt of her killed or wounded relative, to implore his majesty to avenge the wrongs done them. The ruse had the desired effect upon the king, who, from a sensitiveness of constitutional temperament, which made him shudder even at the sight of blood, was extremely susceptible to impressions from scenes of this description, and he immediately granted a commission of lieutenantancy to the laird of Luss, investing him with power to repress similar crimes, and to apprehend the perpetrators.

"This commission granted to their enemy appears to have roused the lawless rage of the Macgregors, who rose in strong force to defy the laird of Luss; and Glenfruin, with its disasters and sanguinary defeat of the Colquhouns, and its ultimate terrible consequences to the victorious clan themselves, was the result."

In the beginning of the year 1603, Allaster Macgregor of Glenstrae, followed by four hundred men chiefly of his own clan, but including also some of the clans Cameron and Anverich, armed with "halberschois, pow-aixes, twa-handit swordis, bowis and arrowis, and with hagbutis and pistoletis," advanced into the territory of Luss. Colquhoun, acting under his royal commission, had raised a force which has been stated by some writers as having amounted to 300 horse and 500 foot. This is probably an exaggeration, but even if

it is not, the disasters which befell them may be explained from the trap into which they fell, and from the nature of the ground on which they encountered the enemy. This divested them of all the advantages which they might have derived from superiority of numbers and from their horse.

On the 7th February 1603, the Macgregors were in Glenfruin "in two divisions," writes Mr Fraser—"One of them at the head of the glen, and the other in ambuscade near the farm of Strone, at a hollow or ravine called the Crate. The Colquhouns came into Glenfruin from the Luss side, which is opposite Strone—probably by Glen Luss and Glen Mackern. Alexander Colquhoun pushed on his forces in order to get through the glen before encountering the Macgregors; but, aware of his approach, Allaster Macgregor also pushed forward one division of his forces and entered at the head of the glen in time to prevent his enemy from emerging from the upper end of the glen, whilst his brother, John Macgregor, with the division of his clan, which lay in ambuscade, by a detour, took the rear of the Colquhouns, which prevented their retreat down the glen without fighting their way through that section of the Macgregors who had got in their rear. The success of the stratagem by which the Colquhouns were thus placed between two fires seems to be the only way of accounting for the terrible slaughter of the Colquhouns and the much less loss of the Macgregors.

"The Colquhouns soon became unable to maintain their ground, and, falling into a moss at the farm of Auchingaich, they were thrown into disorder, and made a hasty and disorderly retreat, which proved even more disastrous than the conflict, for they had to force their way through the men led by John Macgregor, whilst they were pressed behind by Allaster, who, reuniting the two divisions of his army, continued the pursuit."

All who fell into the hands of the victors were at once put to death, and the chief of the Colquhouns barely escaped with his life after his horse had been killed under him. One hundred and forty of the Colquhouns were slaughtered, and many more were wounded, among whom were several women and children. When the pursuit ended, the work of spolia-

tion and devastation commenced. Large numbers of horses, cattle, sheep, and goats were carried off, and many of the houses and steadings of the tenantry were burned to the ground. Their triumph the Macgregors were not allowed long to enjoy. The government took instant and severe measures against them. A price was put upon the heads of seventy or eighty of them by name, and upon a number of their confederates of other clans:—"Before any judicial inquiry was made," says Mr Fraser, "on 3d April 1603, only two days before James VI. left Scotland for England to take possession of the English throne, an Act of Privy Council was passed, by which the name of Gregor or Macgregor was for ever abolished. All of this surname were commanded, under the penalty of death, to change it for another; and the same penalty was denounced against those who should give food or shelter to any of the clan. All who had been at the conflict of Glenfruin, and at the spoliation and burning of the lands of the Laird of Luss, were prohibited, under the penalty of death, from carrying any weapon except a pointless knife to eat their meat." Thirty-five of the clan Gregor were executed after trial between the 20th May 1603 and the 2d March 1604. Amongst these was Allaster Macgregor, who surrendered himself to the Earl of Argyll.

By his wife Helen, daughter of Sir George Buchanan of that ilk, Alexander had one son and five daughters. He died in 1617.

The eldest son, Sir John, in his father's lifetime, got a charter under the great seal of the ten pound land of Dunnerbuck, dated 20th February 1602, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia by patent dated the last day of August 1625. He married Lady Lillias Graham, daughter of the fourth Earl of Montrose, brother of the great Marquis, by whom he had three sons and three daughters. His two eldest sons succeeded to the baronetcy. From Alexander, the third son, the Colquhouns of Tillyquhoun were descended. He died in 1647.

Sir John, the second baronet of Luss, married Margaret, daughter and sole heiress of Sir Gideon Baillie of Lochend, in the county of Haddington, and had two sons, and

seven daughters. He adhered firmly to the royal cause during all the time of the civil wars, on which account he suffered many hardships, and, in 1654, was by Cromwell fined two thousand pounds sterling. He was succeeded in 1676 by his younger son, Sir James—the elder having predeceased him—third baronet of Luss, who held the estates only four years, and being a minor, unmarried, left no issue. He was succeeded in 1680 by his uncle, Sir James, who married Penuel, daughter of William Cunningham of Balleichen, in Ireland. He had, with one daughter, two sons, Sir Humphry, fifth baronet, and James. The former was a member of the last Scottish Parliament, and strenuously opposed and voted against every article of the treaty of union. By his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Patriek Houston of that ilk, baronet, he had an only daughter, Anne Colquhoun, his sole heiress, who, in 1702, married James Grant of Pluscardine, second son of Ludovick Grant of Grant, immediate younger brother of Brigadier Alexander Grant, heir apparent of the said Ludovick.

Having no male issue, Sir Humphry, with the design that his daughter and her husband should succeed him in his whole estate and honours, in 1704 resigned his baronetcy into the hands of her majesty Queen Anne, for a new patent to himself in life, and his son-in-law and his heirs therein named in fee, but with this express limitation that he and his heirs so succeeding to that estate and title should be obliged to bear the name and arms of Colquhoun of Luss, &c. It was also specially provided that the estates of Grant and Luss should not be conjoined.

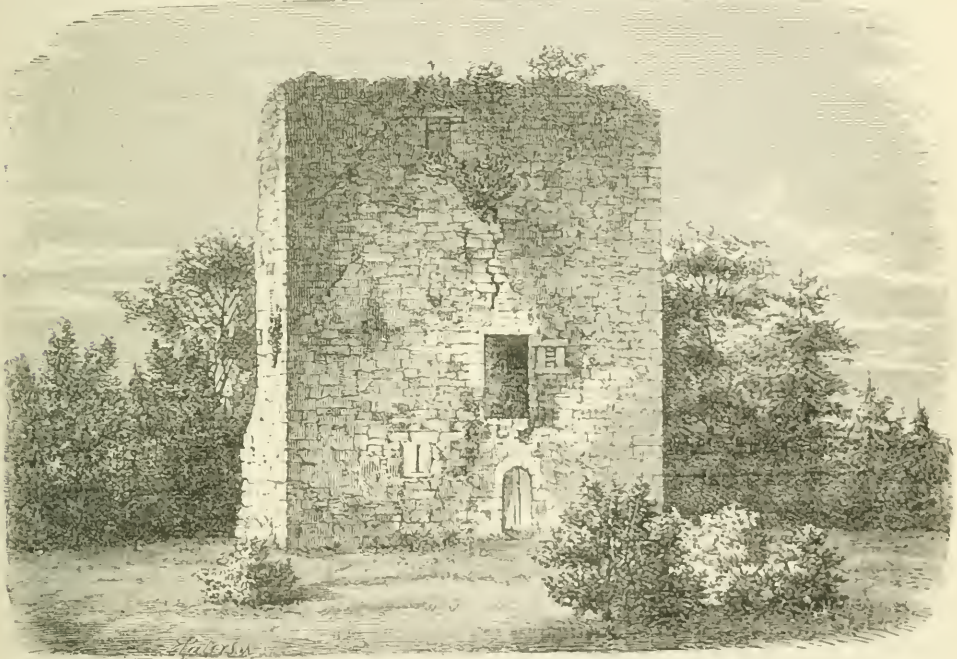
Sir Humphry died in 1718, and was succeeded in his estate and honours by James Grant, his son-in-law, under the name and designation of Sir James Colquhoun of Luss. He enjoyed that estate and title till the death of his elder brother, Brigadier Alexander Grant, in 1719, when, succeeding to the estate of Grant, he relinquished the name and title of Colquhoun of Luss, and resumed his own, retaining the baronetcy, it being by the last patent vested in his person. He died in 1747.

By the said Anne, his wife, he had a

numerous family. His eldest son, Humphry Colquhoun, subsequently Humphry Grant of Grant, died unmarried in 1732. The second son, Ludovick, became Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant, baronet, while the fourth son James succeeded as Sir James Colquhoun of Luss, the third son having died in infancy. He is the amiable and very polite gentleman described by Smollett in his novel of *Humphry Clinker*, under the name of "Sir George Colquhoun, a colonel in the Dutch service." He married Lady Helen Sutherland, daughter of William Lord Strathnaver, son of the Earl of Sutherland, and by her he had three sons and five daughters. In 1777 he founded the town of Helensburgh on the frith of Clyde, and named it after his wife. To put an end to some disputes which had arisen with regard to the destination of the

old patent of the Nova Scotia baronetcy, (John Colquhoun of Tillyquhoun, as the eldest cadet, having, on the death of his cousin-german, Sir Humphry Colquhoun, in 1718, assumed the title as heir male of his grand father, the patentee), Sir James was, in 1786, created a baronet of Great Britain. His second youngest daughter, Margaret, married William Baillie, a lord of session, under the title of Lord Polkemmet, and was the mother of Sir William Baillie, baronet. Sir James died in November 1786.

His eldest son, Sir James Colquhoun, second baronet under the new patent, sheriff-depute of Dumbartonshire, was one of the principal clerks of session. By his wife, Mary, daughter and co-heir of James Falconer, Esq. of Monk-town, he had seven sons and four daughters. He died in 1805. His eldest son, Sir James,



Old Rossdhu Castle, from the *Chiefs of the Colquhouns*.

third baronet, was for some time M.P. for Dumbartonshire. He married, on 13th June 1799, his cousin Janet, daughter of Sir John Sinclair, baronet, and had three sons and two daughters. Of this lady, who died October 21, 1846, and who was distinguished for her piety and benevolence, a memoir exists by the late Rev. James Hamilton, D.D., London.

"Some time after Sir James' succession," says Mr Fraser, to whose book on the Colquhouns we have been much indebted in this account, "significant testimony was given that the ancient feud between his family and that of the Macgregors, which had frequently led to such disastrous results to both, had given place to feelings of hearty goodwill and friendship."

On an invitation from Sir James and Lady Colquhoun, Sir John Murray Macgregor and Lady Macgregor came on a visit to Rossdhu. The two baronets visited Glenfruin. They were accompanied by Lady Colquhoun and Misses Helen and Catherine Colquhoun. After the battlefield had been carefully inspected by the descendants of the combatants, Sir J. M. Macgregor insisted on shaking hands with Sir James Colquhoun and the whole party on the spot where it was supposed that the battle had been hottest. On the occasion of the same visit to Rossdhu, the party ascended Ben Lomond, which dominates so grandly over Loch Lomond. On the summit of this lofty mountain, Sir John M. Macgregor danced a Highland reel with Miss Catherine Colquhoun, afterwards Mrs Millar of Earnoch. Sir John was then fully eighty years of age."

His eldest son, Sir James Colquhoun, the fourth baronet of the new creation, and the eighth of the old patent, succeeded on his father's death, 3d Feb. 1836; chief of the Colquhouns of Luss; Lord-lieutenant of Dumbartonshire, and M.P. for that county from 1837 to 1841. He married in June 1843, Jane, daughter of Sir Robert Abercromby of Birkenbog. She died 3d May 1844, leaving one son, James, born in 1844. He, as fifth baronet, succeeded his father, who was drowned in Loch Lomond, December 18, 1873.

The family mansion, Ross-dhu, is situated on a beautiful peninsula. To the possessions of the family of Colquhoun was added in 1852 the estate of Ardincaple, purchased from the Duchess Dowager of Argyll. According to Mr Fraser, the three baronets of Luss, before Sir James, purchased up no less than fourteen lairdships.

Robert, a younger son of Sir Robert Colquhoun of that ilk, who married the heiress of Luss, was the first of the Colquhouns of Camstrodden, which estate, with the lands of Achirgahan, he obtained by charter, dated 4th July 1395, from his brother Sir Humphry. Sir James Colquhoun, third baronet, purchased in 1826 that estate from the hereditary proprietor, and re-annexed it to the estate of Luss.

The Killermont line, originally of Garscadden, is a scion of the Camstrodden branch.

FORBES.



BADGE—Broom.

Although there is great doubt as to the Celtic or at least Gaelic origin of the FORBES clan, still, as it was one of the most powerful and influential of the northern clans, it may claim a notice here. "The Forbes Family and following," says Smibert, "ranked early among the strongest on the north-eastern coast of Scotland; and no one can reasonably doubt but that the ancient Pictish Gael of the region in question constituted a large proportion (if not of the Forbeses, at least) of the followers of the house."

The traditions regarding the origin of the surname of Forbes are various; and some of them very fanciful. The principal of these, referred to by Sir Samuel Forbes in his "View of the diocese of Aberdeen" (MS. quoted by the Statistical Account of Scotland, art. Tullynessle and Forbes), states that this name was first assumed by one Ochonchar, from Ireland, who having slain a ferocious bear in that district, took the name of Forbear, now spelled and pronounced Forbes, in two syllables; although the English, in pronunciation, make it only one. In consequence of this feat the Forbeses carry in their arms three bears' heads. A variation of this story says that the actor in this daring exploit was desirous of exhibiting his courage to the young and beautiful heiress of the adjacent castle, whose name being Bess, he, on receiving her hand as his reward, assumed it

to commemorate his having killed the bear for "Bess." Another tradition states that the name of the founder of the family was originally Bois, a follower of an early Scottish king, and that on granting him certain lands for some extraordinary service, his majesty observed that they were "for Boice." The surname, however, is territorial, and said to be Celtic, from the Gaelic word *Ferbash* or *Ferbasach*, a bold man.

"On the whole," says Smibert, "the traditions of the family, as well as other authorities, countenance with unusual strength, the belief, that the heads of the Forbeses belonged really to the Irish branch, and were among those strangers of that race whom the Lowland kings planted in the north and north-east of Scotland to overawe the remaining primary population of Gaelic Picts."

According to Skene, in his treatise *De Verborum Significatione*, Duncan Forbois got from King Alexander (but which of the three kings of that name is not mentioned) a charter of the lands and heritage of Forbois in Aberdeenshire, whence the surname. In the reign of King William the Lion, John de Forbes possessed the lands of that name. His son, Fergus de Forbes, had a charter of the same from Alexander, Earl of Buchan, about 1236. Next of this race are Duncan de Forbes, his son, 1262, and Alexander de Forbes, grandson, governor of Urquhart Castle in Moray, which he bravely defended for a long time, in 1304, against Edward I. of England; but on its surrender all within the castle were put to the sword, except the wife of the governor, who escaped to Ireland, and was there delivered of a posthumous son. This son, Sir Alexander de Forbes, the only one of his family remaining, came to Scotland in the reign of Robert the Bruce, and his patrimonial inheritance of Forbes having been bestowed upon others, he obtained a grant of other lands instead. He was killed at the battle of Duplin, in 1332, fighting valiantly on the side of King David, the son of Bruce. From his son, Sir John de Forbes, 1373, all the numerous families in Scotland who bear the name and their offshoots, trace their descent.¹

Sir John's son, Sir Alexander de Forbes (curiously said to be posthumous like the above Alexander), acquired from Thomas, Earl of Mar, several lands in Aberdeenshire, the grant of which King Robert II. ratified by charter in the third year of his reign. By King Robert III. he was appointed justiciary of Aberdeen, and coroner of that county. He died in 1405. By his wife, a daughter of Kennedy of Dunure, he had four sons, namely—Sir Alexander, his successor, the first Lord Forbes; Sir William, ancestor of the Lords Pitsligo; Sir John, who obtained the thanedom of Formartine (which now gives the title of viscount to the Earl of Aberdeen) and the lands of Tolquhoun, by his marriage with Marjory, daughter and heiress of Sir Henry Preston of Formartine, knight (of the Dingwall family), and was ancestor of the Forbeses of Tolquhoun, Foveran, Watertoun, Culloden, and others of the name; and Alexander, founder of the family of Brux, and others.

Alexander, the elder son, was created a peer of parliament sometime after 1436. The precise date of creation is not known, but in a precept, directed by James II. to the lords of the exchequer, dated 12th July 1442, he is styled Lord Forbes. He died in 1448. By his wife, Lady Elizabeth (sometimes called Lady Mary) Douglas, only daughter of George, Earl of Angus, and grand-daughter of King Robert II., he had two sons and three daughters.

James, the elder son, second Lord Forbes, was knighted by King James III. He died soon after 1460. By his wife, Lady Egidia Keith, second daughter of the first Earl Marischal, he had three sons and a daughter, namely—William, third Lord Forbes; Duncan, of Corsindae, ancestor (by his second son) of the Forbeses of Monymusk; and Patrick, the first of the family of Corse, progenitor of the Forbeses, baronets, of Craigievar, and of the Irish Earls of Granard. The daughter, Egidia, became the wife of Malcolm Forbes of Tolquhoun.

William, third Lord Forbes, married Lady Christian Gordon, third daughter of Alexander, first Earl of Huntly, and had, with a daughter, three sons, Alexander, fourth lord; Arthur, fifth lord; and John, sixth lord.

¹ Low's *Scot. Heroes*, App.

Alexander, fourth lord, died, while yet young, before 16th May 1491.

Arthur, fifth Lord Forbes, succeeded his brother, and being under age at the time, he was placed as one of the king's wards, under the guardianship of John, Lord Glamis, whose daughter he had married, but he died soon after his accession to the title, without children.

His next brother, John, became sixth Lord Forbes, before 30th October 1496, at which date he is witness to a charter. The sixth lord died in 1547. He was thrice married, first, to Lady Catherine Stewart, second daughter of John, Earl of Athole, uterine brother of King James II., and by her he had a son John, who died young, and a daughter, Elizabeth, married to John Grant of Grant; secondly, to Christian, daughter of Sir John Lundin of that ilk, by whom he had two sons and four daughters; and, thirdly, to Elizabeth Berlow or Barclay, relict of the first Lord Elphinstone, killed at Flodden in 1513, by whom he had a son, Arthur Forbes of Putachie, and a daughter, Janet, who was also thrice married.

The elder son of the second marriage, John, the Master of Forbes above mentioned, is stated to have been a young man of great courage and good education, but of a bold and turbulent spirit. He was beheaded for treason, on the 17th of July 1537.

After the execution of the Master, the king (James V.) seems to have been anxious to compensate the family for his severity towards them, by admitting his next brother, William, into his favour. He restored to him his brother's honours and estates, and in 1539, appointed him one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber. This William succeeded his father in 1547, as seventh Lord Forbes, and died in 1593. He had married Elizabeth Keith, daughter and coheir, with her sister, Margaret, Countess Marischal, of Sir William Keith of Inverugie, and had by her six sons and eight daughters. The sons were, John, eighth Lord Forbes; William, of Foderhouse; James, of Lethendy; Robert, prior of Monymusk; Arthur of Logie, called from his complexion, "Black Arthur;" and Abraham, of Blacktoun.

John, eighth Lord Forbes, was one of the five noblemen appointed by commission from the king, dated 25th July 1594, lieutenants of the northern counties, for the suppression of the rebellion of the popish Earls of Huntly and Errol. His lordship was served heir to his mother 13th November 1604, and died soon afterwards. He had married, while still Master of Forbes, Lady Margaret Gordon, eldest daughter of George, fourth Earl of Huntly, and had, with a daughter named Jean, a son, John, who, being educated in the faith of his mother, entered a religious order on the continent, and died without succession. This lady Lord Forbes repudiated, and in consequence a sanguinary contest took place in 1572, in the parish of Clatt, Aberdeenshire, between the two rival clans of Forbes and Gordon. The latter, under the command of two of the earl's brothers, attacked the Forbeses, within a rude intrenchment which they had formed on the white hill of Tillyangus, in the south-western extremity of the parish, and after a severe contest the Gordons prevailed, having carried the intrenchment, and slain the Master's brother, "Black Arthur." The pursuit of the Forbeses was continued to the very gates of Druminner, the seat of their chief. A number of cairns are still pointed out where those slain on this occasion are said to have been buried. The eighth Lord Forbes took for his second wife, Janet, daughter of James Seton of Touch, and had, besides Arthur, ninth lord, another son, and a daughter.

Arthur, ninth lord, married on 1st February 1600, Jean, second daughter of Alexander, fourth Lord Elphinstone. He was succeeded by his only surviving son, Alexander, tenth Lord Forbes, who fought against the imperialists under the banner of the lion of the north, the renowned Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, in whose service he attained the rank of lieutenant-general, and won for himself a high military reputation. On his return home, he had a considerable command in the army sent from Scotland to suppress the Irish rebellion in 1643. He afterwards retired to Germany, where he spent the remainder of his days. He was twice married—first, to Anne, eldest daughter of Sir John Forbes of Pitsligo, by whom he had,

besides several children, who died young, a son, William, eleventh Lord Forbes; and secondly, to Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Forbes of Rires, in Fife, and by her had a large family.

William, eleventh Lord Forbes, died in 1691. He was thrice married, but had issue only by his first wife, Jean, a daughter of Sir John Campbell of Calder.

His eldest son, William, twelfth Lord Forbes, was a zealous supporter of the revolution. In 1689 he was sworn a privy councillor to King William. He died in July 1716. By his wife, Anne, daughter of James Brodie of Brodie, he had three sons and one daughter.

William, the eldest son, thirteenth Lord Forbes, married, in September 1720, Dorothy, daughter of William Dale, Esq. of Covent Garden, Westminster. He died at Edinburgh 26th June 1730. He had a son, Francis, fourteenth lord, who died in August 1734, in the thirteenth year of his age, and four daughters, one of whom, Jean, was married to James Dundas of Dundas, and another, the youngest, Elizabeth, married John Gregory, M.D., professor of the practice of medicine in the university of Edinburgh, and was the mother of the celebrated Dr James Gregory.

James, second son of the twelfth lord, succeeded his nephew, as fifteenth Lord Forbes, and died at Putachie, 20th February 1761, in the 73d year of his age. He married, first, Mary, daughter of the third Lord Pitsligo, widow of John Forbes of Monymusk, and grandmother of the celebrated Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo, baronet, and had a son, James, sixteenth Lord Forbes, and three daughters; secondly, in July 1741, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Gordon of Park, baronet.

James, sixteenth lord, died at Edinburgh 29th July 1804, in the 80th year of his age. By his wife Catherine, only daughter of Sir Robert Innes, baronet, of Orton and Balvenie, he had four sons and two daughters.

James Ochonear Forbes, seventeenth lord, the eldest son, born 7th March 1765, entered the army in 1781, as ensign in the Coldstream regiment of foot guards, in which he was an officer for twenty-six years, holding important positions, and doing good service for his country. He died 4th May 1843. By his

wife, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Walter Hunter of Polmoor, Peeblesshire, and Crailing, Roxburghshire, he had six sons and four daughters. The estate of Polmoor had been the subject of litigation for nearly fifty years in the Court of Session and House of Lords, but it was ultimately decided that an old man named Adam Hunter, who laid claim to it, had not established his pedigree. It consequently came into the possession of Lady Forbes. His lordship's eldest son, James, a lieutenant-colonel in the Coldstream guards, predeceased his father in 1825.

Walter, the second son, born 29th May 1798, became eighteenth Lord Forbes, on his father's death in 1843. He was twice married, and had in all eight sons and one daughter. He died in May 1868, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Horace Courtenay, born in 1829.

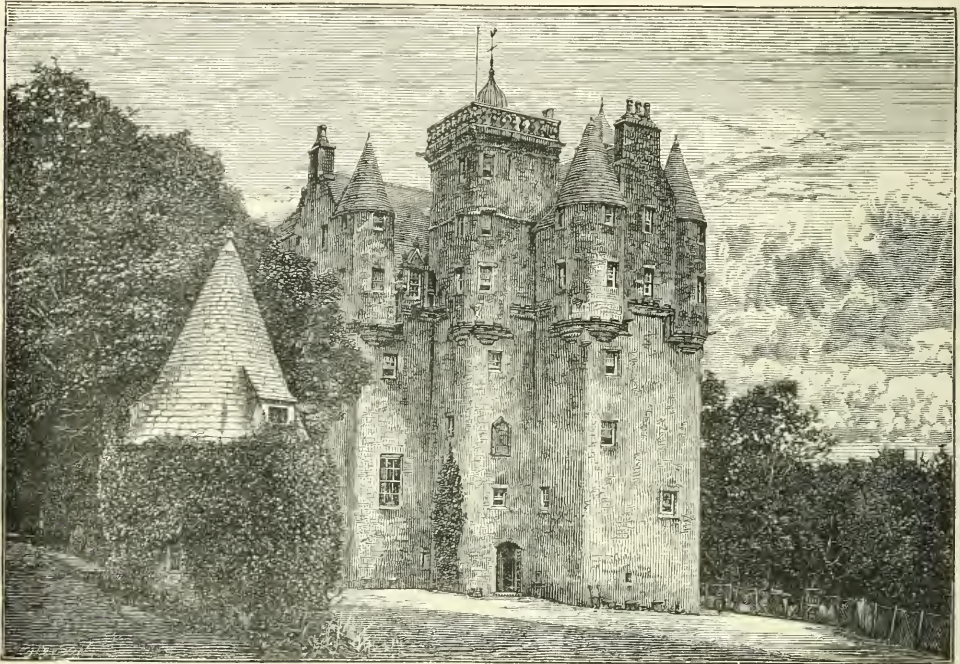
Lord Forbes is the premier baron of Scotland, being the first on the union roll. He is also a baronet of Nova Scotia, the date of creation being 1628.

The Forbeses of *TOLQUHOUN*, ancient cadets of this family, one of whom fell at the battle of Pinkie, 10th September 1547, are descended from Sir John Forbes, third son of Sir John Forbes, justiciary of Aberdeen in the reign of Robert III., are now represented by James Forbes Leith, Esq. of Whitehaugh, in the same county.

The Forbeses of *CRAIGIEVAR* (also in Aberdeenshire), who possess a baronetcy, descend from the Hon. Patrick Forbes of Corse, armour-bearer to King James III., and third son, as already stated, of James, second Lord Forbes. The lands of Corse, which formed part of the barony of Coul and O'Nele or O'Neil, were in 1476 bestowed on this Patrick, for his services, by that monarch, and on 10th October 1482 he had a charter of confirmation under the great seal, of the barony of O'Neil, namely, the lands of Coule, Kineraigy, and le Cors. In 1510 his son and successor, David, called "Trail the Axe," had a charter of the lands of O'Nele, Cors, Kineraigy, le Mureton, with the mill and alehouse thereof (the lands of Coul being now disjoined therefrom), and uniting and incorporating them into a hail and free barony, "cum furca, fossa, pitt et gallous," &c., to be

called the barony of O'Neil in all time coming. He married Elizabeth, sister of Panter of Newmanswells, near Montrose, secretary of state to James IV., and had a son, Patrick of O'Neil

Corse, infeft in 1554. Patrick's eldest son, William, infeft in January 1567, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Alexander Strachan of Thornton, had six sons and five daughters.



Craigievar Castle.

His eldest son, Patrick Forbes of Corse and O'Neil, was bishop of Aberdeen for seventeen years, and died in 1635. The bishop's male line failing with his grandchildren, the family estates devolved on the descendants of his next brother, William Forbes of Craigievar, the first of that branch.

His eldest son, William, was created a baronet of Nova Scotia, 20th April 1630, with a grant of sixteen thousand acres in New Brunswick, erected into a free barony and regality, to be called New Craigievar.

Sir William's son, Sir John, second baronet, married Margaret, a daughter of Young of Auldbar, and had six sons and three daughters.

His grandson, Sir Arthur, fourth baronet, represented the county of Aberdeen in parliament from 1727 to 1747. Sir Arthur was the bosom friend of Sir Andrew Mitchell, British ambassador to Frederick the Great of Prussia, who left to Sir Arthur the bulk of his

property, including his valuable library, and his estate of Thainston.

His son, Sir William, fifth baronet, born in 1753, by his wife, the Hon. Sarah Sempill, daughter of the twelfth Lord Sempill, had four sons and seven daughters.

His son, Sir Arthur, sixth baronet, was for some time an officer in the 7th hussars. He died unmarried in 1823, and was succeeded by his brother, Sir John, seventh baronet, born in 1785. He was a judge in the Hon. East India company's service, and married in September 1825, the Hon. Charlotte Elizabeth, daughter of the 17th Lord Forbes, and had two sons and six daughters. He died 16th February 1846.

The elder son, Sir William, born May 20, 1836, succeeded as eighth baronet. In 1858 he married the only daughter of Sir Charles Forbes, Bart., of Newe and Edinglassie. He married, secondly, in November 1862, Frances

Emily, youngest daughter of the late Sir George Abercromby, Bart. of Birkenbog, and has issue several sons.

The family of Forbes of PITSLIGO and FETTERCAIRN, which possesses a baronetcy, is descended from Hon. Duncan Forbes of Corsindae, second son of the second Lord Forbes.

The family of Forbes of NEWE and EDINGLASSIE, which also possesses a baronetcy, is descended from William Forbes of Dauch and Newe, younger son of Sir John Forbes, knight, who obtained a charter of the barony of Pitsligo and Kinnaldie, 10th October 1476, and whose elder son, Sir John Forbes, was the progenitor of Alexander Forbes, created Lord Forbes of Pitsligo, 24th June 1633, a title attained in the person of Alexander, fourth lord, for his participation in the rebellion of 1745. John Forbes of Bellabeg, the direct descendant of the said William of Dauch, was born at Bellabeg in September 1743. In early life he went to Bombay, and engaging in mercantile pursuits, became one of the most extensive and distinguished merchants in India. Having realised a large fortune he repurchased Newe, the estate of his ancestors, besides other lands in Strathdon, and the whole of his rental was laid out in improvements. He died 20th June 1821, and was succeeded by his nephew, Sir Charles Forbes, eldest son of the Rev. George Forbes of Lochell, by his wife, Katharine, only daughter of Gordon Stewart of Inveraurie. He was created a baronet, 4th November 1823. He sat in parliament for upwards of twenty years. In 1833 he was served nearest male heir in general to Alexander, third Lord Pitsligo, by a jury at Aberdeen, and the same year he obtained the authority of the Lord Lyon to use the Pitsligo arms and supporters. He died 20th November 1849, and was succeeded by his grandson, Sir Charles, second baronet, born 15th July 1832, on whose death, unmarried, 23d May 1852, the title devolved on his uncle, Sir Charles Forbes, third baronet, born at Bombay 21st September 1803, and educated at Harrow school.

The first of the Forbeses of CULLODEN,² Inverness-shire, was Duncan Forbes, great-

grandfather of the celebrated Lord President Forbes, descended from the noble family of Forbes through that of Tolquhoun, and by the mother's side from that of Keith, Earl Marischal. He was M.P. and provost of Inverness, and purchased the estate of Culloden from the laird of Mackintosh in 1626. He died in 1654, aged 82.

Duncan Forbes, the first of Culloden, married Janet, eldest daughter of James Forbes of Corsindae, also descended from the noble family at the head of the clan, and had, with two daughters, three sons, namely, John, his heir, Captain James Forbes of Caitliness, and Captain Duncan Forbes of Assynt.

John Forbes of Culloden, the eldest son, was also provost of Inverness. He was the friend and supporter of the Marquis of Argyll, and from his strong support of Presbyterian principles he suffered much in the reign of Charles II. and his brother James. About the year 1670, his landed estate was doubled by the purchase of the barony of Ferintosh and the estate of Bunchrew. As a compensation for the loss which the family had sustained during the revolution, his eldest son and successor, Duncan Forbes, third of Culloden, received from the Scots parliament the privilege of distilling into spirits the grain of the barony of Ferintosh, at a nominal composition of the duty, which remained the same, after the spirits distilled in other parts of the country were subjected to a comparatively heavy excise; hence Ferintosh became renowned for its whisky. The privilege was taken away in 1785. By his wife, Mary, daughter of Sir Robert Innes, of Innes, in Morayshire, baronet, he had two sons, John, and Duncan, Lord President, and several daughters.

John, the fourth laird of Culloden, took an active part on the side of government on the breaking out of the rebellion of 1715, and, with the afterwards celebrated Lord Lovat, narrowly escaped being apprehended at Aberdeen by Lord Saltoun, in command of the Jacobite forces there. Both he and his brother Duncan were engaged in putting down the insurrection in Inverness-shire. In those convivial times he so much excelled most of his friends in the quantity of claret that he could

² See view of Culloden House, vol. i. p. 657.

drink, that he was distinguished by the name of Bumper John. Dying without issue in 1734, he was succeeded by his only brother, Duncan,¹ the celebrated Lord President, whose only child, John Forbes, the sixth of Culloden, showed, when young, says Mr Burton, "the convivial spirit of his race, without their energy and perseverance." He lived retired at Stradishall, in Suffolk, and by economy and judicious management succeeded in some measure in retrieving the losses which his father had sustained in the public service, and which, with the utmost ingratitude, the government, which his exertions and outlay had mainly helped to establish, refused to acknowledge or compensate. John Forbes died 26th September 1772. He was twice married—first to Jane, daughter of Sir Arthur Forbes of Craigievar, baronet, by whom he had two sons, Duncan, who died before him, and Arthur, his successor; and, secondly, Jane, daughter of Captain Forbes of Newe, without issue.

Arthur, seventh laird, died 26th May 1803, and was succeeded by his only son, Duncan George, who died 3d November 1827, when his eldest son, Arthur, born 25th January 1819, became the ninth laird of Culloden.

There are many other families of this name, but want of space forbids us entering into further details.

URQUHART.



BADGE—Wall-flower.

URQUHART, or URCHARD, is the name of a

¹ See portrait, vol. i., p. 679. Details concerning this true patriot and upright judge will be found in the account of the rebellion of 1745.

minor clan (*Urachlun*), originally settled in Cromarty (badge, the wall-flower), a branch of the clan Forbes. Nisbet says,—“A brother of Ochonchar, who slew the bear, and was predecessor of the Lords Forbes, having, in keeping the castle of Urquhart, took his surname from the place.” This castle stood on the south side of Loch Ness, and was in ancient times a place of great strength and importance, as is apparent from its extensive and magnificent ruins. In that fabulous work, “The true pedigree and lineal descent of the most ancient and honourable family of Urquhart, since the creation of the world, by Sir Thomas Urquhart, Knight of Cromartie,” the origin of the family and name is ascribed to *Ourohartos*, that is, “fortunate and well-beloved,” the familiar name of Esormon, of whom the eccentric author describes himself as the 128th descendant. He traces his pedigree, in a direct line, even up to Adam and Eve, and somewhat inconsistently makes the word *Urquhart* have the same meaning as *Adam*, namely, *red earth*.

The family of Urquhart is one of great antiquity. In Hailes' *Annals*, it is mentioned that Edward I. of England, during the time of the competition for the Scottish crown, ordered a list of the sheriffs in Scotland to be made out. Among them appears the name of William Urquhart of Cromartie, heritable sheriff of the county. He married a daughter of Hugh, Earl of Ross, and his son Adam obtained charters of various lands. A descendant of his, Thomas Urquhart of Cromartie, who lived in the 16th century, is said to have been father of 11 daughters and 25 sons. Seven of the latter fell at the battle of Pinkie in 1547, and from another descended the Urquharts of Newhall, Monteagle, Kinbeachie, and Braelangwell.

The eldest son, Alexander Urquhart of Cromartie, had a charter from James V. of the lands of Inch Rory and others, in the shires of Ross and Inverness, dated March 7, 1532. He had two sons. The younger son, John Urquhart, born in 1547, became tutor to his grand-nephew Sir Thomas Urquhart, and was well known afterwards by the designation of the “Tutor of Cromartie.” He died November 8, 1631, aged 84.

Sir Thomas, the family genealogist, is

chiefly known as the translator of *Rabelais*. He appears to have at one period travelled much on the continent. He afterwards became a cavalier officer, and was knighted by Charles I. at Whitehall. After that monarch's decapitation, he accompanied Charles II. in his march into England, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Worcester in 1651, when his estates were forfeited by Cromwell. He wrote several elaborate works, but the most creditable is his translation of *Rabelais*. Such, notwithstanding, was the universality of his attainments, that he deemed himself capable of enlightening the world on many things never "dreamed of in the philosophy" of ordinary mortals. "Had I not," he says, "been pluck'd away by the importunity of my creditors, I would have emitted to public view above five hundred several treatises on inventions, never hitherto thought upon by any." The time and place of his death are unknown. There is a tradition that he died of an inordinate fit of laughter, on hearing of the restoration of Charles II. The male line ended in Colonel James Urquhart, an officer of much distinction, who died in 1741. The representation of the family devolved on the Urquharts of Braclangwell, which was sold (with the exception of a small portion, which is strictly entailed) by Charles Gordon Urquhart, Esq., an officer in the Scots Greys. The Urquharts of Meldrum, Aberdeenshire, obtained that estate through the marriage, in 1610, of their ancestor, John Urquhart of Craighntry, tutor of Cromarty, with Elizabeth Seton, heiress of Meldrum. The Urquharts of Craigston, and a few more families of the name, still possess estates in the north of Scotland; and persons of this surname are still numerous in the counties of Ross and Cromarty. In Ross-shire, Inverness-shire, and Morayshire, there are parishes of the name of Urquhart.

CHAPTER IX.

Stewart—Stewart of Lorn—Appin—Balquhiddier—"Donald of the hammer"—Stewarts of Athole—Grandtully—Baleaskie—Drumin—Ardvoirlich—Steuart of Dalguise—Ballechin—Fraser—Fraser of Philorth—Lovat—Ballyfurth and Ford—Beaufort—Castle Fraser—American Frasers—Menzies—Castle Menzies—Pitfoddels—Chisholm—Cronlix or Cronleck—Murray—Athole—Tullibardine—Ochertyre—Drummond—Bellyclone—Grame or Graham—Kineardine—Earl of Montrose—Gordon—Earl of Huntly—Duke of Gordon—"The Cock of the North"—Cumming—Ogilvy—Ferguson.

It now only remains for us to notice shortly several of those families, which, though generally admitted not to be of Celtic origin, yet have a claim, for various important reasons, to be classed among the Highland clans. Most of them have been so long established in the Highlands, they have risen to such power and played such an important part in Highland history, their followers are so numerous and so essentially Gaelic in their blood and manners, that any notice of the Highland clans would be incomplete without an account of these. We refer to the names of Stewart, Fraser, Menzies, Chisholm, and several others. To the uninitiated the three last have as genuine a Gaelic ring about them as any patronymic rejoicing in the unmistakable prefix "Mac."

STEWART.

It is not our intention here by any means to enter into the general history of the Stewarts—which would be quite beyond our province, even if we had space—but simply to give a short account of those branches of the family which were located in the Highlands, and to a certain extent were regarded as Highland clans. With regard to the origin of the Stewarts generally, we shall content ourselves with making use of Mr Fraser's excellent summary in the introduction to his "*Red Book of Grandtully*."

Walter, the son of Alan or Fitz-Alan, the founder of the royal family of the Stewarts, being the first of that family who established himself in Scotland, came from Shropshire, in England. Walter's elder brother, William, was progenitor of the family of Fitz-Alan, Earls of Arundel. Their father, a Norman, married, soon after the Norman Conquest, the daughter

of Warine, sheriff of Shropshire. He acquired the manor of Ostvestrie or Oswestry in Shropshire, on the Welsh border. On the death of Henry I. of England, in 1135, Walter and William strenuously supported the claims of the Empress Maud, thus raising themselves high in the favour of her uncle, David I., king of the Scots. When that king, in 1141, was obliged to retire to Scotland, Walter probably then accompanied him, encouraged, on the part of the Scottish monarch, by the most liberal promises, which were faithfully fulfilled; whilst his brother William remained in England, and was rewarded by Maud's son, Henry II. of England. From the munificence of King David I. Walter obtained large grants of land in Renfrewshire and in other places, together with the hereditary office *Senescallus Scocie*, lord high-steward of Scotland, an office from which his grandson, Walter, took the name of Stewart, which the family ever afterwards retained. King Malcolm IV., continuing, after the example of his grandfather, King David, to extend the royal favour towards this English emigrant, confirmed and ratified to Walter and his heirs the hereditary office of high steward of Scotland, and the numerous lands which King David I. had granted. In the annals of the period, Walter is celebrated as the founder, probably about 1163, of the monastery of Paisley, in the barony of Renfrew. At or after the time of his establishing himself in Scotland, Walter was followed to that kingdom by many English families from Shropshire, who, settling in Renfrewshire, obtained lands there as vassals of the Stewarts. Walter married Eschina de Londonia, Lady of Moll, in Roxburghshire, by whom he had a son, Alan; and dying in 1177, he was succeeded in his estates and office as hereditary steward of Scotland by that son.

Having thus pointed out the true origin of the family of the Stewarts, our subject does not require us to trace the subsequent history of the main line.

Walter's son and successor, Alan, died in 1204, leaving a son, Walter, who was appointed by Alexander II. justiciary of Scotland, in addition to his hereditary office of high-steward. He died in 1246, leaving four sons and three daughters. Walter, the third

son, was Earl of Menteith. The eldest son, Alexander, married Jean, daughter and heiress of James, lord of Bute, and, in her right, he seized both the Isle of Bute and that of Arran.

Alexander had two sons—James, his successor, and John, known as Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, who fell at the battle of Falkirk in 1298. Sir John Stewart had seven sons. 1. Sir Alexander, ancestor of the Stewarts, Earls of Angus; 2. Sir Alan of Dreghorn, of the Earls and Dukes of Lennox, of the name of Stewart; 3. Sir Walter, of the Earls of Galloway; 4. Sir James, of the Earls of Athole, Buchan, and Traquair, and the Lords of Lorn and Innermeath; 5. Sir John, killed at Halidonhill in 1333; 6. Sir Hugh, who fought in Ireland under Edward Bruce; 7. Sir Robert of Daldowie.

James, the elder son of Alexander, succeeded as fifth high-steward in 1283. On the death of Alexander III. in 1286, he was one of the six magnates of Scotland chosen to act as regents of the kingdom. He died in the service of Bruce, in 1309.

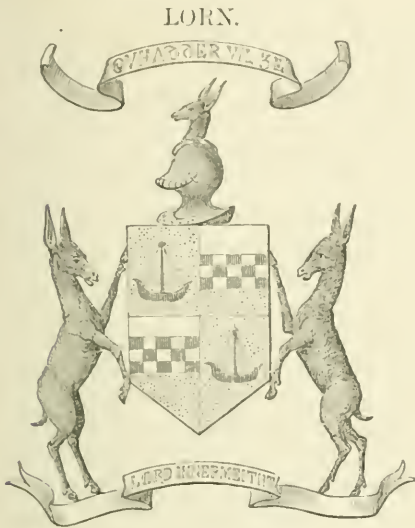
His son, Walter, the sixth high-steward, when only twenty-one years of age, commanded with Douglas the left wing of the Scots army at the battle of Bannockburn. King Robert bestowed his daughter, the Princess Marjory, in marriage upon him, and from them the royal house of Stuart and the present dynasty of Great Britain are descended.

His son, Robert, seventh lord-high-steward, had been declared heir presumptive to the throne in 1318, but the birth of a son to Bruce in 1326 interrupted his prospects for a time. From his grandfather he received large possessions of land in Kintyre. During the long and disastrous reign of David II. the steward acted a patriotic part in the defence of the kingdom. On the death of David, without issue, February 22d, 1371, the steward, who was at that time fifty five years of age, succeeded to the crown as Robert II., being the first of the family of Stewart who ascended the throne of Scotland.

The direct male line of the elder branch of the Stewarts terminated with James V., and at the accession of James VI., whose descent on his father's side was through the Earl of Lennox, the head of the second branch, there

did not exist a male offset of the family which had sprung from an individual later than Robert II. Widely as some branches of the Stewarts have spread, and numerous as are the families of this name, there is not a lineal male representative of any of the crowned heads of the race, Henry, Cardinal Duke of York,² who died in 1807, having been the last.

The male representation or chiefship of the family is claimed by the Earl of Galloway; as also, by the Stewarts of Castlemilk.



Badge—Oak or Thistle.

The first and principal seat of the Stewarts was in Renfrewshire, but branches of them penetrated into the Western Highlands and Perthshire, and acquiring territories there, became founders of distinct families of the name. Of these the principal were the Stewarts of LORN, the Stewarts of ATHOLE, and the Stewarts of BALQUHIDDER, from one or other of which all the rest have been derived. How the Stewarts of Lorn acquired that district is told in our account of clan Macdougall. The Stewarts of Lorn were descended from a natural son of John Stewart, the last Lord of Lorn, who, with the assistance of the MacLarens, retained forcible possession of part of his father's estates.

From this family sprang the Stewarts of Appin, who, with the Athole branches, were con-

sidered in the Highlands as forming the clan Stewart. The badge of the original Stewarts was the oak, and of the royal Stuarts the thistle.

In the end of the fifteenth century, the Stewarts of Appin were vassals of the Earl of Argyll in his lordship of Lorn. In 1493 the chief was Dougal Stewart, the natural son of John Stewart, the last Lord of Lorn, and Isabella, eldest daughter of the first Earl of Argyll. The assassination of Campbell of Calder, guardian of the young Earl of Argyll, in February 1592, caused a feud between the Stewarts of Appin and the Campbells, the effects of which were long felt. During the civil wars, the Stewarts of Appin ranged themselves under the banners of Montrose, and at the battle of Inverlochy, 2d February 1645, rendered good service. They and the cause which they upheld were opposed by the Campbells, who possessed the north side of the same parish, a small rivulet called *Con Ruagh*, or red bog, being the dividing line of their lands.

The Stewarts of Appin, under their chief, Robert Stewart, engaged in the rebellion of 1715, when they brought 400 men into the field. They were also "out" in 1745, under Stewart of Ardshiel, 300 strong; some lands in Appin were forfeited then, but were afterwards restored. The principal family is extinct, and their estate has passed to others, chiefly to a family of the name of Downie. There are still, however, many branches of this tribe remaining in Appin. The chief cadets are the families of Ardshiel, Invernahyle, Auchnacrone, Fasnacloich, and Bala-chulish.

Between the Stewarts of Invernahyle and the Campbells of Dunstaffnage there existed a bitter feud, and about the beginning of the sixteenth century the former family were all cut off but one child, the infant son of Stewart of Invernahyle, by the chief of Dunstaffnage, called *Cailein Uaine*, "Green Colin." The boy's nurse fled with him to Ardnamurchan, where her husband, the blacksmith of the district, resided. The latter brought him up to his own trade, and at sixteen years of age he could wield two forehammers at once, one in each hand, on the anvil, which acquired for him the name of *Domhnall nan ord*, "Donald

² See his portrait, vol. i. p. 745.

of the hammers." Having made a two-edged sword for him, his foster-father, on presenting it, told him of his birth and lineage, and of the event which was the cause of his being brought to Ardnamurchan. Burning with a desire for vengeance, Donald set off with twelve of his companions, for each of whom, at a smithy at Corpach in Lochaber, he forged a two-edged sword. He then proceeded direct to Dunstaffnage, where he slew Green Colin and fifteen of his retainers. Having recovered his inheritance, he ever after proved himself "the unconquered foe of the Campbell." The chief of the Stewarts of Appin being, at the time, a minor, Donald of the hammers was appointed tutor of the clan. He commanded the Stewarts of Appin at the battle of Pinkie in 1547, and on their return homewards from that disastrous field, in a famishing condition, they found in a house at the church of Port of Menteith, some fowls roasting for a marriage party. These they took from the spit, and greedily devoured. They then proceeded on their way. The Earl of Menteith, one of the marriage guests, on being apprised of the circumstance, pursued them, and came up with them at a place called Tobernareal. To a taunt from one of the earl's attendants, one of the Stewarts replied by an arrow through the heart. In the conflict that ensued, the earl fell by the ponderous arm of Donald of the hammers, and nearly all his followers were killed.³

The Stewarts of ATHOLE consist almost entirely of the descendants, by his five illegitimate sons, of Sir Alexander Stewart, Earl of Buchan, called, from his ferocity, "The wolf of Badenoch," the fourth son of Robert II., by his first wife, Elizabeth More. One of his natural sons, Duncan Stewart, whose disposition was as ferocious as his father's, at the head of a vast number of wild Catherans, armed only with the sword and target, descended from the range of hills which divides the counties of Aberdeen and Forfar, and began to devastate the country and murder the inhabitants. Sir Walter Ogilvy, sheriff of Angus, Sir Patrick Gray, and Sir David Lindsay of Glenesk, immediately collected a force to repel them, and a desperate conflict

took place at Gasklune, near the water of Isla, in which the former were overpowered, and most of them slain.

James Stewart, another of the Wolf of Badenoch's natural sons, was the ancestor of the family of Stewart of Garth, from which proceed almost all the other Athole Stewarts. The Garth family became extinct in the direct line, by the death of General David Stewart, author of "Sketches of the Highlanders." The possessions of the Athole Stewarts lay mainly on the north side of Loch Tay.

The Balquhiddier Stewarts derive their origin from illegitimate branches of the Albany family.

The Stewarts or Steuarts⁴ of GRANDTULLY, Perthshire, are descended from James Stewart of Pierston and Warwickhill, Ayrshire, who fell at Halidon Hill in 1333, fourth son of Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, son of Alexander, fourth lord-high-steward of Scotland, who died in 1283.

James Stewart's son was Sir Robert Stewart of Shambothy and Innermeath, whose son, Sir John Stewart, was the first of the Stewarts of Lorn. The fourth son of the latter, Alexander Stewart, was ancestor of the Stewarts of Grandtully. "On the resignation of his father, Sir John (apparently the first Stewart of Grandtully), he received a charter from Archibald, Earl of Douglas, of the lands of Grandtully, Kyttilich, and Aberfeldy, 30th March 1414. He married Margaret, sister of John Hay (?) of Tulliebodie."⁵

Of this family was Thomas Stewart of BALCASKIE, Fifeshire, a lord of session, created a baronet of Nova Scotia, June 2, 1683. He was cousin, through his father, of John Stewart, thirteenth of Grandtully, who died without issue in 1720, and was succeeded by Sir Thomas's son, Sir George Stewart, who also died without issue. He was succeeded by his brother, Sir John Stewart, third baronet, an officer of rank in the army, who married, 1st Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir James Mackenzie of Royston, and had by her an only surviving son, Sir John, fourth baronet; 2dly,

³ The History of Donald of the Hammers, written by Sir Walter Scott, will be found in the fifth edition of Captain Burt's Letters.

⁴ The late Sir William Stewart spelled his name with the *u*, though we are not aware that any of his ancestors did.

⁵ Fraser's *Red Book of Grandtully*.

Lady Jane Douglas, only daughter of James, Marquis of Douglas, and his son, by her, Archibald Stewart, after a protracted litigation, succeeded to the immense estates of his uncle, the last Duke of Douglas, and assuming that name, was created a peer of the United Kingdom, by the title of Baron Douglas. Sir John Stewart married, 3dly, Helen, a daughter of the fourth Lord Elibank, without issue. He died in 1764.

His son, Sir John, fourth baronet, died in 1797.

Sir John's eldest son, Sir George, fifth baronet, married Catherine, eldest daughter of John Drummond, Esq. of Logie Almond, and died in 1827, leaving five sons and two daughters.

The eldest son, Sir John, sixth baronet, died without issue, May 20, 1838.

His brother, Sir William Drummond Stewart, born December 26, 1795, succeeded as seventh baronet. He married in 1830, and had a son William George, captain 93d Highlanders, born in February 1831, and died October 1868. Sir William died April 28, 1871, and was succeeded by his youngest brother Archibald Douglas, born August 29, 1807.

The Stewarts of DRUMIN, Banffshire, now Belladrum, Inverness-shire, trace their descent from Sir Walter Stewart of Strathaven, knighted for his services at the battle of Harlaw in 1411, one of the illegitimate sons of the Wolf of Badenoch, and consequently of royal blood.

The Stewarts of ARDVOIRLICH, Perthshire, are descended from James Stewart, called James the Gross, fourth and only surviving son of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, beheaded in 1425. On the ruin of his family he fled to Ireland, where, by a lady of the name of Macdonald, he had seven sons and one daughter. James II. created Andrew, the eldest son, Lord Avandale.

James, the third son, ancestor of the Stewarts of Ardvoirlich, married Annabel, daughter of Buchanan of that ilk.

His son, William Stewart, who succeeded him, married Mariota, daughter of Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, and had several children. From one of his younger sons, John, the family of Stewart of Glenbuckie, and from another,

that of Stewart of Gartnaferan, both in Perthshire, were descended.

His eldest son, Walter Stewart, succeeded his father, and married Euphemia, daughter of James Reddoch of Cultobraggan, comptroller of the household of James IV.

His son, Alexander Stewart of Ardvoirlich, married Margaret, daughter of Drummond of Drummond Erinoch, and had two sons, James, his successor, and John, ancestor of the Perthshire families of Stewart of Annat, Stewart of Ballachallan, and Stewart of Craigtoun.

The family of Stewart of DALGUISIE, Perthshire, are descended from Sir John Stewart of Arntullie and Cardneys, also designed of Dowallie, the youngest natural son of King Robert II. of Scotland, by Marion or Mariota de Cardney, daughter of John de Cardney of that ilk, sister of Robert Cardney, bishop of Dunkeld from 1396 to 1436.

The Stewarts of BALLECHIN, in the same county, are descended from Sir John Stewart, an illegitimate son of King James II. of Scotland. Having purchased the lands of Sticks in Glenquaich from Patrick Cardney of that ilk, he got a charter of those lands from King James III., dated in December 1486. The family afterwards acquired the lands of Ballechin.

There are many other Stewart families throughout Scotland, but as we are concerned only with these which can be considered Highland, it would be beyond our province to notice any more. The spelling of this name seems very capricious: the royal spelling is Stuart, while most families spell it Stewart, and a few Stewart and Steuard. We have endeavoured always to give the spelling adhered to by the various families whom we have noticed.

FRASER.

The first of the surname of FRASER in Scotland was undoubtedly of Norman origin, and, it is not improbable, came over with William the Conqueror. The Chronicles of the Fraser family ascribe its origin to one Pierre Fraser, seigneur de Troile, who in the reign of Charlemagne, came to Scotland with the ambassadors from France to form a league with King Achaius; but this is, of course, fabulous. Their account of the

creation of their arms is equally incredible. According to their statement, in the reign of Charles the Simple of France, Julius de Berry, a nobleman of Bourbon, entertaining that monarch with a dish of fine strawberries was, for the same, knighted, the strawberry flowers, *fraises*, given him for his arms, and his name changed from de Berry to Fraiseur or Frizelle. They claim affinity with the family of the Duke de la Frezeliere, in France. The first of the name in Scotland is understood to have settled there in the reign of Malcolm Canmore, when surnames first began to be used, and although the Frasers afterwards became a powerful and numerous clan in Inverness-shire, their earliest settlements were in East Lothian and Tweeddale.

FRASER.



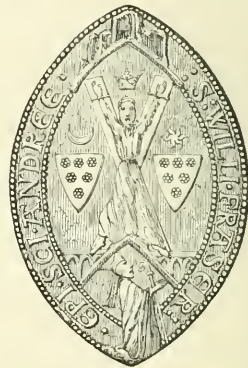
BADGE—Yew.

In the reign of David I., Sir Simon Fraser possessed half of the territory of Keith in East Lothian (from him called Keith Simon), and to the monks of Kelso he granted the church of Keith.

A member of the same family, Gilbert de Fraser, obtained the lands of North Hailes, also in East Lothian, as a vassal of the Earl of March and Dunbar, and is said to have been witness to a charter of Cospatruck to the monks of Coldstream, during the reign of Alexander I. He also possessed large estates in Tweeddale.

In the reign of Alexander II., the chief of the family was Bernard de Fraser, supposed to have been the grandson of the above-named Gilbert, by a third son, whose name is con-

jectured to have been Simon. Bernard was a frequent witness to the charters of Alexander II., and in 1234 was made sheriff of Stirling, an honour long hereditary in his family. By his talents he raised himself from being the vassal of a subject to be a tenant in chief to the king. He acquired the ancient territory of Oliver Castle, which he transmitted to his posterity. He was succeeded by his son Sir Gilbert Fraser, who was sheriff or vicecomes of Traquair during the reigns of Alexander II. and his successor. He had three sons: Simon, his heir; Andrew, sheriff of Stirling in 1291 and 1293; and William, chancellor of Scotland from 1274 to 1280, and bishop of St. Andrews from 1279 to his death in 1297.

Bishop Fraser's Seal. From Anderson's *Diplomata Scotica*.

Sir Simon Fraser, the eldest son, was a man of great influence and power. He possessed the lands of Oliver Castle, Niedpath Castle, and other lands in Tweeddale; and accompanied King Alexander II. in a pilgrimage to Iona, a short time previous to the death of that monarch. He was knighted by Alexander III., who, in the beginning of his reign, conferred on him the office of high sheriff of Tweeddale, which he held from 1263 to 1266. He died in 1291. He had an only son, Sir Simon Fraser, the renowned patriot, with whom may be said (in 1306) to have expired the direct male line of the south country Frasers, after having been the most considerable family in Peeblesshire during the Scoto-Saxon period of our history, from 1097 to 1306.

The male representation of the principal family of Fraser devolved, on the death of the

great Sir Simon, on the next collateral heir, his uncle, Sir Andrew, second son of Sir Gilbert Fraser, above mentioned. He is supposed to have died about 1308, surviving his renowned nephew, Sir Simon, only two years. He was, says the historian of the family,⁹ "the first of the name of Fraser who established an interest for himself and his descendants in the northern parts of Scotland, and more especially in Inverness-shire, where they have ever since figured with such renown and distinction." He married a wealthy heiress in the county of Caithness, then and for many centuries thereafter comprehended within the sheriffdom of Inverness, and in right of his wife he



Sir Alexander Fraser of Philorth, from Pinkerton's *Scottish Gallery*.

acquired a very large estate in the north of Scotland. He had four sons, namely—Simon, the immediate male ancestor of the Lords Lovat, and whose descendants and dependants (the clan Fraser), after the manner of the Celts, took the name of MacShimi, or sons of Simon; Sir Alexander, who obtained the estate of Touch, as the appanage of a younger son; and Andrew and James, slain with their brother, Simon, at the disastrous battle of Halidonhill, 22d July 1333.

⁹ Anderson's *History of the Fraser Family*.

The ancient family of the Frasers of PHILORRH in Aberdeenshire, who have enjoyed since 1669 the title of Lord Saltoun, is immediately descended from William, son of an Alexander Fraser, who flourished during the early part of the fourteenth century, and inherited from his father the estates of Cowie and Durris in Kincardineshire.

The proper Highland clan Fraser was that headed by the Lovat branch in Inverness-shire, as mentioned above.

Unlike the Aberdeenshire or Salton Frasers, the Lovat branch, the only branch of the Frasers that became Celtic, founded a tribe or clan, and all the natives of the purely Gaelic districts of the Aird and Stratherriek came to be called by their name. The Simpsons, "sons of Simon," are also considered to be descended from them, and the Tweedies of Tweeddale are supposed, on very plausible grounds, to have been originally Frasers. Logan's conjecture that the name of Fraser is a corruption of the Gaelic *Friosal*, from *frith*, a forest, and *siol*, a race, the *th* being silent (that is, the race of the forest), however pleasing to the clan as proving them an indigenous Gaelic tribe, may only be mentioned here as a mere fancy of his own.

Simon Fraser, the first of the Frasers of Lovat, fell at the battle of Halidon Hill, 19th July 1333. His son, Hugh Fraser of Lovat, had four sons; Alexander, who died unmarried; Hugh, created a lord of Parliament, under the title of Lord Fraser of Lovat; John, ancestor of the Frasers of Knock in Ayrshire; and another son, ancestor of the Frasers of Foyers.

Hugh, first Lord Lovat, was one of the hostages for James I., on his return to Scotland in 1424, and in 1431 he was appointed high sheriff of the county of Inverness. His son, also named Hugh, second Lord Lovat, was father of Thomas, third lord; Alexander, ancestor of the Frasers of Farnaline, the Frasers of Leadclune, baronets, and other families of the name; and James, ancestor of the Frasers of BALLYFURTH and FORD, of whom Major-General Simon Fraser, late of Ford, is the lineal male descendant and representative.

Thomas, third lord, held the office of justiciary of the north in the reign of James IV. and died 21st October 1524. He had four

sons: Thomas, master of Lovat, killed at Flodden, 9th September 1513, unmarried; Hugh, fourth Lord Lovat; Alexander, fifth lord; and William Fraser of Struy, ancestor of several families of the name in Inverness-shire.

Hugh, fourth lord, the queen's justiciary in the north, resigned his whole estates into the hands of King James V., and obtained from his majesty a new charter, dated 26th March 1539, uniting and incorporating them into the barony of Lovat, to him and the heirs male of his body, failing whom to his nearest lawful heirs male, bearing the name and arms of Fraser, and failing them to his heirs whatsoever. With his eldest son Hugh, Master of Lovat, he was killed in an engagement with the Macdonalds of Clanranald at Lochlochry, Inverness-shire, 2d June 1544.⁹ His brother, Alexander, fifth Lord Lovat, died in 1558. With one daughter, the latter had three sons: Hugh, sixth lord; Thomas, ancestor of the Frasers of Strichen, from whom Lord Lovat of Lovat is descended; and James of Ardochie.

Hugh, sixth Lord Lovat, had a son, Simon, seventh lord, who was twice married, and died 3d April 1633. By his first wife, Margaret, eldest daughter of Sir Colin Mackenzie of Kintail, he had two sons,—Simon, Master of Lovat, who predeceased him, without issue, and Hugh, eighth Lord Lovat, who died 16th February 1646. By a second wife, Jean Stewart, daughter of Lord Doune, he had Sir Simon Fraser, ancestor of the Frasers of Innerlochry; Sir James Fraser of Brae, and one daughter. Hugh, eighth lord, had, with three daughters, three sons, namely,—Simon, Master of Lovat, and Hugh, who both predeceased their father, the one in 1640 and the other in 1643, and Thomas Fraser of Beaufort, eleventh Lord Lovat. The second son, Hugh, styled after his elder brother's death, Master of Lovat, left a son Hugh, ninth lord, who succeeded his grandfather in February 1646, and married in July 1659, when a boy of sixteen years of age at college, Anne, second daughter of Sir John Mackenzie of Taret, baronet, sister of the first Earl of Cromarty, and by her had a son, Hugh, tenth lord, and three daughters.

Hugh, tenth lord, succeeded his father in 1672, and died in 1696, when Thomas Fraser of Beaufort, third son of the eighth lord, became eleventh Lord Lovat, but did not take the title. The tenth lord married Lady Amelia Murray, only daughter of the first Marquis of Athole, and had four daughters. His eldest daughter, Amelia, assumed the title of Baroness Lovat, and married in 1702, Alexander Mackenzie, younger of Prestonhall, who assumed the name of Fraser of Fraserdale. His son, Hugh Fraser, on the death of his mother, adopted the title of Lord Lovat, which, however, by decree of the Court of Session, 3d July 1730, was declared to belong to Simon, Lord Fraser of Lovat, as eldest lawful son of Thomas, Lord Fraser of Lovat, granduncle of the tenth lord. This judgment proceeded on the charter of 1539, and though pronounced by an incompetent court, was held to be right. To prevent an appeal, a compromise was made, by which Hugh Mackenzie ceded to Simon Lord Lovat, for a valuable consideration, his pretensions to the honours, and his right to the estates, after his father's death.

Thomas Fraser of BEAUFORT, by right eleventh Lord Lovat, died at Dunvegan in Skye in May 1699. By his first wife, Sibylla, fourth daughter of John Macleod of Macleod, he had fourteen children, ten of whom died young. Simon, the eldest surviving son, was the celebrated Lord Lovat, beheaded in April 1747.

The clan Fraser formed part of the army of the Earl of Seaforth, when, in the beginning of 1645, that nobleman advanced to oppose the great Montrose, who designed to seize Inverness, previous to the battle of Inverlochry, in which the latter defeated the Campbells under the Marquis of Argyll in February of that year. After the arrival of King Charles II. in Scotland in 1650, the Frasers, to the amount of eight hundred men, joined the troops raised to oppose Cromwell, their chief's son, the Master of Lovat, being appointed one of the colonels of foot for Inverness and Ross. In the rebellion of 1715, under their last famous chief, Simon, Lord Lovat, they did good service to the government by taking possession of Inverness, which was then in the hands of the Jacobites. In 1719 also, at the

⁹ For an account of this fight, called *Blair-nan-leine*, or "Field of Shirts," so disastrous to the Frasers, see the former part of this work.

affair of Glenshiel, in which the Spaniards were defeated on the west coast of Inverness-shire, the Frasers fought resolutely on the side of government, and took possession of the castle of Brahan, the seat of the Earl of Seaforth. On the breaking out of the rebellion of 1745, they did not at first take any part in the struggle, but after the battle of Prestonpans, on the 21st September, Lord Lovat "mastered his clan," and their first demonstration in favour of the Pretender was to make a midnight attack on the Castle of Culloden, but found it garrisoned and prepared for their reception. On the morning of the battle of Culloden, six hundred of the Frasers, under the command of the Master of Lovat, a fine young man of nineteen, effected a junction with the rebel army, and behaved during the action with characteristic valour.

Lord Lovat's eldest son, Simon Fraser, Master of Lovat, afterwards entered the service of government, and rose to the rank of lieutenant-general in the army.

General Fraser was succeeded by his half-brother, Colonel Archibald Campbell Fraser of Lovat, appointed consul-general at Algiers in 1766, and chosen M.P. for Inverness-shire on the general's death in 1782. By his wife, Jane, sister of William Fraser, Esq. of Leadelune, F.R.S., created a baronet, 27th November 1806, he had five sons, all of whom he survived. On his death, in December 1815, the male descendants of Hugh, ninth Lord Lovat, became extinct, and the male representation of the family, as well as the right to its extensive entailed estates, devolved on the junior descendant of Alexander, fifth lord, Thomas Alexander Fraser, of Lovat and Strichen, who claimed the title of Lord Lovat in the peerage of Scotland, and in 1837 was created a peer of the United Kingdom, by that of Baron Lovat of Lovat.

The family of Fraser, of CASTLE FRASER, in Ross-shire, are descended, on the female side, from the Hon. Sir Simon Fraser, of Inverlochy, second son of Simon, eighth Lord Lovat, but on the male side their name is Mackenzie.

AMERICAN FRASERS.

We cannot close our account of the Frasers without briefly referring to the numerous mem-

bers of the clan who inhabit British North America. Concerning these we have been obligingly furnished with many details by the Honourable John Fraser de Berry, of St Mark de Cournoyer, Chamby River, Vercheres Cy., District of Montreal, Member of the Legislative Council for Rougemont. The information furnished by this gentleman is very interesting, and we are sorry that the nature of this work, and the space at our disposal, permits us to give only the briefest summary.

It would seem that in the Dominion of Canada the ancient spirit of clanship is far from dead; indeed, it appears to be more intensely full of life there than it is on its native Highland mountains. From statistics furnished to us by our obliging informant, it would appear that in British North America there are bearing the old name of Fraser 12,000 persons, men, women, and children, some speaking English and some French, many Protestants and many Roman Catholics, but all, we believe, unflinchingly loyal to the British throne. Not one of these, according to the Honourable J. Fraser de Berry's report, is a day labourer, "earning daily wages," but all more or less well-to-do in the world, and filling respectable, and many of them responsible positions. Many are descendants of the officers and soldiers of the "Fraser Highlanders," who settled in British North America after the American war. "They are all strong well built men, hardy, industrious, and sober, having fine comfortable houses, where quietness reigns and plenty abounds."

Some years ago a movement was formed among these enthusiastic and loyal Frasers to organise themselves into a branch clan, to be called the "New Clan Fraser," partly for the purpose of reviving and keeping alive the old clan feeling, and partly for purposes of benevolence. At a meeting held in February 1868, at Quebec, this movement took definite shape, and "resolutions were unanimously passed defining the constitution of the clan, pointing out its object, appointing its dignitaries, determining their duties, and the time and manner of their election."

As "Chief of the Frasers of the whole of British North America," was elected the Honourable James Fraser de Ferraline, Mem-

ber of the Legislative Council for the Province of Nova Scotia, "a wealthy and influential merchant, born in 1802, on the Drummond estate in the braes of Stratherrick, Inverness-shire, Scotland; descended by his father from the Ferraline family of the Frasers, and by his mother from the Gorthlic Frasers. The true Fraser blood," we are assured, "runs very pure through the veins of the worthy chief."

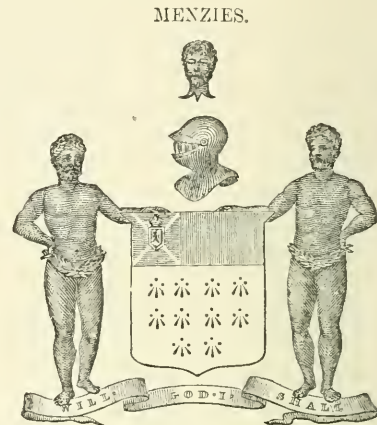
The great and undoubted success of this laudable movement is, we believe, mainly owing to the exertions of the Honourable J. Fraser de Berry, whose enthusiasm and loyalty to his descent and ancient kinship are worthy of the palmiest days of clanship in the olden time on its native Highland soil. Besides the "chief" above mentioned, 111 subordinate chieftains¹ of provinces and districts have been appointed, and we are sorry that, for the reasons already mentioned, it is impossible to give a full list of them. We can only say that the gentleman just mentioned was elected Chieftain of the Province of Quebec, and also acts as "Secretary to the New Clan Fraser." As a specimen of the unflinching thoroughness with which Mr Fraser de Berry performs his duties, and of the intense enthusiasm with which he is animated, we may state that he, founding on documents in his possession, has been able to trace his genealogy, and, therefore, the genealogy of the whole clan, as far back as the year 216 A.D.:

Altogether, we cannot but commend the main object of this organisation of the American Frasers, and think that members of other clans residing in our colonies would do well to follow their example. We believe that no member of the Fraser clan in British North America, who is really anxious to do well, need be in want of the means of success, for if he only make his position known to the authorities of the "New Clan," all needful assistance will be afforded him. Moreover, we understand, that any one of the name of Fraser, or allied to the clan, emigrating to the dominion from the old country, by applying to any member of the Colonial clan, will be put in the way

¹ By mistake, these are in our report called "chiefs;" subordinate chiefs are correctly called "chieftains."

of obtaining all assistance and information necessary to his comfortable settlement and success in his new home.

Indeed, this movement of the Frasers has so much to commend it, that their example has been followed by persons of other names, in the United States as well as in Canada, and similar clan confederations are in the way of being formed under names that are certainly not Highland.



BARGE—Heath (a species named the Menzies heath).

From the armorial bearings of the Menzieses it has been conjectured that the first who settled in Scotland of this surname was a branch of the Anglo-Norman family of Meyners, by corruption Manners. But this supposition does not seem to be well-founded.

The family of Menzies obtained a footing in Athole at a very early period, as appears from a charter granted by Robert de Meyners in the reign of Alexander II. This Robert de Meyners, knight, on the accession of Alexander III. (1249) was appointed lord high chamberlain of Scotland. His son, Alexander de Meyners, possessed the lands of Weem and Aberfeldy in Athole, and Glendochart in Breadalbane, besides his original seat of Durrisdeer in Nithsdale, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Robert, in the estates of Weem, Aberfeldy, and Durrisdeer, whilst his second son, Thomas, obtained the lands of Fortingal.

From the former of these is descended the family of Menzies of CASTLE MENZIES, but that of Menzies of Fortingal terminated in

an heiress, by whose marriage with James Stewart, a natural son of the Wolf of Badenoch, the property was transferred to the Stewarts.

In 1487, Sir Robert de Mengues, knight, obtained from the crown, in consequence of the destruction of his mansion-house by fire, a grant of the whole lands and estates erected into a free barony, under the title of the barony of Menzies. From this Sir Robert lineally descended Sir Alexander Menzies of Castle Menzies, who was created a baronet of Nova Scôtia, 21 September 1665.

Sir Robert Menzies, the seventh baronet, who succeeded his father, 20th August 1844, is the 27th of the family in regular descent. The ancient designation of the family was Menzies of Weem, their common style in old writings. In 1423 "David Menzies of Weem (de Wimo)" was appointed governor of Orkney and Shetland, "under the most clement lord and lady, Eric and Philippa, king and queen of Denmark, Swedland, and Norway."

The Gaelic appellation of the clan is *Meinuarich*, a term, by way of distinction, also applied to the chief. Of the eighteen clans who fought under Robert Bruce at Bannockburn, the Menzies was one.

The "Menyesses" of Athole and Appin Dull are named in the parliamentary rolls of 1587, as among "the clans that have captains, chiefs, and chieftains." Castle Menzies, the principal modern seat of the chief, stands to the east of Loch Tay, in the parish and near to the church of Weem, in Perthshire. Weem Castle, the old mansion, is picturesquely situated under a rock, called Craig Uamh, hence its name. In 1502, it was burnt by Niel Stewart of Fortingal, in consequence of a dispute respecting the lands of Rannoch.

In 1644, when the Marquis of Montrose appeared in arms for Charles I., and had commenced his march from Athole towards Strathern, he sent forward a trumpeter, with a friendly notice to the Menzieses, that it was his intention to pass through their country. His messenger, unhappily, was maltreated, and, as some writers say, slain by them. They also harassed the rear of his army, which so exasperated Montrose, that he ordered his men

to plunder and lay waste their lands and burn their houses.

During the rebellion of 1715, several gentlemen of the clan Menzies were taken prisoners at the battle of Dunblane. One of them, Menzies of Culdaraes, having been pardoned for his share in the rebellion, felt himself bound not to join in that of 1745. He sent, however, a valuable horse as a present to Prince Charles, but his servant who had it in charge, was seized and executed, nobly refusing to divulge his master's name, though offered his life if he would do so. In the latter rebellion, Menzies of Shian took out the clan, and held the rank of colonel, though the chief remained at home. The effective force of the clan in 1745 was 300.

The family of Menzies of PITFODDELS in Aberdeenshire, is now extinct. Gilbert Menzies of this family, carrying the royal standard at the last battle of Montrose, in 1650, repeatedly refused quarter, and fell rather than give up his charge. The last laird, John Menzies of Pitfoddels, never married, and devoted the greater part of his large estate to the endowment of a Roman Catholic College. He died in 1843.

CHISHOLM.

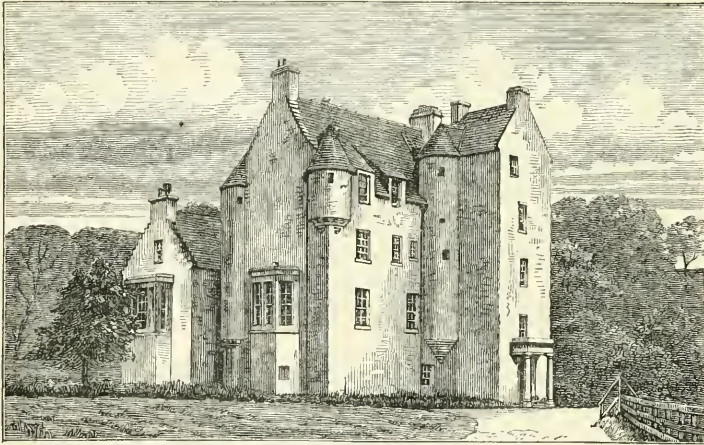


BADGE—Fern.

The modern clan CHISHOLM or Siosal, in Inverness-shire, though claiming to be of Celtic origin, are, it is probable, descended from one of the northern collaterals of the original family of Chisholme of Chisholme in Roxburghshire, which possessed lands there as early as the reign of Alexander III.

Few families have asserted their right to be

considered as a Gaelic clan with greater vehemence than the Chisholms, notwithstanding that there are perhaps few whose Lowland origin is less doubtful. Their early charters suffice to establish the real origin of the family with great clearness. The Highland possessions of the family consist of Comer, Strathglass, &c., in which is situated their castle of Erchless, and the manner in which they acquired these lands is proved by the fact, that there exists a confirmation of an indenture betwixt William de Fenton of Baky on the one part, and "*Margaret de la Ard domina de Erchless and Thomas de Chishelme her son and heir*" on the other part, dividing between them the lands of which they were heirs portioners, and among these lands is the barony of the Ard in Inverness-shire. This deed is dated at Kinrossy, 25th of April, 1403.



Erchless Castle.

In all probability, therefore, the husband of Margaret must have been Alexander de Chishelme, who is mentioned in 1368 as comportioner of the barony of Ard along with Lord Fenton.

The Chisholms came into prominence in the reign of David II., when Sir Robert de Chisholm married the daughter of Sir Robert Lauder of Quarrelwood, and ultimately succeeded him in the government of Urquhart Castle. In 1376 he occupied the important position of justiciar north of the Forth.

Wiland de Chesholm obtained a charter of the lands of Comer dated 9th April 1513.

In 1587, the chiefs on whose lands resided "broken men," were called upon to give security for their peaceable behaviour, among whom appears "Cheisholme of Cummer." After the battle of Killiecrankie in 1689, Erchless castle, the seat of the chief, was garrisoned for King James, and General Livingstone, the commander of the government forces, had considerable difficulty in dislodging the Highlanders. In 1715, Ruari, or Roderick MacIan, the chief, signed the address of a hundred and two chiefs and heads of houses to George the First, expressive of their attachment and loyalty, but no notice being taken of it, he engaged very actively in the rising under the Earl of Mar; and at the battle of Dunblane, the clan was headed by Chisholm of Croefin, an aged veteran, for which the estates of the chief were forfeited and sold. In 1727, he procured,

with several other chiefs, a pardon under the privy seal, and the lands were subsequently conveyed, by the then proprietor, to Roderick's eldest son, who entailed them on his heirs male. In 1745, this chief joined the standard of the Pretender with his clan, and Colin, his youngest son, was appointed colonel of the clan battalion.

Lord President Forbes thus states the strength of the Chisholms at that period. "Chisholms—Their chief is Chisholm of Strathglass, in Gaelic called Chisallich. His lands are held crown, and he can bring out two hundred of the men."

Alexander Chisholm, chief of the clan, who succeeded in 1785, left an only child, Mary, married to James Gooden, Esq., London, and dying in 1793, the chiefship and estates, agreeably to the deed of entail, devolved on his youngest brother, William, who married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Duncan MacDonnell, Esq. of Glengarry, and left two sons and one

daughter. On his death in 1817 he was succeeded by the elder son, Alexander William, once member of parliament for Inverness-shire, who died, prematurely, in September 1838. He was succeeded by his brother, Duncan MacDonnell Chisholm, who died in London 14th September 1858, aged 47, when the estate devolved on James Sutherland Chisholm, the present Chisholm, son of Roderich, son of Archibald, eldest son of the above Alexander, who resides at Erchless Castle, Inverness-shire.

The common designation of the chief of the house is THE CHISHOLM, and whatever be its antiquity, it is a title which is very generally accorded to him, and, like the designation of "The O'Connor Don," has even been sanctioned by use in the senate. An old chief of the clan Chisholm once not very modestly said that there were but three persons in the world entitled to it—"the Pope, the King, and the Chisholm."

One of the chiefs of this clan having carried off a daughter of Lord Lovat, placed her on an islet in Loch Bruirach, where she was soon discovered by the Frazers, who had mustered for the rescue. A severe conflict ensued, during which the young lady was accidentally slain by her own brother. A plaintive Gaelic song records the sad calamity, and numerous tumuli mark the graves of those who fell.

The once great family of Chisholme of CROMLIX, sometimes written CROMLECK, in Perthshire, which for above a century held the hereditary bailie and justiciary-ship of the ecclesiastical lordship of Dunblane, and furnished three bishops to that see, but which is now extinct, was also descended from the border Chisholmes.

There are a number of families—for they can scarcely be called clans—living on the Highland borders, and who have at one time played an important part in Highland history, and some of whom at the present day are regarded as genuine Highland families. The Murrays of the Athole family descend from Sir John de Moravia, who died about 1225, and was contemporary with the above William de Moravia. His grandson Sir William de Moravia acquired the lands of Tullibardine, an estate in the lower part of Perthshire, with his wife Adda, daughter of Malise, Seneschal of

Strathern, as appears by charters dated in 1282 and 1284. We shall conclude this account of the Highland clans by referring briefly to the family history of these houses.

STEWART-MURRAY (ATHOLE).



BADGE—Juniper.

The great family of Murray or Moray (occasionally in old deeds Murreff) is supposed to have descended from Freskine (or Friskin), a Fleming, who settled in Scotland in the reign of David I. (1122-1153), and acquired from that monarch the lands of Strathbroch in Linlithgowshire, and of Duffus in Moray.

Friskin's grandson, William de Moravia, married the daughter and heiress of David de Olifard, and was the ancestor of the Morays of Bothwell and Abercairny, represented by the latter till the death of the late Major William Moray Stirling in 1850, when the male line became extinct, and the property passed to his sister, the late Mrs Home Drummond of Blair Drummond.

His descendant, the 7th in possession, Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, succeeded to the estates of his family in 1446. He was sheriff of Perthshire, and in 1458 one of the lords named for the administration of justice, who were of the king's daily council. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir John Colquhoun of Luss, great chamberlain of Scotland, by

whom he had a numerous issue. According to tradition, they had seventeen sons, from whom a great many families of the name of Murray are descended. In a curious document entitled "The Declaration of George Halley, in Ochterarder, concerning the Laird of Tullibardine's seventeen sons—1710," it is stated that they "lived all to be men, and that they waited all one day upon their father at Stirling, to attend the king, with each of them one servant, and their father two. This happening shortly after an Act was made by King James Fifth, discharging any person to travel with great numbers of attendants besides their own family, and having challenged the laird of Tullibardine for breaking the said Act, he answered he brought only his own sons, with their necessary attendants; with which the king was so well pleased that he gave them small lands in heritage."

The eldest of Tullibardine's seventeen sons, Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, had, with other issue, William, his successor, and Sir Andrew Murray, ancestor of the Viscounts Stormont. His great-grandson, Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, was a zealous promoter of the Reformation in Scotland. George Halley, in the curious document already quoted, says that "Sir William Murray of Tullibardine having broke Argyll's face with the hilt of his sword, in King James the Sixth's presence, was obliged to leave the kingdom. Afterwards, the king's mails and slaughter cows were not paid, neither could any subject to the realm be able to compel those who were bound to pay them; upon which the king cried out—'O, if I had Will Murray again, he would soon get my mails and slaughter cows;' to which one standing by replied—'That if his Majesty would not take Sir William Murray's life, he might return shortly.' The king answered, 'He would be loath to take his life, for he had not another subject like him!' Upon which promise Sir William Murray returned and got a commission from the king to go to the north, and lift up the mails and the cows, which he speedily did, to the great satisfaction of the king, so that immediately after he was made lord comptroller." This office he obtained in 1565.

His eldest son, Sir John Murray, the twelfth

feudal baron of Tullibardine, was brought up with King James, who in 1592 constituted him his master of the household. On 10th July 1606 he was created Earl of Tullibardine. His lordship married Catherine, fourth daughter of David, second Lord Drummond, and died in 1609.

His eldest son, William, second Earl of Tullibardine, married Lady Dorothea Stewart, eldest daughter and heir of line of the fifth Earl of Athole of the Stewart family, who died in 1595 without male issue. He eventually, in 1625, petitioned King Charles the First for the earldom of Athole. The king received the petition graciously, and gave his royal word that it should be done. The earl accordingly surrendered the title of Earl of Tullibardine into the king's hands, 1st April 1626, to be conferred on his brother Sir Patrick Murray as a separate dignity, but before the patents could be issued, his lordship died the same year. His son John, however, obtained in February 1629 the title of Earl of Athole, and thus became the first earl of the Murray branch, and the earldom of Tullibardine was at the same time granted to Sir Patrick. This Earl of Athole was a zealous royalist, and joined the association formed by the Earl of Montrose for the king at Cumbernauld, in January 1641. He died in June 1642. His eldest son John, second Earl of Athole of the Murray family, also faithfully adhered to Charles the First, and was excepted by Cromwell out of his act of grace and indemnity, 12th April 1654, when he was only about nineteen years of age. At the Restoration, he was sworn a privy councillor, obtained a charter of the hereditary office of sheriff of Fife, and in 1663 was appointed justice-general of Scotland. In 1670 he was constituted captain of the king's guards, in 1672 keeper of the privy seal, and 14th January 1673, an extraordinary lord of session. In 1670 he succeeded to the earldom of Tullibardine on the death of James, fourth earl of the new creation, and was created Marquis of Athole in 1676. He increased the power of his family by his marriage with Lady Amelia Sophia Stanley, third daughter of the seventh Earl of Derby, beheaded for his loyalty 15th October 1651. Through her mother, Charlotte de la Tremouille, daughter of Claude de la Tremouille, Duke of Thouars and Prince of

Palmont, she was related in blood to the Emperor of Germany, the kings of France and Spain, the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Savoy, and most of the principal families of Europe; and by her the family of Athole acquired the seignory of the Isle of Man, and also large property in that island.

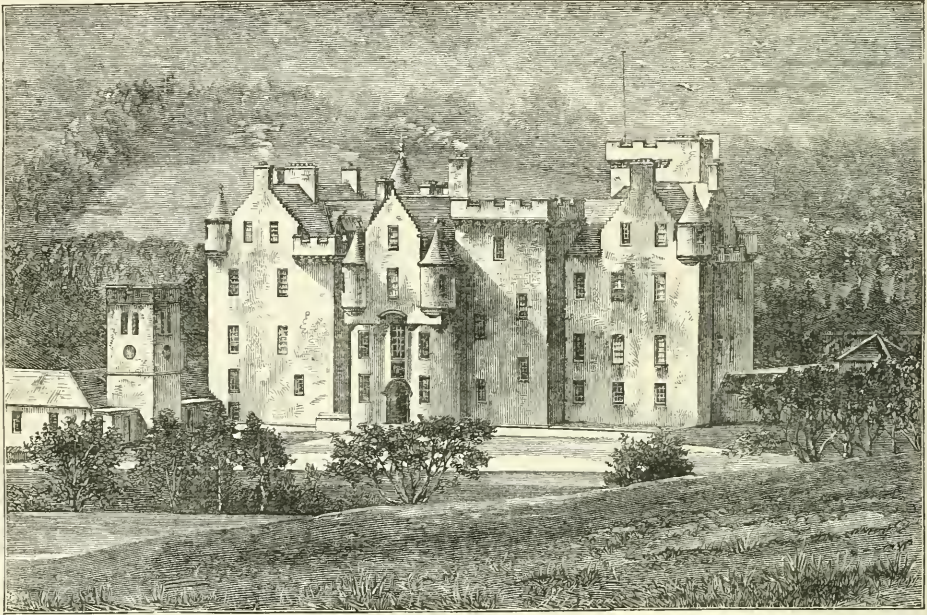
John, the second Marquis and first Duke of Athole, then designated Lord Murray, was one of the commissioners for inquiring into the massacre of Glencoe in 1693. He was created a peer in his father's lifetime, by the title of Earl of Tullibardine, Viscount of Glenalmond, and Lord Murray, for life, by patent dated 27th July 1696, and in April 1703 he was appointed lord privy seal. On the 30th July of that year, immediately after his father's death, he was created Duke of Athole by Queen Anne, and invested with the order of the Thistle. His grace died 14th November 1724. He was twice married; first to Catherine, daughter of the Duke of Hamilton, by whom he had six sons and a daughter, and secondly to Mary, daughter of William Lord Ross, by whom he had three sons and a daughter. His eldest son John, Marquis of Tullibardine, was killed at the battle of Malplaquet in 1709. His second son William, who succeeded his brother, was the Marquis of Tullibardine who acted the prominent part in both the Scottish rebellions of last century. In 1745 he accompanied Prince Charles Edward to Scotland, and landed with him at Borodale 25th July. He was styled Duke of Athole by the Jacobites. After the battle of Culloden he fled to the westward, intending to embark for the Isle of Mull, but being unable, from the bad state of his health, to bear the fatigue of travelling under concealment, he surrendered, on the 27th April 1746, to Mr Buchanan of Drummakill, a Stirlingshire gentleman. Being conveyed to London he was committed to the Tower, where he died on the 9th July following.

James, the second Duke of Athole, was the third son of the first duke. He succeeded to the dukedom on the death of his father in November 1724, in the lifetime of his elder brother William, attainted by parliament. Being maternal great-grandson of James, seventh Earl of Derby, upon the death of the tenth earl of that line he claimed and was allowed the

English barony of Strange, which had been conferred on Lord Derby by writ of summons in 1628. His grace was married, first to Jean, widow of James Lannoy of Hammersmith, and sister of Sir John Frederick, Bart., by whom he had a son and two daughters; secondly to Jane, daughter of John Drummond of Megginch, who had no issue. The latter was the heroine of Dr Austen's song of 'For lack of gold she's left me, O!' She was betrothed to that gentleman, a physician in Edinburgh, when the Duke of Athole saw her, and falling in love with her, made proposals of marriage, which were accepted; and, as Burns says, she jilted the doctor. Having survived her first husband, she married a second time, Lord Adam Gordon.

The son and the eldest daughter of the second Duke of Athole died young. Charlotte, his youngest daughter, succeeded on his death, which took place in 1764, to the barony of Strange and the sovereignty of the Isle of Man. She married her cousin, John Murray, Esq., eldest son of Lord George Murray, fifth son of the first duke, and the celebrated generalissimo of the forces of Prince Charles Edward in 1745. Though Lord George was attainted by parliament for his share in the rebellion, his son was allowed to succeed his uncle and father-in-law as third duke, and in 1765 he and his duchess disposed of their sovereignty of the Isle of Man to the British government for seventy thousand pounds, reserving, however, their landed interest in the island, with the patronage of the bishopric and other ecclesiastical benefices, on payment of the annual sum of one hundred and one pounds fifteen shillings and eleven pence, and rendering two falcons to the kings and queens of England upon the days of their coronation. His grace, who had seven sons and four daughters, died 5th November 1774, and was succeeded by his eldest son John, fourth duke, who in 1786 was created Earl Strange and Baron Murray of Stanley, in the peerage of the United Kingdom. He died in 1830. The fourth duke was succeeded by his eldest son John, who was for many years a recluse, and died single 14th September 1846. His next brother James, a major-general in the army, was created a peer of the United Kingdom, as baron Glenlyon of Glenlyon, in the county of Perth, 9th July 1821. He married

in May 1810, Emily, second daughter of the Duke of Northumberland, and by her he had two sons and two daughters. He died in 1837. His eldest son, George Augustus Frederick John, Lord Glenlyon, became, on the death of his uncle in 1846, sixth Duke of Athole. He died in 1864, and was succeeded by his only son, John James Hugh Henry, seventh Duke of Athole, who inherited the barony of Percy and several co-heirships on the death of his great uncle Algernon, fourth Duke of Northumberland in 1865. The family residence of the Duke of Athole is Blair Castle, Perthshire, a view of which, as restored in 1872, is here given.



Blair Castle.

The first baronet of the OCHTERTYRE family was William Moray of Ochertyre, who was created a baron of Nova Scotia, with remainder to his heirs male, 7th June 1673. He was descended from Patrick Moray, the first styled of Ochertyre, who died in 1476, a son of Sir David Murray of Tullibardine. The family continued to spell their name Moray till 1739, when the present orthography, Murray, was adopted by Sir William, third baronet.

DRUMMOND.

The name of DRUMMOND may be derived originally from the parish of Drymen, in what is now the western district of Stirlingshire. The Gaelic name is *Druiman*, signifying a ridge, or high ground.

An ancestor of the noble family of Perth thus fancifully interprets the origin of the name: *Drum* in Gaelic signifies a height, and *onde* a wave, the name being given to Maurice

the Hungarian, to express how gallantly he had conducted through the swelling waves the ship in which Prince Edgar and his two sisters had embarked for Hungary, when they were driven out of their course on the Scottish coast. There are other conjectural derivations of the name, but the territorial definition above mentioned appears to be the most probable one.

The chief of the family at the epoch of their first appearing in written records was Malcolm Beg (or the Little), chamberlain on the estate of Levenax, and the fifth from the Hungarian Maurice, who married Ada, daughter of Malduin, third Earl of Lennox, by Beatrix, daughter of Walter, lord high steward of Scotland, and died before 1260.

Two of his grandsons are recorded as having sworn fealty to Edward the First.

The name of one of them, Gilbert de Drummond, "del County de Dunbretan," appears in Prynne's copy of the Ragman Roll. He was

Drummond of Balquapple in Perthshire, and had a son, Malcolm de Drummond, who also swore fealty to Edward in 1296, and was father of Bryce Drummond, killed in 1330 by the Monteiths.

DRUMMOND.



BADGE—Holly. (or mother of thyme).

The other, the elder brother of Gilbert, named Sir John de Drummond, married his relation, a daughter of Walter Stewart, Earl of Menteith, and countess in her own right.

His eldest son, Sir Malcolm de Drummond, attached himself firmly to the cause of Bruce. King Robert, after the battle of Bannockburn, bestowed upon him certain lands in Perthshire. He married a daughter of Sir Patrick Graham of Kincardine, elder brother of Sir John Graham, and ancestor of the family of Montrose. He had a son, Sir Malcolm Drummond, who died about 1346. The latter had three sons, John, Maurice, and Walter. The two former married heiresses.

Maurice's lady was sole heiress of Coneraig and of the stewardship of Strathearn, to both of which he succeeded.

The wife of John, the eldest son, was Mary, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Sir William de Montefex, with whom he got the lands of Auchterarder, Kincardine in Monteith, Cargill, and Stobhall in Perthshire. He had four sons, Sir Malcolm, Sir John, William, and Dougal; and three daughters—Annabella, married, in 1357, John, Earl of Carrick, high steward of Scotland, afterwards King Robert the Third, and thus became Queen of Scotland, and the mother of David, Duke of Rothesay, starved

to death in the palace of Falkland, in 1402, and of James the First, as well as of three daughters; Margaret, married to Sir Colin Campbell of Lochow, Jean, to Stewart of Donally, and Mary, to Macdonald of the Isles.

About 1360, in consequence of a feud which had long subsisted between the Drummonds and the Monteiths of Rusky, the residence of the family seems to have been transferred from Drymen, in Stirlingshire, where they had chiefly lived for about two hundred years, to Stobhall, in Perthshire, which had some years before come into their possession by marriage.

Sir Malcolm Drummond, the eldest son, succeeded to the earldom of Mar in right of his wife, Lady Isabel Douglas only daughter of William, first Earl of Douglas. His death was a violent one, having been seized by a band of ruffians and imprisoned till he died "of his hard captivity." This happened before 27th May 1403. Not long after his death, Alexander Stewart, a natural son of "the Wolf of Badenoch," a bandit and robber by profession, having cast his eyes on the lands of the earldom, stormed the countess' castle of Kildrummie; and, either by violence or persuasion, obtained her in marriage. As Sir Malcolm Drummond had died without issue, his brother, John, succeeded him.

John's eldest son, Sir Walter Drummond, was knighted by King James the Second, and died in 1455. He had three sons: Sir Malcolm his successor; John, dean of Dunblane; and Walter of Ledcrieff, ancestor of the Drummonds of BLAIR-DRUMMOND (now the HOME DRUMMONDS, Henry Home, the celebrated Lord Kames, having married Agatha, daughter of James Drummond of Blair-Drummond, and successor in the estate to her nephew in 1766); of Cairdrum; of Newton, and other families of the name.

The eldest son of the main stem, that is, the CARGILL and STOBHALL family, Sir Malcolm by name, had great possessions in the counties of Dumbarton, Perth, and Stirling, and died in 1470. By his wife Marion, daughter of Murray of Tullibardine, he had six sons. His eldest son, Sir John, was first Lord Drummond.

Sir John, the eldest son, was a personage of

considerable importance in the reigns of James the Third and Fourth, having been concerned in most of the public transactions of that period. He died in 1519.

By his wife, Lady Elizabeth Lindsay, daughter of David, Duke of Montrose, the first Lord Drummond, had three sons, and six daughters, the eldest of whom, Margaret, was mistress to James the Fourth. Malcolm, the eldest son, predeceased his father. William, the second son, styled master of Drummond, suffered on the scaffold.

William had two sons, Walter and Andrew, ancestor of the Drummonds of BELLYCLONE. Walter died in 1518, before his grandfather. By Lady Elizabeth Graham, daughter of the first Earl of Montrose, he had a son, David, second Lord Drummond, who was served heir to his great-grandfather, John, first lord, 17th February 1520. Of his two sons, Patrick, the elder, was third Lord Drummond; James, the younger, created, 31st January 1609, Lord Malarty, was ancestor of the viscounts of Strathallan.

Patrick, third Lord Drummond, embraced the reformed religion, and spent some time in France. He died before 1600. He was twice married, and by his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter of David Lindsay of Edzell, eventually Earl of Crawford, he had two sons and five daughters.

The elder son, James, fourth Lord Drummond, passed a considerable portion of his youth in France, and after James the Sixth's accession to the English throne he attended the Earl of Nottingham on an embassy to the Spanish court. On his return he was created Earl of Perth, 4th March 1605. John, the younger son, succeeded his brother in 1611, as second Earl of Perth.

The Hon. John Drummond, second son of James, third Earl of Perth, was created in 1685 Viscount, and in 1686 Earl of Melfort; and his representative is the chief of the clan Drummond, which, more than any other, signalised itself by its fidelity to the lost cause of the Stuarts.

GRAHAM.



BADGE—Laurel spurge.

The surname GRÈME, or GRAHAM, is said to be derived from the Gaelic word *grumach*, applied to a person of a stern countenance and manner. It may possibly, however, be connected with the British word *grym*, signifying strength, seen in *grime's dyke*, erroneously called Graham's dyke, the name popularly given to the wall of Antoninus, from an absurd fable of Fordun and Boece, that one *Grème*, traditionally said to have governed Scotland during the minority of the fabulous Eugene the Second, broke through the mighty rampart erected by the Romans between the rivers Forth and Clyde. It is unfortunate for this fiction that the first authenticated person who bore the name in North Britain was Sir William de Grème (the undoubted ancestor of the Dukes of Montrose and all "the gallant Grahams" in this country), who came to Scotland in the reign of David the First, from whom he received the lands of Abercorn and Dalkeith, and witnessed the charter of that monarch to the monks of the abbey of Holyrood in 1128. In Gaelic *grim* means war, battle. Anciently, the word Grimes-dike was applied to trenches, roads, and boundaries, and was not confined to Scotland.

This Anglo-Norman knight, Sir William de Graham, had two sons, Peter and John, in whom the direct line was carried on. The elder, Peter de Graham, styled of Dalkeith and Abercorn, had also two sons, Henry and William. Henry the elder, witnessed some of the charters of King William the Lion. He was

succeeded by his son Henry, whose son, also named Henry, by marrying the daughter of Roger Avenel (who died in 1243), acquired the extensive estates of Avenel, in Eskdale. His grandson, Sir John de Graham of Dalkeith, had a son, John de Graham, who dying without issue, was the last of the elder line of the original stock of the Grahams.

The male line of the family was carried on by the younger son of Sir William de Graham first above mentioned, John de Graham, whose son, David de Graham, obtained from his cousin, Henry, the son of Peter de Graham, the lands of Clifton and Clifton Hall in Mid-Lothian, and from King William the Lion those of Charlton and Barrowfield, as well as the lordship of Kinnaber, all in Forfarshire. This was the first connection of the family with the district near Montrose, whence they subsequently derived their ducal title. His eldest son, also named Sir David de Graham, had, from Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, in the reign of King Alexander the Second, with other lands, those of Dundaff, in Stirlingshire. The son of Sir David de Graham last mentioned, also named Sir David de Graham, who appears to have held the office of sheriff of the county of Berwick, acquired from Malise, Earl of Strathearn, the lands of Kincardine, in Perthshire, which became one of the chief designations of the family. He died about 1270. By his wife, Annabella, daughter of Robert, Earl of Strathearn, he had three sons, namely, Sir Patrick, who succeeded him; the celebrated Sir John the Graham, the companion of Wallace; and Sir David, one of the nominees, his eldest brother being another, of Baliol, in his competition for the crown of Scotland, 1292. His eldest son, Sir Patrick Graham of Kincardine, fell in battle against the English at Dunbar, 28th April 1296. Another son, Sir David de Graham, a favourite name among the early Grahams, was also designed of Kincardine. From Robert the First, in consideration of his good and faithful services, he had several grants, and exchanged with that monarch his property of Cardross in Dumbartonshire for the lands of "Old Montrose" in Forfarshire. He died in 1327.

Sir William Graham of KINCARDINE, his great-grandson, was frequently employed in nego-

ciations with the English relative to the liberation of King James the First. He was twice married. By his first wife he had two sons, Alexander,—who predeceased him, leaving two sons,—and John. His second wife was the princess Mary Stewart, second daughter of King Robert the Second, widow of the Earl of Angus and of Sir James Kennedy of Dunure; after Sir William Graham's death she took for her fourth husband Sir William Edmonstone of Duntreath. By this lady he had five sons, namely, 1. Sir Robert Graham of Strathearron, ancestor of the Grahams of Fintry, of Claverhouse, and of Duntrune. 2. Patrick Graham, consecrated bishop of Brechin, in 1463, and three years after translated to the see of St. Andrews. 3. William, ancestor of the Grahams of Garvoch in Perthshire, from a younger son of whom came the Grahams of Balgowan, the most celebrated of which family was the gallant Sir Thomas Graham, Lord Lynedoch, the hero of Barossa. 4. Henry, of whom nothing is known. 5. Walter, of Wallacetown, Dumbartonshire, ancestor of the Grahams of Knockdolian in Carrick, and their cadets.

Patrick Graham, of Kincardine, the son of Alexander, the eldest son, succeeded his grandfather, and was created a peer of parliament in 1451, under the title of Lord Graham. He died in 1465. His only son, William, second Lord Graham, married lady Anne Douglas, eldest daughter of the fourth Earl of Angus, and had two sons, William, third Lord Graham, and George, ancestor of the Grahams of Calendar.

William, third Lord Graham, sat in the first parliament of King James the Fourth, 1488; and on 3d March, 1504-5, he was created Earl of Montrose, a charter being granted to him of that date, of his hereditary lands of "Auld Montrose," which were then erected into a free barony and earldom to be called the barony and earldom of Montrose. It is from these lands, therefore, and not from the town of Montrose, that the family take their titles of earl and duke. He fell at the battle of Flodden, 9th September 1513. He was thrice married. By his first wife, Annabella, daughter of Lord Drummond, he had a son, second Earl of Montrose; by his

second wife, Janet, a daughter of Sir Archibald Edmonstone of Duntreath, he had three daughters; and by his third wife, Christian Wavance of Segy, daughter of Thomas Wavance of Stevenston, and widow of the ninth Lord Halyburton of Dirleton, two sons, Patrick, ancestor of the Grames of Inchbrakie, Perthshire; and Andrew, consecrated bishop of Dunblane in 1575, and the first protestant bishop of that see.

From the third son of the second Earl of Montrose came the Grahams of ORCHIL, and from the fourth son the Grahams of KILLEARN. From the second son of the third earl descended the Grahams of BRACO, who once possessed a baronetcy of Nova Scotia, conferred on the first of the family, 28th September 1625. From the third son of the same earl, the Grahams of SCOTTISTOUN derived their descent.

The Grahams of the borders are descended from Sir John Graham of KILBRYDE, called, from his bravery, Sir John "with the bright sword," second son of Malise, Earl first of Strathearn, and afterwards of Menteith, by his wife, the Lady Ann Vere, daughter of Henry, Earl of Oxford.

Sir John "with the bright sword" was also ancestor of the Grahams of Gartmore in Perthshire. Sir William Graham of Gartmore, created a baronet of Nova Scotia in 1665, married Elizabeth, second daughter of John Graham, Lord Kilpont (son of the Earl of Airth), who was slain by one of his own vassals, James Stewart of Ardvourlich, in the camp of the Marquis of Montrose, in 1644; and had a son, Sir John Graham, second baronet of Gartmore, declared insane in 1696. On his death, 12th July 1708, without issue, the baronetcy became extinct, and the representation of the family devolved upon his sister Mary, wife of James Hodge, Esq. of Gladsmuir, advocate. Their only daughter, Mary Hodge, married, in 1701, William, son of John Graham of Callingod, and had a son, William Graham, who assumed the title of Earl of Menteith.

The castle of Kilbryde, near Dunblane, built by Sir John "with the bright sword," in 1460, was possessed by his representatives, the Earls of Menteith, till 1640, when it was sold. The Menteith Grahams were called the Grahams "of the hens," from the following circum-

stances. An armed party of the Stewarts of Appin, headed by Donald Nan Ord,² called Donald of the Hammer, in their retreat from the disastrous field of Pinkie in 1547, in passing the lake of Menteith, stopped at a house of the Earl of Menteith, where a large feast, consisting principally of poultry, was prepared for a marriage party, and ate up all the provisions; but, being immediately pursued, they were overtaken in the gorge of a pass, near a rock called Craig-Vad, or the Wolf's cliff, where a bloody encounter took place. The earl and nearly the whole of his followers were killed, and Donald of the Hammer escaped, amidst the darkness of the night, with only a single attendant. From the cause of the fight the Highlanders gave the name of *Gramoch na Gerie*, or "Grahams of the hens," to the Menteith branch ever after.

The clan Graham were principally confined to Menteith and Strathearn.

GORDON.



BADGE—Rock ivy.

THE GORDONS are an ancient and distinguished family, originally from Normandy, where their ancestors are said to have had large possessions. From the great antiquity of the race, many fabulous accounts have been given of the descent of the Gordons. Some derive them from a city of Macedonia, called Gordonia, whence they went to Gaul; others find their origin in Spain, Flanders, &c. Some writers suppose Bertrand de Gourdon who, in 1199, wounded Richard the Lion-heart mortally with

² See our Account of the Stewarts.

an arrow before the castle of Chalus in the Limoges, to have been the great ancestor of the Gordons, but there does not seem to be any other foundation for such a conjecture than that there was a manor in Normandy called Gourdon. It is probable that the first persons of the name in this island came over with William the Conqueror in 1066. According to Chalmers,³ the founder of this great family came from England in the reign of David the First (1124-53), and obtained from that prince the lands of Gordon (anciently *Gordun*, or *Gordyn*, from, as Chalmers supposes, the Gaelic *Gordun*, "on the hill"). He left two sons, Richard, and Adam, who, though the younger son, had a portion of the territory of Gordon, with the lands of Fanys on the southern side of it.

The elder son, Richard de Gordon, granted, between 1150 and 1160, certain lands to the monks of Kelso, and died in 1200. His son, Sir Thomas de Gordon, confirmed by charter these donations, and *his* son and successor, also named Thomas, made additional grants to the same monks, as well as to the religious of Coldstream. He died in 1285, without male issue, and his only daughter, Alicia, marrying her cousin Adam de Gordon, the son of Adam, younger brother of Richard above mentioned, the two branches of the family thus became united.

His grandson, Sir Adam de Gordon, Lord of Gordon, one of the most eminent men of his time, was the progenitor of most of the great families of the name in Scotland. In reward of his faithful services, Bruce granted to him and his heirs the noble lordship of Strathbolgie (now Strathbogie), in Aberdeenshire, then in the Crown, by the forfeiture of David de Strathbolgie, Earl of Athole, which grant was afterwards confirmed to his family by several charters under the great seal. Sir Adam fixed his residence there, and gave these lands and lordship the name of Huntly, from a village of that name in the western extremity of Gordon parish, in the Merse, the site of which is now said to be marked only by a solitary tree. From their northern domain, the family afterwards acquired the titles of Lord, Earl, and Marquis of Huntly, and the latter is now their chief

title. Sir Adam was slain, fighting bravely in the vanguard of the Scotch army at the battle of Halidonhill, July 12, 1333. By Annabella, his wife, supposed to have been a daughter of David de Strathbolgie above mentioned, he had four sons and a daughter. The eldest son, Sir Alexander, succeeded him. The second son, William, was ancestor of the Viscounts of Kenmure.

Sir John Gordon, his great-grandson, got a new charter from King Robert the Second of the lands of Strathbogie, dated 13th June 1376. He was slain at the battle of Otterbourne in 1388. His son, Sir Adam, lord of Gordon, fell at the battle of Homildon, 14th September 1402. By his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Keith, great mareschal of Scotland, he had an only child, Elizabeth Gordon, who succeeded to the whole family estates, and having married Alexander Seton, second son of Sir William Seton of Seton, ancestor of the Earls of Winton, that gentleman was styled lord of Gordon and Huntly. He left two sons, the younger of whom became ancestor of the Setons of Meldrum.

Alexander, the elder, was, in 1449, created Earl of Huntly, with limitation to his heirs male, by Elizabeth Crichton, his third wife, they being obliged to bear the name and arms of Gordon. George, the sixth earl, was created Marquis of Huntly, by King James, in 1599. George, the fourth marquis, was made Duke of Gordon in 1684. George, fifth duke, died without issue on 28th May 1836. At his death the title of Duke of Gordon became extinct, as well as that of Earl of Norwich in the British peerage, and the Marquisate of Huntly devolved on George Earl of Aboyne, descended from Charles, fourth son of George, second Marquis of Huntly, while the Duke of Richmond and Lennox, son of his eldest sister, succeeded to Gordon castle, Banffshire, and other estates in Aberdeenshire and Inverness-shire.

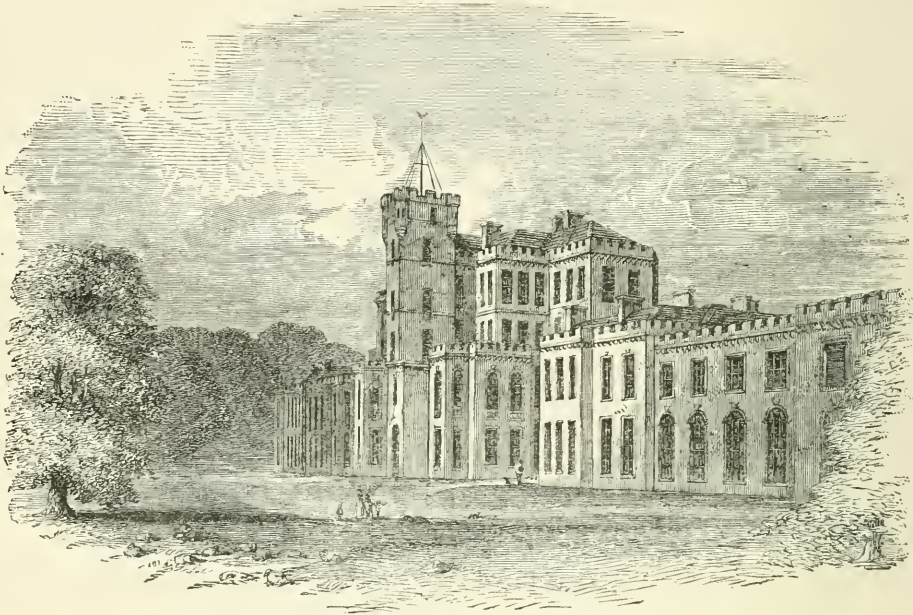
The clan GORDON was at one period one of the most powerful and numerous in the north. Although the chiefs were not originally of Celtic origin, as already shown, they yet gave their name to the clan, the distinctive badge of which was the rock ivy. The clan feuds and battles were frequent, especially with the

³ *Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 387.

Mackintoshes, the Camerons, the Murrays, and the Forbeses. Their principal exploits have been noticed in the first volume.

The Duke of Gordon, who was the chief of the clan, was usually styled "The Coek of the North." His most ancient title was the "Gude-man of the Bog," from the Bog-of-Gight, a morass in the parish of Bellie, Banffshire, in

the centre of which the former stronghold of this family was placed, and which forms the site of Gordon castle, considered the most magnificent edifice in the north of Scotland. The Marquis of Huntly is now the chief of the clan Gordon. Of the name of Gordon, there are many ancient families belonging to Aberdeenshire, Banffshire, and the north of Scotland.



Gordon Castle. From Nattes' *Scotia Depicta*.

CUMMING.



BADGE—Cumin plant.

The family of CUMYN, COMYN, CUMIN, CUMMIN, or CUMMING, merit notice among the sept

of the north of Scotland, from the prominent figure which they made there in early times. But almost all authors agree in representing them as having come from England, and having been of either Norman or Saxon descent originally. The time when they migrated northwards is also well marked in history. The event occurred in the reign of David I. That prince still claimed a large part of the north of England, and, besides, had engaged deeply in the contests betwixt King Stephen and the Empress Matilda, which agitated South Britain in the twelfth century. He was thus brought into frequent contact with the barons of Northumberland and the adjoining districts, some of whom were properly his vassals, and many of whose younger sons followed him permanently into Scotland. In this way were founded various northern families in the time of King

David, and among others, seemingly, the Cumyns. William Cumyn is the first of the name authentically mentioned in the Scottish annals. He had been trained clerically by Gaufred, bishop of Durham, some time chancellor to Henry I.; and his abilities and experience appear to have recommended Cumyn to David of Scotland for the same high office in the north. He was nominated chancellor of Scotland in 1133; though we find him seizing on the bishopric of Durham in 1142, under countenance of a grant from the Empress Maude. But he soon after resigned it to the proper incumbent, reserving only certain of the episcopal estates for behoof of his nephew and heir, Richard.

Richard Cumyn, properly the founder of the line of the Scottish Cumyn, rose high in the service of William the Lion, and long acted as chief minister and justiciary of Scotland. During his life he held the lands of Northallerton and others, secured to him by his uncle in England; and he also obtained estates in Roxburghshire, the first property of the family in Scotland. That the Cumyns must have been of high importance in England is proved by, and in part explains, their sudden elevation in the north. Richard Cumyn even intermarried with the royal family of Scotland, wedding Hexilda, great-granddaughter of the "gracious" King Duncan of "Macbeth."⁴

In the reign of Alexander III., as stated by Fordun, there were of the name in Scotland three Earls—Buchan, Menteith, and Athole, and one great feudal baron, Cumyn lord of Strathbogie, with thirty knights all possessing lands. The chief of the clan was lord of Badenoch and Lochaber, and other extensive districts in the Highlands. Upwards of sixty belted knights were bound to follow his banner with all their vassals, and he made treaties with princes as a prince himself. One such compact with Lowelwyn of Wales is preserved in Rymer's *Fœdera*.

The Cummings, as the name is now spelled, are numerous in the counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray; but a considerable number, in consequence of being prevented, for some reason, from burying their relatives in the family burial-place, changed their names to

Farquharson, as being descended from Farquhard, second son of Alexander the fourth designed of Altyre, who lived in the middle of the fifteenth century. It is from them that the Farquharsons of Balthog, Haughton, and others in the county of Aberdeen derive their descent.

From Sir Robert Comyn, younger son of John lord of Badenoch, who died about 1274, are descended the Cummings of Altyre, Logie, Auchry (one of whom in 1760 founded the village of Cuminestown in Aberdeenshire), Relugas, &c.

OGILVY.



BADGE—Alkanet.

OGILVY is a surname derived from a barony in the parish of Glammis, Forfarshire, which, about 1163, was bestowed by William the Lion on Gilbert, ancestor of the noble family of Airlie, and, in consequence, he assumed the name of Ogilvy. He is said to have been the third son of Gillibrede, or Gilechrist, maormor of Angus. In the charters of the second and third Alexanders there are witnesses of the name of Ogilvy. Sir Patrick de Ogilvy adhered steadily to Robert the Bruce, who bestowed upon him the lands of Kettins in Forfarshire. The barony of Cortachy was acquired by the family in 1369-70. The "gracious gude Lord Ogilvy," as he is styled in the old ballad of the battle of Harlaw, in which battle the principal barons of Forfarshire fought on the side of the Earl of Mar, who commanded the royal army, was the son of Sir Walter Ogilvy of Auchterhouse, slain in a clan battle with the Robertsons in 1394.

⁴ See Smibert's *Clans*.

“ Of the best among them was
 The gracious gude Lord Ogilvy,
 The sheriff-principal of Angus,
 Renownit for truth and equity—
 For faith and magnanimity
 He had few fellows in the field,
 Yet fell by fatal destiny,
 For he nae way wad grant to yield.”

His eldest son, George Ogilvy, was also slain.

Lord OGILVY, the first title of Airlie family, was conferred by James IV., in 1491, on Sir John Ogilvy of Lintrathen.

James, seventh lord Oglivy, was created Earl of Airlie, in 1639.

The title of Lord Ogilvy of Deskford was conferred, 4th October 1616, on Sir Walter Ogilvy of Deskford and Findlater, whose son, James, second Lord Deskford, was created Earl of Findlater, 20th February 1638. He was descended from Sir Walter Ogilvy of Auchleven, second son of Sir Walter Ogilvy of Lintrathen, high treasurer of Scotland.

The clan Ogilvy are called “the *Sìol Gilchrist*,” the race or posterity of Gilchrist. In 1526, the Mackintoshes invaded the country of the Ogilvies, and massacred no fewer than 24 gentlemen of the name. A feud between the Campbells and the Ogilvies subsisted for several centuries. In Pitcairn’s Criminal Trials we find James Ogilvy complaining, on 21st October, 1591, that a body of Argyll’s men had attacked him when residing peaceably in

Glenisla, in Forfarshire, which anciently belonged to the Ogilvies, killed several of his people, ravaged the country, and compelled him and his lady to flee for their lives.

The Ogilvies had their revenge in 1645, for the burning of “the bonnie house of Airlie,” and the other strongholds of the Ogilvies, when Castle Campbell, near Dollar, or the Castle of Gloom, its original name, was destroyed by them and the Macleans, and the territory of the Marquis of Argyll was overrun by the fierce and ruthless clan that followed Montrose, and carried fire and sword throughout the whole estates of the clan Campbell.

FERGUSON.

BADGE—Little Sunflower.

Ferguson, or Fergusson, is the surname (son of Fergus) of a Highland sept (whose arms we have been unable to obtain), which had its seat on the borders of the counties of Perth and Forfar, immediately to the north of Dunkeld, and the distinctive badge of which was the little sunflower. In the Roll of 1587, they are named as among the septs of Mar and Athole, where their proper seat as a clan originally lay, having chiefs and captains of their own. In Galloway, the Craighdarroch Fergussons have flourished from an early date, and in Fife the Fergusons of Raith have long held a high position as landholders.

PART THIRD.

HISTORY OF THE HIGHLAND REGIMENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

Military character of the Highlands.

HITHERTO the account of the military exploits of the Highlanders has been limited to their own clan feuds and to the exertions which, for a century, they made in behalf of the unfortunate Stuarts. We are now to notice their operations on a more extended field of action, by giving a condensed sketch of their services in the cause of the country; services which have acquired for them a reputation as deserved as it has been unsurpassed. From moral as well as from physical causes, the Highlanders were well fitted to attain this pre-eminence.

“In forming his military character, the Highlander was not more favoured by nature than by the social system under which he lived. Nursed in poverty, he acquired a hardihood which enabled him to sustain severe privations. As the simplicity of his life gave vigour to his body, so it fortified his mind. Possessing a frame and constitution thus hardened, he was taught to consider courage as the most honourable virtue, cowardice the most disgraceful failing; to venerate and obey his chief, and to devote himself for his native country and clan; and thus prepared to be a soldier, he was ready to follow wherever honour and duty called him. With such principles, and regarding any disgrace he might bring on his clan and district as the most cruel misfortune, the Highland private soldier had a peculiar motive to exertion. The common soldier of many other countries has scarcely any other stimulus to the performance of his duty than

the fear of chastisement, or the habit of mechanical obedience to command, produced by the discipline in which he has been trained. With a Highland soldier it is otherwise. When in a national or district corps, he is surrounded by the companions of his youth and the rivals of his early achievements; he feels the impulse of emulation strengthened by the consciousness that every proof which he displays, either of bravery or cowardice, will find its way to his native home. He thus learns to appreciate the value of a good name; and it is thus, that in a Highland regiment, consisting of men from the same country, whose kindred and connexions are mutually known, every individual feels that his conduct is the subject of observation, and that, independently of his duty as a member of a systematic whole, he has to sustain a separate and individual reputation, which will be reflected on his family, and district or glen. Hence he requires no artificial excitements. He acts from motives within himself; his point is fixed, and his aim must terminate either in victory or death. The German soldier considers himself as a part of the military machine, and duly marked out in the orders of the day. He moves onward to his destination with a well-trained pace, and with as phlegmatic indifference to the result as a labourer who works for his daily hire. The courage of the French soldier is supported in the hour of trial by his high notions of the point of honour; but this display of spirit is not always steady. A Highland soldier faces his enemy, whether in front, rear, or flank; and if he has confidence in his commander, it may be predicted

with certainty that he will be victorious or die on the ground which he maintains. He goes into the field resolved not to disgrace his name. A striking characteristic of the Highlander is, that all his actions seem to flow from sentiment. His endurance of privation and fatigue,—his resistance of hostile opposition,—his solicitude for the good opinion of his superiors,—all originate in this source, whence also proceeds his obedience, which is always most *conspicuous when exhibited under kind treatment*. Hence arises the difference observable between the conduct of one regiment of Highlanders and that of another, and frequently even of the same regiment at different times, and under different management. A Highland regiment, to be orderly and well disciplined, ought to be commanded by men who are capable of appreciating their character, directing their passions and prejudices, and acquiring their entire confidence and affection. The officer to whom the command of Highlanders is intrusted must endeavour to acquire their confidence and good opinion. With this view, he must watch over the propriety of his own conduct. He must observe the strictest justice and fidelity in his promises to his men, conciliate them by an attention to their dispositions and prejudices, and, at the same time, by preserving a firm and steady authority, without which he will not be respected.

“Officers who are accustomed to command Highland soldiers find it easy to guide and control them when their full confidence has been obtained; but when distrust prevails severity ensues, with a consequent neglect of duty, and by a continuance of this unhappy misunderstanding, the men become stubborn, disobedient, and in the end mutinous. The spirit of a Highland soldier revolts at any unnecessary severity; though he may be led to the mouth of a cannon if properly directed, will rather die than be unfaithful to his trust. But if, instead of leading, his officers attempt to drive him, he may fail in the discharge of the most common duties.”

A learned and ingenious author,² who, though himself a Lowlander, had ample op-

portunity, while serving in many campaigns with Highland regiments, of becoming intimately acquainted with their character, thus writes of them:—

“The limbs of the Highlander are strong and sinewy, the frame hardy, and of great physical power, in proportion to size. He endures cold, hunger, and fatigue with patience; in other words, he has an elasticity or pride of mind which does not feel, or which refuses to complain of hardship. The air of the gentleman is ordinarily majestic; the air and gait of the gilly is not graceful. He walks with a bended knee, and does not walk with grace, but his movement has energy; and between walking and trotting, and by an interchange of pace, he performs long journeys with facility, particularly on broken and irregular ground, such as he has been accustomed to traverse in his native country.

“The Highlanders of Scotland, born and reared under the circumstances stated, marshalled for action by clans, according to ancient usage, led into action by chiefs who possess confidence from an opinion of knowledge, and love from the influence of blood, may be calculated upon as returning victorious, or dying in the grasp of the enemy.

“Scotch Highlanders have a courage devoted to honour; but they have an impetuosity which, if not well understood, and skilfully directed, is liable to error. The Scotch fight individually as if the cause were their own, not as if it were the cause of a commander only,—and they fight impassioned. Whether training and discipline may bring them in time to the apathy of German soldiers, further experience will determine; but the Highlanders are even now impetuous; and, if they fail to accomplish their object, they cannot be withdrawn from it like those who fight a battle by the job. The object stands in their own view; the eye is fixed upon it; they rush towards it, seize it, and proclaim victory with exultation.

“The Highlander, upon the whole, is a soldier of the first quality; but, as already said, he requires to see his object fully, and to come into contact with it in all its extent. He then feels the impression of his duty through a channel which he understands, and he acts consistently in consequence of the impression, that

¹ Stewart's *Sketches*.

² Jackson's *View of the Formation, &c., of Armies*. 1824.

is, in consequence of the impulse of his own internal sentiment, rather than the external impulse of the command of another; for it is often verified in experience that, where the enemy is before the Highlander and nearly in contact with him, the authority of the officer is in a measure null; the duty is notwithstanding done, and well done, by the impulses of natural instinct.

"Their conduct in the year 1745 proves very distinctly that they are neither a ferocious nor a cruel people. No troops ever, perhaps, traversed a country which might be deemed hostile leaving so few traces of outrage behind them as were left by the Highlanders in the year 1745. They are better known at the present time than they were then, and they are known to be eminent for honesty and fidelity, where confidence is given them. They possess exalted notions of honour, warm friendships, and much national pride."

Of the disinclination from peaceful employment, and propensity for war here spoken of, Dr Jackson elsewhere affords us a striking illustration. While passing through the Isle of Skye³ in the autumn of 1783, he met a man of great age whose shoulder had, through a recent fall, been dislocated. This condition was speedily rectified by our traveller. "As there seemed to be something rather uncommon about the old man, I asked if he had lived all his life in the Highlands? No:—he said he made one of the FORTY-SECOND when they were first raised; then had gone with them to Germany; but when he had heard that his Prince was landed in the North, he purchased, or had made such interest that he procured his discharge; came home, and enlisted under his banner. He fought at Cul-

³ "The Isle of Skye has, within the last forty years, furnished for the public service, twenty-one lieutenant-generals and major-generals; forty-five lieutenant-colonels; six hundred majors, captains, lieutenants, and subalterns; ten thousand foot soldiers; one hundred and twenty pipers; four governors of British colonies; one governor-general; one adjutant-general; one chief-baron of England; and one judge of the Supreme Court of Scotland. The generals may be classed thus:—eight Macdonalds, six Macleods, two Macallisters, two Macaskills, one Mackinnon, one Elder, and one Macqueen. The Isle of Skye is forty-five miles long, and about fifteen in mean breadth. Truly the inhabitants are a wonderful people. It may be mentioned that this island is the birth-place of Cuthullin, the celebrated hero mentioned in Ossian's Poems."—*Inverness Journal*.

loden, and was wounded. After everything was settled, he returned to his old regiment, and served with it till he received another wound that rendered him unfit for service. He now, he said, lived the best way he could, on his pension."

Dr Jackson also strongly advocates the desirability of forming national and district regiments, and of keeping them free from any foreign intermixture. Such a policy seems to be getting more and more into favour among modern military authorities; and we believe that at the present time it is seldom, and only with reluctance, that any but Scotchmen are admitted into Scotch, and especially into Highland regiments, at least this is the case with regard to privates. Indeed, it is well known that in our own country there is even now an attempt among those who manage such matters, to connect particular regiments with certain districts. Not only does such a plan tend to keep up the *morale* respectability and *esprit de corps* of each regiment, but is well calculated to keep up the numbers, by establishing a connection between the various regiments and the militia of the districts with which they are connected. Originally each Highland regiment was connected and raised from a well defined district, and military men who are conversant in such matters think that it would be advisable to restore these regiments to their old footing in this respect. On this subject, we again quote the shrewd remarks of Dr Jackson:—

"If military materials be thrown together promiscuously—that is, arranged by no other rule except that of size or quantity of matter, as it is admitted that the individual parts possess different propensities and different powers of action, it is plain that the instrument composed of these different and independent parts has a tendency to act differently; the parts are constrained to act on one object by stimulation or coercion only.

"Military excellence consists, as often hinted, in every part of the instrument acting with full force—acting from one principle and for one purpose; and hence it is evident that in a mixed fabric, composed of parts of unequal power and different temper, disunion is a consequence, if all act to the full extent of their

power; or if disunion be not a consequence, the combined act must necessarily be shackled, and, as such, inferior, the strong being restrained from exertion for the sake of preserving union with the weak.

“The imperfection now stated necessarily attaches to regiments composed of different nations mixed promiscuously. It even attaches, in some degree, to regiments which are formed indiscriminately from the population of all the districts or counties of an extensive kingdom. This assumption, anticipated by reasoning, is confirmed by experience in the military history of semi-barbarous tribes, which are often observed, without the aid of tactic, as taught in modern schools, to stick together in danger and to achieve acts of heroism beyond the comprehension of those who have no knowledge of man but as part of a mechanical instrument of war. The fact has numerous proofs in the history of nations; but it has not a more decisive one than that which occurred in the late SEVENTY-FIRST REGIMENT in the revolutionary war of America. In the summer of the year 1779, a party of the Seventy-first Regiment, consisting of fifty-six men and five officers, was detached from a redoubt at Stoneferry, in South Carolina, for the purpose of reconnoitring the enemy, which was supposed to be advancing in force to attack the post. The instructions given to the officer who commanded went no further than to reconnoitre and retire upon the redoubt. The troops were new troops,—ardent as Highlanders usually are. They fell in with a strong column of the enemy (upwards of two thousand) within a short distance of the post; and, instead of retiring according to instruction, they thought proper to attack, with an instinctive view, it was supposed, to retard progress, and thereby to give time to those who were in the redoubt to make better preparations for defence. This they did; but they were themselves nearly destroyed. All the officers and non-commissioned officers were killed or wounded, and seven of the privates only remained on their legs at the end of the combat. The commanding officer fell, and, in falling, desired the few who still resisted to make the best of their way to the redoubt. They did not obey. The national sympathies were warm. National

honours did not permit them to leave their officers in the field; and they actually persisted in covering their fallen comrades until a reinforcement arrived from headquarters.

In the narratives which follow, we have confined ourselves strictly to those regiments which are at the present day officially recognised as Highland. Many existing regiments were originally Highland, which, as our readers will see, had ultimately to be changed into ordinary line regiments, from the difficulty of finding Highlanders willing to enlist; the history of such regiments we have followed only so long as they were recognised as Highland, and in the event of their again becoming Highland regiments—as in the case of the 73rd and 75th—their history is resumed at that point. In this way the existing strictly Highland regiments are reduced to eleven—The Black Watch or 42nd, the 71st, 72nd, 73rd, 74th, 75th, 78th, 79th, 91st, 92nd, 93rd.

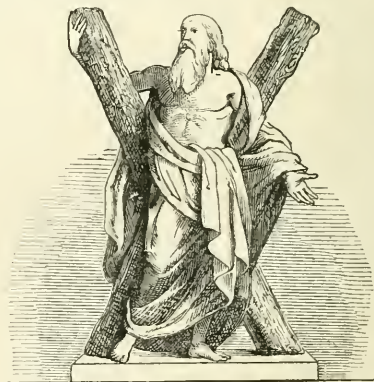
42^D ROYAL HIGHLAND REGIMENT.

AM FREICEADAN DUBH—
“THE BLACK WATCH.”

I.

1729-1775.

Embodying the Black Watch—March for England—Mutiny—Fontenoy—Embarks for the French coast—Flanders—Battle of Lafeldt—Return of the regiment to Ireland—Number changed from the 43d to the 42d—Embarks for New York—Louisbourg—Ticonderoga—The West Indies—Ticonderoga and Crown Point—Surrender of Montreal—Martinique—Havannah—Bushy Run—Fort Pitt—Ireland—Return of the 42d to Scotland.



NEMO ME IMPUNE LACESSIT.

EGYPT. (With the Sphinx.)	ORTHES.
CORUNNA.	TOULOUSE.
P'UNTES D'ONOR.	PENINSULA.
PYRENEES.	WATERLOG.
NIVELLE.	ALMA.
NIVE.	SEVASTOPOL.
	LUCKNOW.

THE design of rendering such a valuable class of subjects available to the state by forming regular military corps out of it, seems not to have entered into the views of the government till about the year 1729, when six companies of Highlanders were raised, which, from forming distinct corps unconnected with each other, received the appellation of independent companies. Three of these companies consisted of 100 men each, and were therefore called large companies; Lord Lovat, Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, and Colonel Grant of Ballindalloch, were appointed captains over them. The three smaller companies, which consisted of 75 each, were commanded by Colonel Alexander Campbell of Finab, John Campbell of Carrick, and George Munro of Culcairn, under the commission of captain-lieutenants. To each of the six companies were attached two lieutenants and one ensign. To distinguish them from the regular troops, who, from having coats, waistcoats, and breeches of scarlet cloth, were called *Saighdearan Dearg*, or Red soldiers; the independent companies, who were attired in tartan consisting mostly of black, green, and blue, were designated *Am Freiceadan Dubh*, or Black Watch,—from the sombre appearance of their dress.

As the services of these companies were not required beyond their own territory, and as the intrants were not subjected to the humiliating provisions of the disarming act, no difficulty was found in forming them; and when completed, they presented the singular spectacle of a number of young men of respectable families serving as privates in the ranks. "Many of the men who composed these companies were of a higher station in society than that from which soldiers in general are raised; cadets of gentlemen's families, sons of gentlemen farmers, and tacksmen, either immediately or distantly descended from gentlemen's families,—men who felt themselves responsible

for their conduct to high-minded and honourable families, as well as to a country for which they cherished a devoted affection. In addition to the advantages derived from their superior rank in life, they possessed, in an eminent degree, that of a commanding external deportment, special care being taken in selecting men of full height, well proportioned, and of handsome appearance."⁴

The duties assigned to these companies were to enforce the disarming act, to overawe the disaffected, and watch their motions, and to check depredations. For this purpose they were stationed in small detachments in different parts of the country, and generally throughout the district in which they were raised. Thus Fort Augustus and the neighbouring parts of Inverness-shire were occupied by the Frasers under Lord Lovat; Ballindalloch and the Grants were stationed in Strathspey and Badenoch; the Munros under Culcairn, in Ross and Sutherland; Lochnell's and Carrick's companies were stationed in Athole and Breadalbane, and Finab's in Lochaber, and the northern parts of Argyleshire among the disaffected Camerons, and Stewarts of Appin. All Highlanders of whatever clan were admitted indiscriminately into these companies as soldiers; but the officers were taken, almost exclusively, from the whig clans.

The independent companies continued to exist as such until the year 1739, when government resolved to raise four additional companies, and to form the whole into a regiment of the line. For this purpose, letters of service, dated 25th October 1739, were addressed to the Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, who was appointed to the command of the regiment about to be formed, which was to consist of 1000 men. Although the commissions were dated as above, the regiment was not embodied till the month of May 1740, when it assembled

⁴ Stewart's *Sketches*. In confirmation of this, General Stewart mentions the case of Mr Stewart of Bohallie, his grand-uncle by marriage, who was one of the gentlemen soldiers in Carrick's company. "This gentleman, a man of family and education, was five feet eleven inches in height, remarkable for his personal strength and activity, and one of the best swordsmen of his time in an age when good swordsmanship was common, and considered an indispensable and graceful accomplishment of a gentleman; and yet, with all these qualifications, he was only a centre man of the centre rank of his company."

on a field between Taybridge and Aberfeldy,⁵ in Perthshire, under the number of the 43d regiment, afterwards changed to the 42d, but still bearing the name of the Black Watch. "The uniform was a scarlet jacket and waistcoat, with buff facings and white lace,—tartan⁶ plaid of twelve yards plaited round the middle of the body, the upper part being fixed on the left shoulder ready to be thrown loose, and wrapped over both shoulders and firelock in rainy weather. At night the plaid served the purpose of a blanket, and was a sufficient covering for the Highlander. These were called belted plaids from being kept tight to the body by a belt, and were worn on guards, reviews, and on all occasions when the men were in full dress. On this belt hung the pistols and dirk when worn. In the barracks, and when not on duty, the little kilt or philibeg was worn, a blue bonnet with a border of white, red and green, arranged in small squares to resemble, as is said, the *fess cheque* in the arms of the different branches of the Stewart family, and a tuft of feathers, or sometimes, from economy or necessity, a small piece of black bear-skin. The arms were a musket, a bayonet, and a large basket-hilted broadsword. These were furnished by government. Such of the men as chose to supply themselves with pistols and

⁵ Sir Robert Menzies, writing to the *Dundee Advertiser* in connection with the monument recently erected at Dunkeld to the Black Watch, says this is a mistake, although it is the account generally received, and that given by General David Stewart. Sir Robert says "the detailed companies of the Black Watch met at Weem, and that the whole regiment was first drawn up in the field at Boltachan, between Weem and Taybridge." It is strange, considering the inscription on the monument, that Sir Robert should have been asked to allow it to be erected in the field in question. After all, both statements may be essentially correct, and it is of no great consequence.

⁶ While the companies acted independently, each commander assumed the tartan of his own clan. When embodied, no clan having a superior claim to offer a uniform plaid to the whole, and Lord Crawford, the colonel, being a lowlander, a new pattern was assumed, which has ever since been known as the 42d, or Black Watch tartan, being distinct from all others. Here we must acknowledge our indebtedness to a manuscript history of this regiment, kindly lent us by Lieutenant-Colonel Wheatley, whose "happy home," he says himself, the regiment was for 38 years. The volume contains much curious, valuable, and interesting information, on which we shall largely draw in our account of the 42d. Our obligations to Colonel Wheatley in connection with this history of the Highland regiments are very numerous; his willingness to lend us every assistance in his power deserves our warmest thanks.

dirks were allowed to carry them, and some had targets after the fashion of their country. The sword-belt was of black leather, and the cartouch-box was carried in front, supported by a narrow belt round the middle."⁷

The officers appointed to this regiment were:—

Colonel—John, Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, died in 1748.

Lieutenant-Colonel—Sir Robert Munro of Foulis, Bart., killed at Falkirk, 1746.

Major—George Grant, brother of the Laird of Grant, removed from the service by sentence of a court-martial, for allowing the rebels to get possession of the castle of Inverness in 1746.

Captains.

George Munro of Culcairn, brother of Sir Robert Munro, killed in 1746.⁸

Dugal Campbell of Craignish, retired in 1745.

John Campbell of Carrick, killed at Fontenoy.

Colin Campbell, junior, of Monzie, retired in 1743.

Sir James Colquhoun of Luss, Bart., retired in 1748.

Colin Campbell of Ballimore, retired.

John Munro, promoted to be Lieutenant-Colonel in 1743, retired in 1749.

Captain-Lieutenant Duncan Macfarlane, retired in 1744.

Lieutenants.

Paul Macpherson.

Lewis Grant of Auchterblair.

John Maclean of Kingarloch. } Both removed from the
John Mackenzie. } regiment in consequence of having fought a duel in 1744.

Alexander Macdonald.

Malcolm Fraser, son of Culduthel, killed at Bergen-op-Zoom in 1747.

George Ramsay.

Francis Grant, son of the Laird of Grant, died Lieutenant-General in 1782.

John Macneil.

Ensigns.

Dugal Campbell, killed at Fontenoy.

Dugal Stewart.

John Menzies of Comrie.

Edward Carrick.

Gilbert Stewart of Kincraigie.

Gordon Graham of Draines.

Archd. Macnab, son of the Laird of Macnab, died

Lieutenant-General, 1790.

Colin Campbell.

Dugal Stewart.

James Campbell of Glenfalloch, died of wounds at Fontenoy.

Chaplain—Hon. Gideon Murray.

Surgeon—James Munro, brother of Sir Robert Munro.⁹

Adjutant—Gilbert Stewart.

Quarter-Master—John Forbes.

In 1740 the Earl of Crawford was removed to the Life Guards, and Brigadier-General Lord Sempill was appointed Colonel of the Highlanders.

⁷ Stewart's *Sketches*.

⁸ See p. 234 of this volume.

⁹ See vol. i., p. 626.

After remaining nearly eighteen months in quarters near Taybridge,¹ the regiment was marched northward, in the winter of 1741-2 and the men remained in the stations assigned them till the spring of 1743, when they were ordered to repair to Perth. Having assembled there in March of that year, they were surprised on being informed that orders had been received to march the regiment for England, a step which they considered contrary to an alleged understanding when regimented, that the sphere of their services was not to extend beyond their native country. When the intention of employing them in foreign service came to be known, many of the warmest supporters of the government highly disapproved of the design, among whom was Lord President Forbes. In a letter to General Clayton, the successor of Marshal Wade, the chief commander in Scotland, his lordship thus expresses himself:—"When I first heard of the orders given to the Highland regiment to march southwards, it gave me no sort of concern, because I supposed the intention was only to see them; but as I have lately been assured that they are destined for foreign service, I cannot dissemble my uneasiness at a resolution, that may, in my apprehension, be attended with very bad consequences; nor can I prevail with myself not to communicate to you my thoughts on the subject, however late they may come; because if what I am to suggest has not been already under consideration, it's possible the resolution may be departed from." After noticing the consequences which might result from leaving the Highlands unprotected from the designs of the disaffected in the event of a war with France, he thus proceeds:—"Having thus stated to you the danger I dread, I must, in the next place, put you in mind, that the present system for securing the peace of the Highlands, which is the best I ever heard of, is by regular troops stationed from Inverness to Fort William, amongst the chain of lakes which in a manner divides the Highlands, to command the obedience of the inhabitants of both sides, and by a body of disciplined Highlanders wearing the dress and speaking the language of

the country, to execute such orders as require expedition, and for which neither the dress nor the manner of the other troops are proper. The Highlanders, now regimented, were at first independent companies; and though their dress, language, and manners, qualified them for securing the low country against depredations; yet that was not the sole use of them: the same qualities fitted them for every expedition that required secrecy and despatch; they served for all purposes of hussars or light horse, in a country where mountains and bogs render cavalry useless, and if properly disposed over the Highlands, nothing that was commonly reported and believed by the Highlanders could be a secret to their commanders, because of their intimacy with the people and the sameness of the language."² Notwithstanding this remonstrance, the government persisted in its determination to send the regiment abroad; and to deceive the men, from whom their real destination was concealed, they were told that the object of their march to England was merely to gratify the curiosity of the king,³ who was desirous of seeing a

² Culloden Papers, No. CCCXC.

³ The king, having never seen a Highland soldier, expressed a desire to see one. Three privates, remarkable for their figure and good looks, were fixed upon and sent to London a short time before the regiment marched. These were Gregor M'Gregor, commonly called Gregor the Beautiful, John Campbell, son of Duncan Campbell of the family of Duncaves, Perthshire, and John Grant from Strathspey, of the family of Ballindalloch. Grant fell sick, and died at Aberfeldy. The others "were presented by their Lieutenant-Colonel, Sir Robert Munro, to the king, and performed the broadsword exercise, and that of the Lochaber axe, or lance, before his majesty, the Duke of Cumberland, Marshal Wade, and a number of general officers assembled for the purpose, in the Great Gallery at St James's. They displayed so much dexterity and skill in the management of their weapons, as to give perfect satisfaction to his majesty. Each got a gratuity of one guinea, which they gave to the porter at the palace gate as they passed out."* They thought that the king had mistaken their character and condition in their own country. Such was, in general, the character of the men who originally composed the Black Watch. This feeling of self-estimation inspired a high spirit and sense of honour in the regiment, which continued to form its character and conduct long after the description of men who originally composed it was totally changed. These men afterwards rose to rank in the army. Mr Campbell got an ensigncy for his conduct at Fontenoy, and was captain-lieutenant of the regiment when he was killed at Ticonderoga, where he also distinguished himself. Mr M'Gregor was promoted in another regiment, and afterwards purchased the lands of Inverardine in

¹ Taybridge and the Point of Lyon, a mile below Taymouth Castle, were their places of rendezvous for exercise.

* *Westminster Journal*.

Highland regiment. Satisfied with this explanation, they proceeded on their march. The English people, who had been led to consider the Highlanders as savages, were struck with the warlike appearance of the regiment and the orderly deportment of the men, who received in the country and towns through which they passed the mostly friendly attentions.

Having reached the vicinity of London on the 29th and 30th of April, in two divisions, the regiment was reviewed on the 14th of May, on Finchley Common, by Marshal Wade. The arrival of the corps in the neighbourhood of the metropolis had attracted vast crowds of people to their quarters, anxious to behold men of whom they had heard the most extraordinary relations; but, mingled with these, were persons who frequented the quarters of the Highlanders from a very different motive. Their object was to sow the seeds of distrust and disaffection among the men, by circulating misrepresentations and falsehoods respecting the intentions of the government. These incendiaries gave out that a gross deception had been practised upon the regiment, in regard to the object of their journey, in proof of which they adduced the fact of his majesty's departure for Hanover, on the very day of the arrival of the last division, and that the real design of the government was to get rid of them altogether, as disaffected persons, and, with that view, that the regiment was to be transported for life to the American plantations. These insidious falsehoods had their intended effect upon the minds of the Highlanders, who took care, however, to conceal the indignation they felt at their supposed betrayers. All their thoughts were bent upon a return to their own country, and they concerted their measures for its accomplishment with a secrecy which escaped the observation of their officers, of whose integrity in the affair they do not, however, appear to have entertained any suspicion.

The mutiny which followed created a great sensation, and the circumstances which led to it formed, both in public and in private, the ordinary topic of discussion. The writer of a

Breadalbane. He was grandfather of Sir Gregor M'Gregor, a commander in South America.—Stewart's *Sketches*, vol. i. p. 259.

pamphlet, which was published immediately after the mutiny, and which contains the best view of the subject, and an intimate knowledge of the facts, thus describes the affair:—

“On their march through the northern counties of England, they were every where received with such hospitality, that they appeared in the highest spirits; and it was imagined that their attachment to home was so much abated, that they would feel no reluctance to the change. As they approached the metropolis, however, and were exposed to the taunts of the *true-bred English clowns*, they became more gloomy and sullen. Animated, even to the lowest private, with the feelings of gentlemen, they could ill brook the rudeness of boors—nor could they patiently submit to affronts in a country to which they had been called by invitation of their sovereign. A still deeper cause of discontent preyed upon their minds. A rumour had reached them on their march that they were to be embarked for the plantations. The fate of the marines, the invalids, and other regiments which had been sent to these colonies, seemed to mark out this service as at once the most perilous and the most degrading to which British soldiers could be exposed. With no enemy to encounter worthy of their courage, there was another consideration, which made it peculiarly odious to the Highlanders. By the act of parliament of the eleventh of George I., transportation to the colonies was denounced against the Highland rebels, &c. as the greatest punishment that could be inflicted on them except death, and, when they heard that they were to be sent there, the galling suspicion naturally arose in their minds, that ‘*after being used as rods to scourge their own countrymen, they were to be thrown into the fire!*’ These apprehensions they kept secret even from their own officers; and the care with which they dissembled them is the best evidence of the deep impression which they had made. Amidst all their jealousies and fears, however, they looked forward with considerable expectation to the review, when they were to come under the immediate observation of his majesty, or some of the royal family. On the 14th of May they were reviewed by Marshal Wade, and many persons of distinction, who were highly de-

lighted with the promptitude and alacrity with which they went through their military exercises, and gave a very favourable report of them, where it was likely to operate most to their advantage. From that moment, however, all their thoughts were bent on the means of returning to their own country; and on this wild and romantic march they accordingly set out a few days after. Under pretence of preparing for the review, they had been enabled to provide themselves, unsuspectedly, with some necessary articles, and, confiding in their capability of enduring privations and fatigue, they imagined that they should have great advantages over any troops that might be sent in pursuit of them. It was on the night between Tuesday and Wednesday (17th and 18th May) after the review that they assembled on a common near Highgate, and commenced their march to the north. They kept as nearly as possible between the two great roads, passing from wood to wood in such a manner that it was not well known which way they moved. Orders were issued by the lords-justices to the commanding officers of the forces stationed in the counties between them and Scotland, and an advertisement was published by the secretary at war, exhorting the civil officers to be vigilant in their endeavours to discover their route. It was not, however, till about eight o'clock on the evening of Thursday, 19th May, that any certain intelligence of them was obtained, and they had then proceeded as far as Northampton, and were supposed to be shaping their course towards Nottinghamshire. General Blakeney, who commanded at Northampton, immediately despatched Captain Ball, of General Wade's regiment of horse, an officer well acquainted with that part of the country, to search after them. They had now entered Lady Wood between Brig Stock and Dean Thorp, about four miles from Oundle, when they were discovered. Captain Ball was joined in the evening by the general himself, and about nine all the troops were drawn up in order, near the wood where the Highlanders lay. Seeing themselves in this situation, and unwilling to aggravate their offence by the crime of shedding the blood of his majesty's troops, they sent one of their guides to inform the general that he might, without fear, send an officer to treat of

the terms on which they should be expected to surrender. Captain Ball was accordingly delegated, and, on coming to a conference, the captain demanded that they should instantly lay down their arms and surrender as prisoners at discretion. This they positively refused, declaring that they would rather be cut to pieces than submit, unless the general should send them a written promise, signed by his own hand, that their arms should not be taken from them, and that they should have a free pardon. Upon this the captain delivered the conditions proposed by General Blakeney, viz., that if they would peaceably lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners, the most favourable report should be made of them to the lords-justices; when they again protested that they would be cut in pieces rather than surrender, except on the conditions of retaining their arms, and receiving a free pardon. 'Hitherto,' exclaimed the captain, 'I have been your friend, and am still anxious to do all I can to save you; but, if you continue obstinate an hour longer, surrounded as you are by the king's forces, not a man of you shall be left alive; and, for my own part, I assure you that I shall give quarter to none.' He then demanded that two of their number should be ordered to conduct him out of the wood. Two brothers were accordingly ordered to accompany him. Finding that they were inclined to submit, he promised them both a free pardon, and, taking one of them along with him, he sent back the other to endeavour, by every means, to overcome the obstinacy of the rest. He soon returned with thirteen more. Having marched them to a short distance from the wood, the captain again sent one of them back to his comrades to inform them how many had submitted; and in a short time seventeen more followed the example. These were all marched away with their arms (the powder being blown out of their pans,) and when they came before the general they laid down their arms. On returning to the wood they found the whole body disposed to submit to the general's troops.

"While this was doing in the country," continues our author, "there was nothing but the flight of the Highlanders talked of in town. The wiser sort blamed it, but some of their

hot-headed countrymen were for comparing it to the retreat of the 10,000 Greeks through Persia; by which, for the honour of the ancient kingdom of Scotland, Corporal M'Pherson was erected into a Xenophon. But amongst these idle dreams, the most injurious were those that reflected on their officers, and by a strange kind of innuendo, would have fixed the crime of these people's desertion upon those who did their duty, and staid here.

"As to the rest of the regiment, they were ordered immediately to Kent, whither they marched very cheerfully, and were from thence transported to Flanders, and are by this time with the army, where I dare say it will quickly appear they were not afraid of fighting the French. In King William's war there was a Highland regiment that, to avoid going to Flanders, had formed a design of flying into the mountains. This was discovered before they could put it into execution; and General M'Kay, who then commanded in Scotland, caused them to be immediately surrounded and disarmed, and afterwards shipped them for Holland. When they came to the confederate army, they behaved very briskly upon all occasions; but as pick-thanks are never wanting in courts, some wise people were pleased to tell King William that the Highlanders drank King James's health,—a report which was probably very true. The king, whose good sense taught him to despise such dirty informations, asked General Talmash, who was near him, how they behaved in the field? 'As well as any troops in the army,' answered the general, like a soldier and a man of honour. 'Why then,' replied the king, 'if they fight for me, let them drink my father's health as often as they please.' On the road, and even after they entered to London, they kept up their spirits, and marched very cheerfully; nor did they show any marks of terror when they were brought into the Tower."

Though it was evident that the Highlanders were led to commit this rash act under a false impression, and that they were the unconscious dupes of designing men, yet the government thought it could not overlook such a gross breach of military discipline, and the deserters were accordingly tried before a general court-martial on the 8th of June. They were all found

guilty, and condemned to be shot. Three only, however, suffered capitally. These were corporals Malcolm and Samuel M'Pherson,⁴ and Farquhar Shaw, a private. They were shot



Farquhar Shaw, of the Black Watch, in the uniform of the Regiment, 1743. From the picture in the possession of Lord John Murray, Colonel of the Regiment 1745, Major-General 1755.

upon the parade within the Tower, in presence of the other prisoners, who joined in their prayers with great earnestness. The unfortunate men met their death with composure, and acted with great propriety. Their bodies were put into three coffins by three of the prisoners, their clansmen and connexions, and were buried together in one grave at the place of execution.⁵ From an ill-judged severity, one hundred of the deserters were equally divided between the garrisons of Gibraltar and Minorca, and a similar number were distributed among the different corps in the Leeward islands, Jamaica and Georgia,—a circumstance

⁴ Brother to General Kenneth M'Pherson of the East India Company's Service, who died in 1815. General Stewart says that Lord John Murray, who was afterwards colonel of the regiment, had portraits of the sufferers hung up in his dining-room; but for what reason is not known. They were remarkable for their great size and handsome figure.

⁵ *St James's Chronicle*, 20th July 1743.

which, it is believed, impressed the Highlanders with an idea that the government had intended to deceive them.

Near the end of May the remainder of the regiment was sent to Flanders, where it joined the army under the command of Field-marshal the Earl of Stair. During the years 1743-44, they were quartered in different parts of that country, and by their quiet, orderly, and kind deportment, acquired the entire confidence of the people among whom they mixed. The regiment "was judged the most trust-worthy guard of property, insomuch that the people in Flanders choose to have them always for their protection. Seldom were any of them drunk, and they as rarely swore. And the elector-palatine wrote to his envoy in London, desiring him to thank the king of Great Britain for the excellent behaviour of the regiment while in his territories in 1743 and 1744, and for whose sake he adds, 'I will always pay a respect and regard to a Scotchman in future.'"⁶

Lord Sempill, who had succeeded the Earl of Crawford in the colonelcy of the regiment in 1740, being appointed in April 1745 to the 25th regiment, Lord John Murray, son of the Duke of Athole, succeeded him as colonel of the Highlanders. During the command of these officers, the regiment was designated by the titles of its successive commanders, as Lord Crawford's, Lord Sempill's, and Lord John Murray's Highlanders.

Baffled in his efforts to prevent the elevation of the Grand Duke of Tuscany to the imperial throne, the King of France resolved to humble the house of Austria by making a conquest of the Netherlands. With this view he assembled an immense army in Flanders under the command of the celebrated Marshal Saxe, and having with the dauphin joined the army in April 1745, he, on the 30th of that month, invested Tournay, then garrisoned by 8000 men, commanded by General Baron Dorth, who defended the place with vigour. The Duke of Cumberland, who arrived from England early in May, assumed the command of the allied army assembled at Soignies. It consisted of twenty battalions and twenty-six squadrons of British, five battalions and

sixteen squadrons of Hanoverians, all under the immediate command of his royal highness; twenty-six battalions and forty squadrons of Dutch, commanded by the Prince of Waldeck; and eight squadrons of Austrians, under the command of Count Königseg.

Though the allied army was greatly inferior in number to the enemy, yet as the French army was detached, the duke resolved to march to the relief of Tournay. Marshal Saxe, who soon became aware of the design of the allies, drew up his army in line of battle, on the right bank of the Scheldt, extending from the wood of Barri to Fontenoy, and thence to the village of St Antoine in sight of the British army.

The allied army advanced to Leuse, and on the 9th of May took up a position between the villages of Bougries and Maulbre, in sight of the French army. In the evening the duke, attended by Field-marshal Königseg and the Prince of Waldeck, reconnoitred the position of Marshal Saxe. They were covered by the Highlanders, who kept up a sharp fire with French sharpshooters who were concealed in the woods. After a general survey, the Earl of Crawford, who was left in command of the advance of the army, proceeded with the Highlanders and a party of hussars to examine the enemy's outposts more narrowly. In the course of the day a Highlander in advance observing that one of the sharpshooters repeatedly fired at his post, placed his bonnet upon the top of a stick near the verge of a hollow road. This stratagem decoyed the Frenchman, and whilst he was intent on his object, the Highlander approaching cautiously to a point which afforded a sure aim, succeeded in bringing him to the ground.⁷

Having ascertained that a plain which lay between the positions of two armies was covered with some flying squadrons of the enemy, and that their outposts commanded some narrow defiles through which the allied forces had necessarily to march to the attack, the Duke of Cumberland resolved to scour the plain, and to dislodge the outposts, preparatory to advancing upon the besieging army. Accordingly at an early hour next morning, six battalions and twelve squadrons were ordered to

⁶ Dr Doddridge's *Life of Colonel Gardiner*.

⁷ *Rolt's Life of the Earl of Crawford*.

disperse the forces on the plain and clear the defiles, a service which they soon performed. Some Austrian hussars being hotly pressed on this occasion by the French light troops, a party of Highlanders was sent to support them, and the Frenchmen were quickly repulsed with loss. This was the first time the Highlanders stood the fire of the enemy in a regular body, and so well did they acquit themselves, that they were particularly noticed for their spirited conduct.

Resolving to attack the enemy next morning, the commander-in-chief of the allied army made the necessary dispositions. Opposite the space between Fontenoy and the wood of Barri, he formed the British and Hanoverian infantry in two lines, and posted their cavalry in the rear. Near the left of the Hanoverians he drew up the Dutch, whose left was towards St Antoine. The French in their turn completed their batteries, and made the most formidable preparations to receive the allies. At two o'clock in the morning of the 11th of May, the Duke of Cumberland began his march, and drew up his army in front of the enemy. The engagement began about four by the guards and the Highlanders attacking a redoubt, advanced on the right of the wood near Vezon, occupied by 600 men, in the vicinity of which place the dauphin was posted. Though the enemy were entrenched breast-high they were forced out by the guards with bayonets, and by the Highlanders with sword, pistol, and dirk, the latter killing a considerable number of them.

The allies continuing steadfastly to advance, Marshal Saxe, who had, during three attacks, lost some of his bravest men, began to think of a retreat; but being extremely unwilling to abandon his position, he resolved to make a last effort to retrieve the fortune of the day by attacking his assailants with all his forces. Being far advanced in a dropsy, the marshal had been carried about the whole day in a litter. This he now quitted, and mounting his horse, he rode over the field giving the necessary orders, whilst two men supported him on each side. He brought forward the household troops of the King of France: he posted his best cavalry on the flanks, and the king's body guards, with the flower of the infantry in the

centre. Having brought up all his field-pieces, he, under cover of their fire and that of the batteries, made a combined charge of cavalry and infantry on the allied army, the greater part of which had, by this time, formed into line by advancing beyond the confined ground. The allies, unable to withstand the impetuosity of this attack, gave way, and were driven back across the ravine, carrying along with them the Highlanders, who had been ordered up from the attack of the village, and two other regiments ordered from the reserve to support the line. After rallying for a short time beyond the ravine, the whole army retreated by order of the duke, the Highlanders and Howard's regiment (the 19th) under the command of Lord Crawford, covering the rear. The retreat, which was commenced about three o'clock in the afternoon, was effected in excellent order. When it was over his lordship pulled off his hat, and returning thanks to the covering party, said "that they had acquired as much honour in covering so great a retreat, as if they had gained a battle."⁸ The carnage on both sides was great. The allies lost, in killed and wounded, about 7000 men, including a number of officers. The loss of the French is supposed to have equalled that of the allies. The Highlanders lost Captain John Campbell of Carrick,⁹ whose head was carried off by a cannon-ball early in the action;¹ Ensign Lachlan Campbell, son of Craignish, and 30 men; Captain Robert Campbell of Finab; Ensigns Ronald Campbell, nephew of Craignish, and James Campbell, son of Glenfalloch; 2 sergeants, and 86 rank and file wounded.

Before the engagement, the part which the Highlanders would act formed a subject of general speculation. Those who knew them had no misgivings; but there were other persons,

⁸ *Rolt's Life of the Earl of Crawford.*

⁹ "Captain John Campbell of Carrick was one of the most accomplished gentleman of his day. Possessing very agreeable manners and bravery, tempered by gaiety, he was regarded by the people as one of those who retained the chivalrous spirit of their ancestors. A poet, a soldier, and a gentleman, no less gallant among the ladies than he was brave among men; he was the object of general admiration; and the last generation of Highlanders among whom he was best known, took great pleasure in cherishing his memory, and repeating anecdotes concerning him. He married a sister of General Campbell of Mamore, afterwards Duke of Argyll."—*Stewart's Sketches.*

¹ Culloden Papers, p. 200.

high in rank, who looked upon the support of such men with an unfavourable eye. So strong was this impression "in some high quarters, that, on the rapid charge made by the Highlanders, when pushing forward sword in hand nearly at full speed, and advancing so far, it was suggested that they inclined to change sides and join the enemy, who had already three brigades of Scotch and Irish engaged, which performed very important services on that day."² All anxiety, however, was soon put an end to by the decided way in which they sustained the national honour.

Captain John Munro of the 43d regiment, in a letter to Lord-president Forbes, thus describes the battle:—"A little after four in the morning, the 30th of April, our cannon began to play, and the French batteries, with triple our weight of metal and numbers too, answered us; about five the infantry was in march; we (the Highlanders) were in the centre of the right brigade; but by six we were ordered to cross the field, (I mean our regiment, for the rest of our brigades did not march to attack,) a little village on the left of the whole, called Fontenoy. As we passed the field the French batteries played upon our front, and right and left flanks, but to no purpose, for their batteries being upon rising ground their balls flew over us and hurt the second line. We were to support the Dutch, who, in their usual way, were very dilatory. We got within musket-shot of their batteries, when we received three full fires of their batteries and small arms, which killed us forty men and one ensign. Here we were obliged to skulk behind houses and hedges for about an hour and a half, waiting for the Dutch, who, when they came up, behaved but so and so. Our regiment being in some disorder, I wanted to draw them up in rear of the Dutch, which their general would scarce allow of; but at last I did it, and marched them again to the front. In half an hour after the Dutch gave way, and Sir Robert Munro thought proper we should retire; for we had then the whole batteries from the enemy's ground playing upon us, and three thousand foot ready to fall upon us. We retired; but before we had marched

thirty yards, we had orders to return to the attack, which we did; and in about ten minutes after had orders to march directly with all expedition, to assist the Hanoverians, who had got by this time well advanced upon the batteries upon the left. They behaved most gallantly and bravely; and had the Dutch taken example from them, we had supped at Tournay. The British behaved well; we (the Highlanders) were told by his royal highness that we did our duty well. . . . By two of the clock we all retreated; and we were ordered to cover the retreat, as the only regiment that could be kept to their duty, and in this affair we lost sixty more; but the duke made so friendly and favourable a speech to us, that if we had been ordered to attack their lines afresh, I dare say our poor fellows would have done it."³

The Highlanders on this occasion were commanded by Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis, their lieutenant-colonel, in whom, besides great military experience, were united all the best qualities of the soldier. Aware of the importance of allowing his men to follow their accustomed tactics, he obtained leave of the Duke of Cumberland to allow them to fight in their own way. He accordingly "ordered the whole regiment to clap to the ground on receiving the

³ Culloden Papers, No. CCXLIII. "On this occasion the Duke of Cumberland was so much struck with the conduct of the Highlanders, and concurred so cordially in the esteem which they had secured to themselves both from friends and foes, that, wishing to show a mark of his approbation, he desired it to be intimated to them, that he would be happy to grant the men any favour which they chose to ask, and which he could concede, as a testimony of the good opinion he had formed of them. The reply was worthy of so handsome an offer. After expressing acknowledgments for the condescension of the commander-in-chief, the men assured him that no favour he could bestow would gratify them so much as a pardon for one of their comrades, a soldier of the regiment, who had been tried by a court-martial for allowing a prisoner to escape, and was under sentence of a heavy corporal punishment, which, if inflicted, would bring disgrace on them all, and on their families and country. This favour, of course, was instantly granted. The nature of this request, the feeling which suggested it, and, in short, the general qualities of the corps, struck the Duke with the more force, as, at the time, he had not been in Scotland, and had no means of knowing the character of its inhabitants, unless, indeed, he had formed his opinion from the common ribaldry of the times, when it was the fashion to consider the Highlander 'as a fierce and savage depredator, speaking a barbarous language, and inhabiting a barren and gloomy region, which fear and prudence forbade all strangers to enter.'"—Stewart's *Sketches*, i. p. 274-5.

² Stewart's *Sketches*.

French fire; and instantly after its discharge they sprang up, and coming close to the enemy, poured in their shot upon them to the certain destruction of multitudes, and drove them precipitately through their lines; then retreating, drew up again, and attacked them a second time after the same manner. These attacks they repeated several times the same day, to the surprise of the whole army. Sir Robert was everywhere with his regiment, notwithstanding his great corpulency, and when in the trenches he was hauled out by the legs and arms by his own men; and it is observed that when he commanded the whole regiment to clap to the ground, he himself alone, with the colours behind him, stood upright, receiving the whole fire of the enemy; and this because, (as he said,) though he could easily lie down, his great bulk would not suffer him to rise so quickly. His preservation that day was the surprise and astonishment not only of the whole army, but of all that heard the particulars of the action.”⁴

The gallantry thus displayed by Sir Robert and his regiment was the theme of universal admiration in Britain, and the French themselves could not withhold their meed of praise. “The British behaved well,” says a French writer, “and could be exceeded in ardour by none but our officers, who animated the troops by their example, *when the Highland furies rushed in upon us with more violence than ever did a sea driven by a tempest*. I cannot say much of the other auxiliaries, some of whom looked as if they had no great concern in the matter which way it went. In short, we gained the victory; but may I never see such another!”⁵ Some idea may be formed of the havoc made by the Highlanders from the fact of one of them having killed nine Frenchmen with his broadsword, and he was only prevented from increasing the number by his arm being shot off.⁶

⁴ *Life of Colonel Gardiner.*

⁵ Account published at Paris, 26th May 1745.

⁶ *The Conduct of the Officers at Fontenoy Considered.* Lond. 1745.—“Such was the battle of Fontenoy, and such were the facts from which a very favourable opinion was formed of the military qualifications of the Black Watch, as it was still called in Scotland. At this period there was not a soldier in the regiment born south of the Grampians”—Stewart’s *Sketches*, i. 278.

In consequence of the rebellion in Scotland, eleven of the British regiments were ordered home in October 1745, among which was the 43d. The Highlanders arrived in the Thames on the 4th of November, and whilst the other regiments were sent to Scotland under General Hawley to assist in quelling the insurrection, the 43d was marched to the coast of Kent, and joined the division of the army assembled there to repel an expected invasion. When it is considered that more than three hundred of the soldiers in the 43d had fathers and brothers engaged in the rebellion, the prudence and humanity of keeping them aloof from a contest between duty and affection, are evident. Three new companies, which had been added to the regiment in the early part of the year 1745, were, however, employed in Scotland against the rebels before joining the regiment. These companies were raised chiefly in the districts of Athole, Breadalbane, and Braemar, and the command of them was given to the laird of Mackintosh, Sir Patrick Murray of Ochertyre, and Campbell of Inveraw, who had recruited them. The subalterns were James Farquharson, the younger of Invercauld; John Campbell, the younger of Glenlyon, and Dugald Campbell; and Ensign Allan Grant, son of Glenmoriston; John Campbell, son of Glenfalloch; and Allan Campbell, son of Barcaldine. General Stewart observes that the privates of these companies, though of the best character, did not occupy that rank in society for which so many individuals of the independent companies had been distinguished. One of these companies, as has been elsewhere observed, was at the battle of Prestonpans. The services of the other two companies were confined to the Highlands during the rebellion, and after its suppression they were employed along with detachments of the English army in the barbarous task of burning the houses, and laying waste the lands of the rebels,—a service which must have been very revolting to their feelings.

Having projected the conquest of Quebec, the government fitted out an expedition at Portsmouth, the land forces of which consisted of about 8000 men, including Lord John Murray’s Highlanders, as the 43d regiment was now called. The armament having been delayed from various causes until the season

was too far advanced for crossing the Atlantic, it was resolved to employ it in surprising the Port l'Orient, then the repository of all the stores and ships belonging to the French East India Company. While this new expedition was in preparation, the Highland regiment was increased to 1100 men, by draughts from the three companies in Scotland.

The expedition sailed from Portsmouth on the 15th of September, 1746, under the command of Rear-Admiral Lestock, and on the 20th the troops were landed, without much opposition, in Quimperly bay, ten miles from Port l'Orient. As General St Clair soon perceived that he could not carry the place, he abandoned the siege, and retiring to the sea-coast, re-embarked his troops.

Some of these forces returned to England; the rest landed in Ireland. The Highlanders arrived at Cork on the 4th of November, whence they marched to Limerick, where they remained till February 1747, when they returned to Cork, where they embarked to join a new expedition for Flanders. This force, which consisted chiefly of the troops that had been recalled in 1745, sailed from Leith roads in the beginning of April 1747. Lord Loudon's Highlanders and a detachment from the three additional companies of Lord John Murray's Highlanders also joined this force; and such was the eagerness of the latter for this service, that when informed that only a part of them was to join the army, they all claimed permission to embark, in consequence of which demand it was found necessary to settle the question of preference by drawing lots.⁷

To relieve Hulst, which was closely besieged by Count Lowendahl, a detachment, consisting of Lord John Murray's Highlanders, the first battalion of the Royals and Bragg's regiment, was ordered to Flushing, under the command of Major-general Fuller. They landed at Stapledyke on the 1st of May. The Dutch governor of Hulst, General St Roque, ordered the Royals to join the Dutch camp at St Bergue, and directed the Highlanders and Bragg's regiment to halt within four miles of Hulst. On the 5th of May the besiegers began an assault, and drove the outguards and picquets back into

the garrison, and would have carried the place, had not the Royals maintained their post with the greatest bravery till relieved by the Highland regiment, when the French were compelled to retire. The Highlanders had only five privates killed and a few wounded on this occasion. The French continuing the siege, St Roque surrendered the place, although he was aware that an additional reinforcement of nine battalions was on the march to his relief. The British troops then embarked for South Beveland. Three hundred of the Highland regiment, who were the last to embark, were attacked by a body of French troops. "They behaved with so much bravery that they beat off three or four times their number, killing many, and making some prisoners, with only the loss of four or five of their own number."⁸

A few days after the battle of Lafeldt, July 2d, in which the Highlanders are not particularly mentioned, Count Lowendahl laid siege to Bergen-op-Zoom with a force of 25,000 men. This place, from the strength of its fortifications, the favourite work of the celebrated Coehorn, having never been stormed, was deemed impregnable. The garrison consisted of 3000 men, including Lord Loudon's Highlanders. Though Lord John Murray's Highlanders remained in South Beveland, his lordship, with Captain Fraser of Culduthel, Captain Campbell of Craignish, and several other officers of his regiment, joined the besieged. After about two months' siege, this important fortress was taken by storm, on account of the too great confidence of Constrom the governor, who never anticipated an assault. On obtaining possession of the ramparts, the French attempted to enter the town, but were attacked with such impetuosity by two battalions of the Scottish troops in the pay of the States-General, that they were driven from street to street, until fresh reinforcements arriving, the Scotch were compelled to retreat in their turn; yet they disputed every inch of ground, and fought till two-thirds of them were killed on the spot. The remainder then abandoned the town, carrying the old governor along with them.

The different bodies of the allied army

⁷ *Caledonian Mercury*, March 1747.

⁸ *Hague Gazette*.

assembled in the neighbourhood of Raremond in March 1748, but, with the exception of the capture of Maestricht, no military event of any importance took place in the Netherlands; and preliminaries of peace having been signed, the Highlanders returned to England in December, and were afterwards sent to Ireland. The three additional companies had assembled at Prestonpans in March 1748, for the purpose of embarking for Flanders; but the orders to ship were countermanded, and in the course of that year these companies were reduced.

In 1749, in consequence of the reduction of the 42d regiment (Oglethorpe's), the number of the Black Watch was changed from the 43d to the 42d, the number it has ever since retained.

During eight years—from 1749 to 1756—that the Highlanders were stationed in Ireland, the utmost cordiality subsisted between them and the inhabitants of the different districts where they were quartered; a circumstance the more remarkable, when it is considered that the military were generally embroiled in quarrels with the natives. So lasting and favourable an impression did they make, that upon the return of the regiment from America, after an absence of eleven years, applications were made from the towns and districts where they had been formerly quartered, to get them again stationed among them. Although, as General Stewart observes, the similarity of language, and the general belief in a common origin, might have had some influence with both parties, yet nothing but the most exemplary good conduct on the part of the Highlanders could have overcome the natural repugnance of a people who, at that time, justly regarded the British soldiery as ready instruments of oppression.

In consequence of the mutual encroachments made by the French and English on their respective territories in North America, both parties prepared for war; and as the British ministry determined to make their chief efforts against the enemy in that quarter, they resolved to send two bodies of troops thither. The first division, of which the Highlanders formed a part, under the command of Lieutenant-general Sir James Abercromby, set sail in March 1756, and landed at New York in June

following. In the month last mentioned, 700 recruits, who had been raised by recruiting parties sent from the regiment previous to its departure from Ireland, embarked at Greenock for America. When the Highlanders landed, they attracted much notice, particularly on the part of the Indians, who, on the march of the regiment to Albany, flocked from all quarters to see strangers, whom, from the similarity of their dress, they considered to be of the same extraction as themselves, and whom they therefore regarded as brothers.

Before the departure of the 42d, several changes and promotions had taken place. Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, afterwards Duke of Argyll, who had commanded the regiment during the six years they were quartered in Ireland, having been promoted to the command of the 54th, was succeeded by Major Grant, who was so popular with the men, that, on the vacancy occurring, they subscribed a sum of money among themselves to purchase the lieutenant-colonelcy for him; but the money was not required, the promotion at that time being without purchase. Captain Duncan Campbell of Inveraw was appointed major; Thomas Graham of Duchray, James Abercromby, son of General Abercromby of Glassa, the commander of the expedition, and John Campbell of Strachur, were made captains; Lieutenant John Campbell, captain-lieutenant; Ensigns Kenneth Tolme, James Grant, John Graham, brother of Duchray, Hugh M'Pherson, Alexander Turnbull of Stracathro, and Alexander Campbell, son of Barcaldine, were raised to the rank of lieutenants. From the half-pay list were taken Lieutenants Alexander Mackintosh, James Gray, William Baillie, Hugh Arnot, William Sutherland, John Small, and Archibald Campbell; the ensigns were James Campbell, Archibald Lamont, Duncan Campbell, George MacLagan, Patrick Balneaves, son of Edradour, Patrick Stewart, son of Bonskeid, Norman MacLeod, George Campbell, and Donald Campbell.⁹

The regiment had been now sixteen years embodied, and although its original members had by this time almost disappeared, "their habits and character were well sustained by their successors, to whom they were left, as it

were, in charge. This expectation has been fulfilled through a long course of years and events. The first supply of recruits after the original formation was, in many instances, inferior to their predecessors in personal appearance, as well as in private station and family connexions; but they lost nothing of that firm step, erect air, and freedom from awkward restraint, and the consequence of a spirit of independence and self-respect, which distinguished their predecessors."¹

The second division of the expedition, under the Earl of Loudon, who was appointed commander-in-chief of the army in North America, soon joined the forces under General Abercromby; but, owing to various causes, they did not take the field till the summer of the following year.² Pursuant to an attack on Louisburg, Lord Loudon embarked in the month of June 1757 for Halifax with the forces under his command, amounting to 5300 men. At Halifax his forces were increased to 10,500 men, by the addition of five regiments lately arrived from England, including Fraser's and Montgomery's Highlanders.

When on the eve of his departure from Halifax, Lord Loudon received information that the Brest fleet had arrived in the harbour of Louisburg. The resolution to abandon the enterprise, however, was not taken till it clearly

¹ There were few courts-martial; and, for many years, no instance occurred of corporal punishment. If a soldier was brought to the halberts, he became degraded, and little more good was to be expected of him. After being publicly disgraced, he could no longer associate with his comrades; and, in several instances, the privates of a company have, from their pay, subscribed to procure the discharge of an obnoxious individual.

Great regularity was observed in the duties of public worship. In the regimental orders, hours were fixed for morning prayers by the chaplain; and on Sundays, for Divine service, morning and evening. The greatest respect was observed towards the ministers of religion. When Dr Ferguson was chaplain of the corps, he held an equal, if not, in some respects, a greater, influence over the minds of the men than the commanding officer. The succeeding chaplain, Mr Maelaggan, preserved the same authority; and, while the soldiers looked up with reverence to these excellent men, the most beneficial effects were produced on their minds and conduct by the religious and moral duties which their chaplains inculcated.

² "During the whole of 1756 the regiment remained in Albany inactive. During the winter and spring of 1757, they were drilled and disciplined for bush-fighting and sharp-shooting, a species of warfare for which they were well fitted, being in general good marksmen, and expert in the management of their arms."—Stewart's *Sketches*.

appeared from letters which were taken in a packet bound from Louisburg to France, that the force was too great to be encountered. Leaving the remainder of the troops at Halifax, Lord Loudon returned to New York, taking along with him the Highlanders and four other regiments.

By the addition of three new companies and the junction of 700 recruits, the regiment was now augmented to upwards of 1300 men, all Highlanders, for at that period none else were admitted into the regiment. To the three additional companies the following officers were appointed; James Murray, son of Lord George Murray, James Stewart of Urrard, and Thomas Stirling, son of Sir Henry Stirling of Ardoch, to be captains; Simon Blair, David Barklay, Archibald Campbell, Alexander Mackay, Alexander Menzies, and David Mills, to be lieutenants; Duncan Stewart, George Rat-tray, and Alexander Farquharson, to be ensigns; and the Reverend James Stewart to be assistant chaplain.

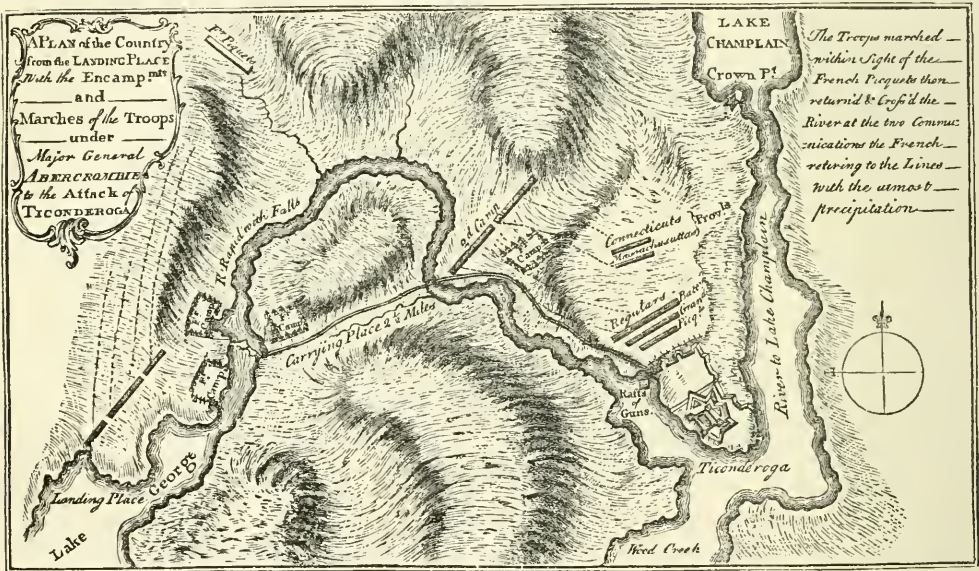
The Earl of Loudon having been recalled, the command of the army devolved on General Abercromby. Determined to wipe off the disgrace of former campaigns, the ministry, who had just come into power, fitted out a great naval armament and a military force of 32,000 men, which were placed under commanders who enjoyed the confidence of the country. The command of the fleet was given to Admiral Boscawen, and Brigadier-generals Wolfe, Townsend, and Murray, were added to the military staff. Three expeditions were planned in 1758; one against Louisburg; another against Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and a third against Fort du Quesne.

General Abercromby, the commander-in-chief, took charge of the expedition against Ticonderoga, with a force of 15,390 men, of whom 6337 were regulars (including Lord John Murray's Highlanders), and 9024 provincials, besides a train of artillery.

Fort Ticonderoga stands on a tongue of land between Lake Champlain and Lake George, and is surrounded on three sides by water; part of the fourth side is protected by a morass; the remaining part was strongly fortified with high entrenchments, supported and flanked by three batteries, and the whole front of that

part which was accessible was intersected by deep traverses, and blocked up with felled trees, with their branches turned outwards and their points first sharpened and then hardened by fire, forming altogether a most formidable defence.³ On the 4th of July 1758 the commander-in-chief embarked his troops on Lake George, on board 900 batteaux and 135 whale-boats, with provisions, artillery, and ammunition; several pieces of cannon being mounted on rafts to cover the landing, which was effected next day without opposition. The troops were then formed into two parallel columns, and in this order marched towards the enemy's advanced post, consisting of one battalion, encamped behind a breast-work of logs. The enemy abandoned this defence without a shot, after setting the breast-work on fire and burning their tents and implements.

The troops continued their march in the same order, but the route lying through a wood, and the guides being imperfectly acquainted with the country, the columns were broken by coming in contact with each other. The right column, at the head of which was Lord Howe, fell in with a detachment of the enemy who had also lost their way in the retreat from the advanced post, and a smart skirmish ensuing, the enemy were routed with considerable loss. Lord Howe unfortunately fell in the beginning of this action. He was much regretted, being "a young nobleman of the most promising talents, who had distinguished himself in a peculiar manner by his courage, activity, and rigid observance of military discipline, and had acquired the esteem and affection of the soldiery by his generosity, sweetness of manners, and engaging address."⁴



Plan of the Sieges of Ticonderoga. Facsimile from *The Scots Magazine*, August 1758.

Perceiving that his men were greatly fatigued, General Abercromby ordered them to march back to their landing-place, which they reached about eight o'clock in the morning. Having taken possession of a saw-mill in the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, which the enemy had abandoned, General Abercromby advanced towards the place next morning. It was garrisoned by 5000 men, of whom 2800 were

French troops of the line, who were stationed behind the traverses and felled trees in front of the fort. Receiving information from some prisoners that General Levi, with a force of 3000 men, was marching to the defence of Ticonderoga, the English commander resolved to anticipate him by striking, if possible, a decisive blow before a junction could be effected. He therefore sent an engineer across

³ Stewart's *Sketches*

⁴ Smollett's *History of England*

the river on the opposite side of the fort to reconnoitre the enemy's entrenchments, who reported that the works being still unfinished, might be attempted with a prospect of success. Preparations for the attack were therefore instantly made. The whole army being put in motion, the picquets, followed by the grenadiers, the battalions and reserve, which last consisted of the Highlanders and the 55th regiment, advanced with great alacrity towards the entrenchments, which they found to be much more formidable than they expected. The breast-work, which was regularly fortified, was eight feet high, and the ground before it was covered with an *abbatis* or *chevaux-de-frize*, projecting in such a manner as to render the entrenchment almost inaccessible. Undismayed by these discouraging obstacles, the British troops marched up to the assault in the face of a destructive fire, and maintained their ground without flinching. Impatient in the rear, the Highlanders broke from the reserve, and, pushing forward to the front, endeavoured to cut their way through the trees with their broadswords. After a long and deadly struggle, the assailants penetrated the exterior defences and advanced to the breast-work; but being unprovided with scaling ladders, they attempted to gain the breast-work, partly by mounting on each other's shoulders, and partly by fixing their feet in the holes which they made with their swords and bayonets in the face of the work. No sooner, however, did a man reach the top, than he was thrown down by the troops behind the entrenchments. Captain John Campbell,⁵ with a few men, at length forced their way over the breast-work, but they were immediately despatched with the bayonet. After a desperate struggle, which lasted about four hours under such discouraging circumstances, General Abercromby seeing no possible chance of success, gave orders for a retreat. It was with difficulty, however, that the troops could be prevailed upon to retire, and it was not till the third order that the Highlanders were induced to retreat, after

⁵ This officer, who was son of Duncan Campbell, of the family of Duncaves, in Perthshire, along with Gregor MacGregor, commonly called Gregor the Beautiful, grandfather of Sir Gregor MacGregor, were the two who were presented to George II. in the year 1743, when privates in the Black Watch.

more than one-half of the men and twenty-five officers had been either killed or desperately wounded. No attempt was made to molest them in their retreat, and the whole retired in good order, carrying along with them the whole of the wounded, amounting to 65 officers and 1178 non-commissioned officers and soldiers. Twenty-three officers and 567 rank and file were killed.

The loss sustained by the 42d was as follows, viz:—8 officers, 9 sergeants, and 297 men killed; and 17 officers, 10 sergeants, and 306 soldiers wounded. The officers killed were Major Duncan Campbell of Inveraw, Captain John Campbell, Lieutenants George Farquarson, Hugh MacPherson, William Baillie, and John Sutherland; Ensigns Patrick Stewart, brother of Bonskeid, and George Rattray. The wounded were Captains Gordon Graham, Thomas Graham of Duchray, John Campbell of Strachur, James Stewart of Urrard, James Murray (afterwards General); Lieutenants James Grant, Robert Gray, John Campbell, William Grant, John Graham, brother of Duchray, Alexander Campbell, Alexander Mackintosh, Archibald Campbell, David Miller, Patrick Balneaves; and Ensigns John Smith and Peter Grant.⁶

The intrepid conduct of the Highlanders on this occasion was made the topic of universal panegyric in Great Britain, and the public prints teemed with honourable testimonies to their bravery. If anything could add to the gratification they received from the approbation of their country, nothing was better calculated to enhance it than the handsome way in which their services were appreciated by their companions in arms. "With a mixture of esteem, grief, and envy (says an officer of the 55th), I consider the great loss and immortal glory acquired by the Scots Highlanders in the late bloody affair. Impatient for orders, they rushed forward to the entrenchments, which many of them actually mounted. They appeared like lions breaking from their chains. Their intrepidity was rather animated than damped by seeing their comrades fall on every side. I have only to say of them, that they seemed more anxious to revenge the

⁶ Stewart's *Sketches*.

cause of their deceased friends, than careful to avoid the same fate. By their assistance, we expect soon to give a good account of the enemy and of ourselves. There is much harmony and friendship between us."⁷ The following extract of a letter from Lieutenant William Grant, an officer of the regiment, seems to contain no exaggerated detail:—"The attack began a little past one in the afternoon, and about two the fire became general on both sides, which was exceedingly heavy, and without any intermission, insomuch that the oldest soldier present never saw so furious and incessant a fire. The affair at Fontenoy was nothing to it: I saw both. We laboured under insurmountable difficulties. The enemy's breast-work was about nine or ten feet high, upon the top of which they had plenty of wall-pieces fixed, and which was well lined in the inside with small arms. But the difficult access to their lines was what gave them a fatal advantage over us. They took care to cut down monstrous large oak trees which covered all the ground from the foot of their breast-work about the distance of a cannon-shot every way in their front. This not only broke our ranks, and made it impossible for us to keep our order, but put it entirely out of our power to advance till we cut our way through. I have seen men behave with courage and resolution before now, but so much determined bravery can hardly be equalled in any part of the history of ancient Rome. Even those that were mortally wounded cried aloud to their companions, not to mind or lose a thought upon them, but to follow their officers, and to mind the honour of their country. Nay, their ardour was such, that it was difficult to bring them off. They paid dearly for their intrepidity. The remains of the regiment had the honour to cover the retreat of the army, and brought off the wounded as we did at Fontenoy. When shall we have so fine a regiment again? I hope we shall be allowed to recruit."⁸ Lieu-

⁷ *St James's Chronicle*.

⁸ "It has been observed, that the modern Highland corps display less of that chivalrous spirit which marked the earlier corps from the mountains. If there be any good ground for this observation, it may probably be attributed to this, that these corps do not consist wholly of native Highlanders. If strangers are introduced among them, even admitting them to be the best of soldiers, still they are not Highlanders. The charm

tenant Grant's wish had been anticipated, as letters of service had been issued, before the affair of Ticonderoga was known in England, for raising a second battalion. Moreover, previous to the arrival of the news of the affair at Ticonderoga, his majesty George II. had issued a warrant conferring upon the regiment the title of Royal, so that after this it was known as the 42d Royal Highland Regiment.

So successful were the officers in recruiting, that within three months seven companies, each 120 men strong, which, with the three additional companies raised the preceding year, were to form the second battalion, were raised in three months, and embodied at Perth in October 1758.⁹ The officers appointed to

is broken,—the conduct of such a corps must be divided, and cannot be called purely national. The motive which made the Highlanders, when united, fight for the honour of their name, their clan, and district, is by this mixture lost. Officers, also, who are strangers to their language, their habits, and peculiar modes of thinking, cannot be expected to understand their character, their feelings, and their prejudices, which, under judicious management, have so frequently stimulated to honourable conduct, although they have sometimes served to excite the ridicule of those who knew not the dispositions and cast of character on which they were founded. But if Highland soldiers are judiciously commanded in quarters, treated with kindness and confidence by their officers, and led into action with spirit, it cannot on any good grounds be alleged that there is any deficiency of that firmness and courage which formerly distinguished them, although it may be readily allowed that much of the romance of the character is lowered. The change of manners in their native country will sufficiently account for this.

In my time many old soldiers still retained their original manners, exhibiting much freedom and ease in their communications with the officers. I joined the regiment in 1789, a very young soldier. Colonel Graham, the commanding officer, gave me a steady old soldier, named William Fraser, as my servant,—perhaps as my adviser and director. I know not that he had received any instructions on that point, but Colonel Graham himself could not have been more frequent and attentive in his remonstrances, and cautious with regard to my conduct and duty, than my old soldier was, when he thought he had cause to disapprove. These admonitions he always gave me in Gaelic, calling me by my Christian name, with an allusion to the colour of my hair, which was fair, or *bane*, never prefixing *Mr* or *Ensign*, except when he spoke in English. However contrary to the common rules, and however it might surprise those unaccustomed to the manners of the people, to hear a soldier or a servant calling his master simply by his name, my honest old monitor was one of the most respectful, as he was one of the most faithful, of servants."—Stewart's *Sketches*, p. 302.

⁹ General Stewart says that two officers, anxious to obtain commissions, enlisted eighteen Irishmen at Glasgow, contrary to the peremptory orders of Lord John Murray, that none but Highlanders should be taken. Several of the men were O'Donnells, O'Lachlans, O'Briens, &c. To cover this deception the O was

these seven additional companies were Francis MacLean, Alexander Sinclair, John Stewart of Stenton, William Murray, son of Lintrose, Archibald Campbell, Alexander Reid, and Robert Arbutnot, to be captains; Alexander MacLean, George Grant, George Sinclair, Gordon Clunes, Adam Stewart, John Robertson, son of Lude, John Grant, James Fraser, George Leslie, John Campbell, Alexander Stewart, Duncan Richardson, and Robert Robertson, to be lieutenants; and Patrick Sinclair, John Mackintosh, James MacDuff, Thomas Fletcher, Alexander Donaldson, William MacLean, and William Brown, to be ensigns.

Government having resolved to employ the seven new companies in an expedition against Martinique and Guadaloupe, 200 of the 840 men, embodied at Perth, were immediately embarked at Greenock for the West Indies, under the convoy of the Ludlow Castle, for the purpose of joining the armament lying in Carlisle bay, destined for that service. The whole land force employed in this expedition amounted to 5560 men, under the command of Major-generals Hopson and Barrington, and of Brigadier-generals Armiger, Haldane, Trapaud, and Clavering. They sailed from Barbadoes on the 13th of January 1759, for Martinique, which they desiered next morning; and on the following day the British squadron entered the great bay of Port Royal. About this time the other division of the seven newly raised companies joined the expedition. On the 16th, three ships of the line attacked Fort Negro, the guns of which they soon silenced. A detachment of marines and sailors landing in flat-bottomed boats, clambered up the rock, and, entering through the embrasures with fixed bayonets, took possession of the fort, which had been abandoned by the enemy. The whole French troops retired to Port Royal, leaving the beach open, so that the British forces landed next morning at Cas de Navire without opposition. No enemy being in sight, the grenadiers, the 4th or king's regiment, and the Highlanders, moved forward about ten o'clock to reconnoitre; but they had not proceeded far when they fell in with

parties of the enemy, who retired on their approach. When within a short distance of Morne Tortueson, an eminence that overlooked the town and citadel of Port Royal, and the most important post in the island, the advanced party halted till the rest of the army came up. The advancing and retiring parties had kept up an irregular fire when in motion, and they still continued to skirmish. It was observed on this occasion, "that although debarred the use of arms in their own country, the Highlanders showed themselves good marksmen, and had not forgot how to handle their arms." The inhabitants of Martinique were in the greatest alarm, and some of the principal among them were about sending deputies to the British commander to treat for a surrender, but General Hopson relieved them from their anxiety by re-embarking his troops in the evening. The chief reason for abandoning the enterprise was the alleged impracticability of getting up the heavy cannon. The British had one officer killed and two wounded, one of whom was Lieutenant Leslie of the Royal Highlanders. Sixty privates were killed and wounded.

In a political point of view, the possession of Martinique was an object of greater importance than Guadaloupe, as it afforded, from its spacious harbour, a secure retreat to the enemy's fleets. By taking possession of St Pierre, the whole island might have been speedily reduced; and the British commanders proceeded to that part of the island with that view; but alarmed lest they might sustain considerable loss by its capture, which might thus cripple their future operations, they absurdly relinquished their design, and proceeded to Guadaloupe. On the expedition reaching the western division of the island, it was resolved to make a general attack by sea upon the citadel, the town, and the batteries by which it was defended. Accordingly, on the 20th of January, such a fire was opened upon the place that about ten o'clock at night it was in a general conflagration.

The troops landed at five o'clock in the evening of the following day without opposition, and took possession of the town and citadel, which they found entirely abandoned. The Chevalier D'Etrel, the governor of the

changed to Mac, and the Milesians passed muster as true Macdonnells, Maclachlans, and Macbriars, without being questioned.

island, taking shelter among the mountains, yielded the honour of continuing the contest to a lady of masculine courage named Ducharmey. Arming her slaves, whom she headed in person, she made several bold attempts upon an advanced post on a hill near the town, occupied by Major (afterwards General) Melville, opposite to which she threw up some entrenchments. Annoyed by the incessant attacks of this amazon, Major Melville attacked her entrenchments, which he carried, after an obstinate resistance. Madame Ducharmey escaped with difficulty, but some of her female companions in arms were taken prisoners. Ten of her people were killed and many wounded. Of the British detachment, 12 were slain and 30 wounded, including two subaltern officers, one of whom, Lieutenant MacLean of the Highlanders, lost an arm.

Finding it impracticable to carry on a campaign among the mountains of Basseterre, the general resolved to transfer the seat of war to the eastern division of the island, called Grandeterre, which was more accessible. Accordingly, on the 10th of February, a detachment of Highlanders and marines was landed in that part of the island in the neighbourhood of Fort Louis, after a severe cannonading which lasted six hours. The assailants, sword in hand, drove the enemy from their entrenchments, and, taking possession of the fort, hoisted the English colours.

General Hopson died on the 27th. He was succeeded by General Barrington, who resolved to complete the reduction of the island with vigour. Leaving, therefore, one regiment and a detachment of artillery under Colonel Debrisay in Basseterre, the general re-embarked the rest of the army and proceeded to Grandeterre, where he carried on a series of successful operations by means of detachments. One of these consisting of 600 men, under Colonel Crump, carried the towns of St Anne and St Francis with little loss, notwithstanding the fire from the entrenchments. The only officer who fell was Ensign MacLean of the Highlanders. Another detachment of 300 men took the town of Gosier by storm, and drove the garrison into the woods. The next operation of the general was an attempt to surprise the three towns of Petit Bourg, St Mary's, and Gouyave,

on the Capesterre side, the execution of which was committed to Colonels Crump and Clavering; but owing to the extreme darkness of the night, and the incapacity of the negro guides, the attempt was rendered abortive. Resolved to carry these towns, the general directed the same commanders to land their forces in a bay near the town of Arnaville. No opposition was made to their landing by the enemy, who retreated behind a strong entrenchment they had thrown up behind the river Licorn. With the exception of two narrow passes which they had fortified with a redoubt and entrenchments mounted with cannon, which were defended by a large body of militia, the access to the river was rendered inaccessible by a morass covered with mangroves; yet, in spite of these difficulties, the British commanders resolved to hazard an assault. Accordingly, under cover of a fire from the entrenchments from their field-pieces and howitzers, the regiment of Durore and the Highlanders moved forward, firing by platoons with the utmost regularity as they advanced. Observing the enemy beginning to abandon the first entrenchment on the left, "the Highlanders drew their swords, and, supported by a part of the other regiment, rushed forward with their characteristic impetuosity, and followed the enemy into the redoubt, of which they took possession."¹

Several other actions of minor importance afterwards took place, in which the enemy were uniformly worsted; and seeing resistance hopeless, they capitulated on the 1st of May, after an arduous struggle of nearly three months. The only Highland officer killed in this expedition was Ensign MacLean. Lieutenants MacLean, Leslie, Sinclair, and Robertson, were wounded; and Major Anstruther and Captain Arbuthnot died of the fever. Of the Royal Highlanders, 106 privates were killed, wounded, or died of disease.²

¹ *Letters from Guadaloupe.*

² "By private accounts, it appears that the French had formed the most frightful and absurd notions of the *Sauvages d'Ecasse*. They believed that they would neither take nor give quarter, and that they were so nimble, that, as no man could catch them, so nobody could escape them; that no man had a chance against their broadsword; and that, with a ferocity natural to savages, they made no prisoners, and spared neither man, woman, nor child: and as they were always in the front of every action in which they were engaged, it is probable that these notions had no small influence on

After the reduction of Guadaloupe, the services of the second battalion of Royal Highlanders were transferred to North America, where they arrived early in July, and after reaching the head quarters of the British army, were combined with the first battalion. About this time a series of combined operations had been projected against the French settlements in Canada. Whilst Major-general Wolfe, who had given proofs of great military talents at the siege of Louisburg, was to proceed up the St Lawrence and besiege Quebec, General Amherst, who had succeeded General Abercromby as commander-in-chief, was to attempt the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, after which he was to cross Lake Champlain and effect a junction with General Wolfe before Quebec. Brigadier-general Prideaux was to proceed against the French fort near the falls of the Niagara, the most important post of all French America. The army under General Amherst, which was the first put in motion, assembled at Fort Edward on the 19th of June. It included the 42d and Montgomery's Highlanders, and when afterwards joined by the second battalion of the Royal Highlanders, it amounted to 14,500 men. Preceded by the first battalion of the last named regiment and the light infantry, the main body of the army moved forward on the 21st, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga. The enemy seemed at first resolved to defend that important fortress; but perceiving the formidable preparations made by the English general for a siege, they abandoned the fort, after having in part dismantled the fortifications, and retired to Crown Point.

On taking possession of this important post, which effectually covered the frontiers of New York, General Amherst proceeded to repair the fortifications; and, while these were going on, he directed batteaux and other vessels to be prepared, to enable him to obtain the com-

the nerves of the militia, and perhaps regulars of Guadaloupe." It was always believed by the enemy that the Highlanders amounted to several thousands. This erroneous enumeration of a corps only eight hundred strong, was said to proceed from the frequency of their attacks and annoyance of the outposts of the enemy, who "saw men in the same garb who attacked them yesterday from one direction, again appear to-day to advance from another, and in this manner ever harassing their advanced position, so as to allow them no rest."—*Letters from Guadaloupe.*

mand of the lakes. Meanwhile the enemy, who seems to have had no intention of hazard-ing an action, evacuated Crown Point, and retired to Isle aux Noix, on the northern extremity of Lake Champlain. Detaching a body of rangers to take possession of the place the general embarked the rest of the army and landed at the fort on the 4th of August, where he encamped. The general then ordered up the second battalion of the Royal Highlanders from Oswego, with the exception of 150 men under Captain James Stewart, who were left to guard that post. Having by great exertions acquired a naval superiority on Lake Champlain, the general embarked his army in furtherance of his original plan of descending the St Lawrence, and co-operating with General Wolfe in the reduction of Quebec; but in consequence of contrary winds, the tempestuous state of the weather, and the early setting in of winter, he was compelled to abandon further prosecution of active operations in the mean time. He then returned to Crown Point to winter. A detailed account of the important enterprise against Quebec will be found in the history of Fraser's Highlanders.

After the fall of the fort of Niagara, which was taken by Prideaux's division, and the conquest of Quebec, Montreal was the only place of strength which remained in possession of the French in Canada. General Murray was ordered to proceed up the St Lawrence to attack Montreal, and General Amherst, as soon as the season permitted, made arrangements to join him. After his preparations were completed, he ordered Colonel Haviland, with a detachment of troops, to take possession of the Isle aux Noix, and thence to proceed to the banks of the St Lawrence by the nearest route. To facilitate the passage of the armed vessels to La Galette, Colonel Haldimand with the grenadiers, light infantry, and a battalion of the Royal Highlanders, took post at the bottom of the lake. Embarking the whole of his army on the 10th of August, he proceeded towards the mouth of the St Lawrence, and, after a dangerous navigation, in the course of which several boats were upset and about eighty men drowned, landed six miles above Montreal on the 6th of September. General Murray appeared before Montreal on the even-

ing of the same day, and the detachments under Colonel Haviland came down the following day on the south side of the river. Thus beset by three armies, who, by a singular combination, had united almost at the same instant of time, after traversing a great extent of unknown country, Monsieur Vandreuil, the governor, seeing resistance hopeless, surrendered upon favourable terms. Thus ended a series of successful operations, which secured Canada to the Crown of Great Britain.³

The Royal Highlanders remained in North America until the close of the year 1761, when they were embarked along with ten other regiments, among whom was Montgomery's Highlanders, for Barbadoes, there to join an armament against Martinique and the Havannah. The land forces consisted altogether of eighteen regiments, under the command of Major-general Monckton. The naval part of the expedition, which was commanded by Rear-admiral Rodney, consisted of eighteen sail of the line, besides frigates, bomb-vessels, and fire-ships.

The fleet anchored in St Ann's Bay, Martinique, on the 8th of January 1762, when the bulk of the army immediately landed. A detachment, under Brigadiers Grant (Ballindalloch) and Haviland, made a descent without opposition in the bay of Ance Darlet. Re-embarking his troops, General Monckton landed his whole army on the 16th near Cas de Navire, under Morne Tortueson and Morne Garnier. As these two eminences commanded the town and citadel of Fort Royal, and were their chief defence, great care had been taken to improve by art their natural strength, which, from the very deep ravines which protected them, was great. The general having resolved to attack Morne Tortueson first, he ordered a body of troops and 800 marines to advance on the right along the sea-side towards the town, for the purpose of attacking two redoubts near the beach; and to support this movement, he at the same time directed some flat-bottomed boats,

³ An Indian sachen, astonished at the success of the British arms, remarked that "the English, formerly women, are now men, and are thick all over the country as trees in the woods. They have taken Niagara, Cataraque, Ticonderoga, Louisburg, and now lately Quebec, and they will soon eat the remainder of the French in Canada, or drive them out of the country."

each carrying a gun, and manned with sailors, to follow close along the shore. A corps of light infantry was to get round the enemy's left, whilst, under cover of the fire of some batteries which had been raised on the opposite ridges by the perseverance of some sailors from the fleet, the attack on the centre was to be made by the grenadiers and Highlanders, supported by the main body of the army. After an arduous contest, the enemy were driven from the Morne Tortueson; but a more difficult operation still remained to be performed. This was to gain possession of the other eminence, from which, owing to its greater height, the enemy annoyed the British troops. Preparations were made for carrying this post; but before they were completed, the enemy descended from the hill, and attacked the advanced posts of the British. This attempt was fatal to the assailants, who were instantly repulsed. "When they began to retire, the Highlanders, drawing their swords, rushed forward like furies, and being supported by the grenadiers under Colonel Grant (Ballindalloch), and a party of Lord Rollo's brigade, the hills were mounted, and the batteries seized, and numbers of the enemy, unable to escape from the rapidity of the attack, were taken."⁴ The militia dispersed themselves over the country, but the regulars retired into the town, which surrendered on the 7th of February. The whole island immediately submitted, and in terms of the capitulation all the Windward Islands were delivered up to the British.

In this enterprise the Royal Highlanders had 2 officers, viz., Captain William Cockburn and Lieutenant David Barclay, 1 sergeant, and 12 rank and file killed; Major John Reid, Captains James Murray and Thomas Stirling; Lieutenants Alexander Mackintosh, David Milne, Patrick Balneaves, Alexander Turnbull, John Robertson, William Brown, and George Leslie; 3 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 72 rank and file, were wounded.

The Royal and Montgomery's Highlanders were employed the following year in the important conquest of the Havannah, under Lieutenant-general the Earl of Albemarle, in which they sustained very little loss. That of

⁴ *Westminster Journal.*

the two battalions of the 42d consisted only of 2 drummers and 6 privates killed, and 4 privates wounded; but they lost by disease Major Macneil, Captain Robert Menzies (brother of Sir John Menzies), and A. Macdonald; Lieutenants Farquharson, Grant, Lapsley, Cunnison, Hill, and Blair, and 2 drummers and 71 rank and file.

Shortly after the surrender of the Havannah, all the available forces in Cuba were removed from the island. The first battalion of the 42d and Montgomery's regiment embarked for New York, which they reached in the end of October. Before leaving Cuba all the men of the second battalion of the Royal Highlanders fit for service were drafted into the first. The remainder with the officers returned to Scotland, where they were reduced the following year. The junior officers were placed on half pay.

The Royal Highlanders were stationed in Albany till the summer of 1763, when they were sent to the relief of Fort Pitt, then besieged by the Indians. The management of this enterprise was intrusted to Colonel Bouquet of the 60th regiment, who, in addition to the 42d, had under his command a detachment of his own regiment and another of Montgomery's Highlanders, amounting in all to 956 men. This body reached Bushy Run about the end of July. When about to enter a narrow pass beyond the Run, the advanced guards were suddenly attacked by the Indians, who had planned an ambuscade. The light infantry of the 42d regiment moved forward to the support of the advanced guard, and driving the Indians from the ambuscade, pursued them a considerable distance. The Indians returned and took possession of some neighbouring heights. They were again compelled to retire; but they soon re-appeared on another position, and continuing to increase in numbers, they succeeded in surrounding the detachment, which they attacked on every side. Night put an end to the combat; but it was renewed next morning with increased vigour by the Indians, who kept up an incessant fire. They, however, avoided coming to close action, and the troops could not venture to pursue them far, as they were encumbered with a convoy of provisions, and were afraid to leave their wounded,

lest they might fall into the hands of the enemy. Recourse was, therefore, had to stratagem to bring the Indians to closer action. Feigning a retreat, Colonel Bouquet ordered two companies which were in advance to retire, and fall within a square which had been formed, which, as if preparing to cover a retreat, opened its files. The stratagem succeeded. Assuring themselves of victory, the Indians rushed forward with great impetuosity, and whilst they were vigorously charged in front, two companies, moving suddenly round a hill which concealed their approach, attacked them in flank. The assailants, in great consternation, turned their backs and fled, and Colonel Bouquet was allowed to proceed to Fort Pitt without further molestation. In this affair, the loss sustained by the Royal Highlanders was as follows:—Lieutenants John Graham and James Mackintosh, 1 sergeant, and 26 rank and file, killed; and Captain John Graham of Duchray, Lieutenant Duncan Campbell, 2 sergeants, 2 drummers, and 30 rank and file, wounded.

After passing the winter in Fort Pitt, eight companies of the Royal Highlanders were sent on a new enterprise, in the summer of 1764, under Colonel Bouquet, now promoted to the rank of brigadier-general. The object of this expedition was to repress the attacks of the Indians on the back-settlers. After a harassing warfare among the woods, the Indians sued for peace, which was granted, and the detachment under Brigadier-general Bouquet returned to Fort Pitt in the month of January, after an absence of six months. Notwithstanding the labours of a march of many hundred miles among dense forests, during which they experienced the extremes of heat and cold, the Highlanders did not lose a single man from fatigue or exhaustion.⁵

⁵ It was in 1766 that William Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, uttered in Parliament his famous eulogy on the Highland regiments:—"I sought for merit wherever it could be found. It is my boast that I was the first minister who looked for it, and found it, in the mountains of the north. I called it forth, and drew into your service a hardy and intrepid race of men; men who, when left by your jealousy, became a prey to the artifices of your enemies, and had gone nigh to have overturned the State, in the war before last. These men, in the last war, were brought to combat on your side; they served with fidelity, as they fought with valour, and conquered for you in every quarter of the world."

The regiment passed the following year in Pennsylvania. Being ordered home, permission was given to such of the men as were desirous of remaining in America to volunteer into other regiments, and the result was, that a considerable number availed themselves of the offer. The regiment, reduced almost to a skeleton, embarked at Philadelphia for Ireland in the month of July 1767. The following extract from the *Virginia Gazette* of the 30th of that month shows the estimation in which the Highlanders were held by the Americans:—"Last Sunday evening the Royal Highland regiment embarked for Ireland, which regiment, since its arrival in America, has been distinguished for having undergone most amazing fatigues, made long and frequent marches through an inhospitable country, bearing excessive heat and severe cold with alacrity and cheerfulness, frequently encamping in deep snow, such as those that inhabit the interior parts of this province do not see, and which only those who inhabit the northern parts of Europe can have any idea of, continually exposed in camp, and on their marches, to the alarms of a savage enemy, who, in all their attempts, were forced to fly. . . . In a particular manner, the freemen of this and the neighbouring provinces have most sincerely to thank them for that resolution and bravery with which they, under Colonel Bouquet, and a small number of Royal Americans, defeated the enemy, and insured to us peace and security from a savage foe; and, along with our blessings for these benefits, they have our thanks for that decorum in behaviour which they maintained during their stay in this city, giving an example that the most amiable behaviour in civil life is no way inconsistent with the character of the good soldier; and for their loyalty, fidelity, and orderly behaviour, they have every wish of the people for health, honour, and a pleasant voyage."

The loss sustained by the regiment during the seven years it was employed in North America and the West Indies was as follows:—

	KILLED.
In Officers,	13
Sergeants,	12
Rank and File,	332
Total,	407

	WOUNDED.
In Officers,	33
Sergeants,	22
Rank and File,	508
Total,	563
Grand Total,	970

With the exception of the unfortunate affair at Ticonderoga, the loss sustained by the 42d in the field during this war was comparatively smaller than that of any other corps. The moderate loss the Highlanders suffered was accounted for by several officers who served in the corps, from the celerity of their attack and the use of the broadsword, which the enemy could never withstand. "This likewise," says General Stewart, "was the opinion of an old gentleman, one of the original soldiers of the Black Watch, in the ranks of which, although a gentleman by birth and education, he served till the peace of 1748. He informed me that although it was believed at home that the regiment had been nearly destroyed at Fontenoy, the thing was quite the reverse; and that it was the subject of general observation in the army that their loss should have been so small, considering how actively they were engaged in different parts of the field. 'On one occasion,' said the respectable veteran, who was animated with the subject, 'a brigade of Dutch were ordered to attack a rising ground, on which were posted the troops called the King of France's Own Guards. The Highlanders were to support them. The Dutch conducted their march and attack as if they did not know the road, halting and firing, and halting every twenty paces. The Highlanders, losing all patience with this kind of fighting, which gave the enemy such time and opportunity to fire at their leisure, dashed forward, passed the Dutch, and the first ranks giving their firelocks to the rear rank, they drew their swords, and soon drove the French from their ground. When the attack was concluded, it was found that of the Highlanders not above a dozen men were killed and wounded, while the Dutch, who had not come up at all, lost more than five times that number.'"

On the arrival of the regiment at Cork, recruiting parties were sent to the Highlands, and so eager were the youths there to enter the corps, that in May following the regiment was

fully completed.* When the battle of Fontenoy was fought, there was not a soldier in the regiment born south of the Grampians, and at

* To allure the young Highlanders to enlist into other regiments, recruiting parties assumed the dress of the Royal Highlanders, thus deceiving the recruits into the belief that they were entering the 42d. When the regiment lay in Dublin, a party of Highland recruits, destined for the 38th regiment, arrived there; but on representing the deception which had been practised upon them, they were, after a full inquiry, discharged by Lord Townshend, the lord lieutenant. They, however, immediately re-enlisted into the 42d regiment.—*Stewart*.

† At this time, the words of "the Garb of Old Gaul" were composed. Major Reid set them to music of his own composition, which has ever since been the regimental march. Peace and country quarters affording leisure to the officers, several of them indulged their taste for poetry and music. Major Reid was one of the most accomplished flute-players of the age. He died in 1806, a general in the army, and colonel of the 88th or Connaught Rangers. He left the sum of £52,000 to the University of Edinburgh, where he was educated, to establish a Professorship of Music in the College, with a salary of not less than £500 per annum, and to hold an annual concert on the anniversary of his

this period they were all, except two, born north of the Tay.†

At the period of their arrival in Ireland the birth-day, the 13th of February; the performance to commence with several pieces of his own composition, for the purpose of showing the style of music in his early years, and towards the middle of the last century. Among the first of these pieces is the Garb of Old Gaul. [See account of Clan Robertson.] The statement in *Stewart's Sketches*, that this song was originally written in Gaelic by a soldier of the 42d, is incorrect. Dr David Laing says, in *Wood's Songs of Scotland*, edited by G. F. Graham, that it was originally written in English by Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Erskine, Bart., second son of Sir John Erskine of Alva, who commanded the Scots Greys in 1762. It has been attributed to Sir Henry Erskine of Torry, but it was not written by him. Its earliest appearance (in English) was in *The Lark*, 1765. An indifferent translation into Gaelic, by Morrison, was published in *Gillies' Gaelic Poetry*, 1786. This is the first Gaelic version. A much better translation into Gaelic is by Captain M'Intyre, and appeared in *Am Fìdh*, a Gaelic Song Book, edited by James Munro, 12mo, Edin. 1840.

We give here the original song, with the Gaelic version of Captain M'Intyre:—

IN THE GARB OF OLD GAUL.

In the garb of old Gaul, with the fire of old Rome,
From the heath-covered mountains of Scotia we come;
Where the Romans endeavoured our country to gain,
But our ancestors fought, and they fought not in vain.

Such our love of liberty, our country, and our laws,
That, like our ancestors of old, we stand by freedom's cause;
We'll bravely fight, like heroes bright, for honour and applause,
And defy the French, with all their arts, to alter our laws.

No effeminate customs our sinews unbrace,
No luxurious tables enervate our race;
Our loud-sounding pipe bears the true martial strain,
So do we the old Scottish valour retain.

As a storm in the ocean when Boreas blows,
So are we enraged when we rush on our foes:
We sons of the mountains, tremendous as rocks,
Dash the force of our foes with our thundering strokes.

We're tall as the oak on the mount of the vale,
Are swift as the roe which the hound doth assail,
As the full moon in autumn our shields do appear,
Minerva would dread to encounter our spear.

Quebec and Cape Breton, the pride of old France,
In their troops fondly boasted till we did advance;
But when our claymores they saw us produce,
Their courage did fail, and they sued for a truce.

In our realm may the fury of faction long cease,
May our councils be wise and our commerce increase,
And in Scotia's cold climate may each of us find,
That our friends still prove true and our beauties prove kind.

Then we'll defend our liberty, our country, and our laws,
And teach our late posterity to fight in freedom's cause,
That they like our ancestors bold, for honour and applause,
May defy the French, with all their arts, to alter our laws.

EIDEADH NAN GAEL.

Ann an éideadh nan Gàel,
Le tein'-àrdain na Ròimh,
'S ann o fhraoch-bheannaibh Allha
A dh' fhalbh sinn a chum gleòis,
T'ir a strìbhich na Ròimhich
Le foirneart thoirt uainn,
Ach ar sinnscair chòmhraig,
'S mar sheòid thug iad buaidh!

Le sòghalas no fèisdeachas
Ar fèithean las cha-n fhàs;
Cha toir ròic no ruidht oirn strìocaibh
Chum's gu'n dìobair sinn ar càil;
'S i a' phìob a's àirde ual
A bhios g' ar gluasad gu blàr;—
Siu an ceòl a chumas suas annainn
Cruadal nan Gàel.

'S co-chruaidh sinn ris na daragan
Tha thall-ud anns a' ghleann;
Is co-luath sinn ris an eilid
Air nach beir ach an ch' seang;
Mar a' ghealach làn as t-fhogar
Nochdar aghaidh ar cuid sgiath,
'S roimh 'r lannan guineach geur
Air Minérbha bi'dh fiamh!

Mar a sheúideas a' ghaoth tuath
Air a' chuan a's gaige toirn,
'S ann mar sin a ni sinn brùichdadh
Air ar naimhde 'nùll gu borb;
Mar chreaga trom a' fùrling orr'
Thig ur-shìol nam beannta,
G' an caitheamh as le 'n tréantas,
'S le géiread an laim.

Mar so, ar Lagh 's ar Rìgheachd
Gu'n dhonar leinn gu bràth;—
Agus eath air taobh na saorsa
Gu'n faoghluin sinn d' ar n-àl;
Gus an dìong iad fòs an seanairean
'Am fearalas 's 'an càil,
'S gus an cuir iad eis gun tainng
Air an Fhraing 's air an Spàinu.

uniform of the regiment had a very sombre appearance. "The jackets were of a dull rusty-coloured red, and no part of the accoutrements was of a light colour. Economy was strictly observed in the article of clothing. The old jacket, after being worn a year, was converted into a waistcoat, and the plaid, at the end of two years, was reduced to the philibeg. The hose supplied were of so bad a quality that the men advanced an additional sum to the government price, in order to supply themselves with a better sort. Instead of feathers for their bonnets, they were allowed only a piece of black bear-skin; but the men supplied themselves with ostrich feathers in the modern fashion,⁸ and spared no expense in fitting up their bonnets handsomely. The sword-belts were of black leather, two inches and a half in breadth; and a small cartouch-box, fitted only for thirty-two rounds of cartridges, was worn in front above the purse, and fixed round the loins with a thick belt, in which hung the bayonet. In these heavy colours and dark-blue facings the regiment had a far less splendid appearance at a short distance than English regiments with white breeches and belts; but on a closer view the line was imposing and warlike. The men possessed what an ingenious author calls 'the attractive beauties of a soldier; sun burnt complexions, a hardy weather-beaten visage, with a penetrating eye, and firm expressive countenance, sinewy and elastic limbs, traces of muscles strongly impressed, indicating capacity of action, and marking experience of service.'⁹ The personal appearance of the men has, no doubt, varied according as attention was paid to a proper selection of recruits. The appointments have also been different. The first alteration in this respect was made in the year 1769, when the regiment removed to Dublin. At this period the men received white cloth waistcoats, and the colonel supplied them with white goat-skin and buff leather purses, which were deemed an im-

⁸ "Officers and non-commissioned officers always wore a small plume of feathers, after the fashion of their country; but it was not till the period of which I am now writing that the soldiers used so many feathers as they do at present."—Stewart's *Sketches*.

⁹ Jackson's *European Armies*.

provement on the vests of red cloth, and the purses made of badgers' skin.

"The officers also improved their dress, by having their jackets embroidered. During the war, however, they wore only a narrow edging of gold-lace round the borders of the facings, and very often no lace at all, epaulettes and all glittering ornaments being laid aside, to render them less conspicuous to the Indians, who always aimed particularly at the officers. During their stay in Ireland the dress of the men underwent very little alteration. The officers had only one suit of embroidery; this fashion being found too expensive was given up, and gold-lace substituted in its stead. Upon ordinary occasions they wore light hangers, using the basket-hilted broadsword only in full dress. They also carried fusils. The sergeants were furnished with carbines instead of the Lochaber axe or halbert, which they formerly carried. The soldiers were provided with new arms when on Dublin duty in 1774. The sergeants had silver-lace on their coats, which they furnished, however, at their own expense."¹

The regiment remained in Ireland after its return from North America about eight years, in the course of which it was occasionally occupied in different parts of that country in aid of the civil power,—a service in which, from their conciliatory disposition, they were found very useful. While in Ireland, a new company was added, as was the case with all the other regiments on the Irish establishment. Captain James Macpherson, Lieutenant Campbell, and Ensign John Grant, were in consequence appointed to the 42d.

In 1775 the regiment embarked at Donaghadee, and landed at Port Patrick, after an absence from Scotland of thirty-two years. Impelled by characteristic attachment to the country of their birth, many of the old soldiers leaped on shore with enthusiasm, and kissed the earth, which they held up in handfuls. From Port Patrick the regiment marched to Glasgow.

The conduct of the regiment and its mode of discipline while in Ireland is depicted by an intelligent officer who served in it at

¹ Stewart's *Sketches*. The use of silver lace was not discontinued until 1830.

that time, and for many years both before and after that period, in a communication to General Stewart. He describes the regiment as still possessing the character which it had acquired in Germany and America, although there were not more than eighty of the men remaining who had served in America, and only a few individuals of those who had served in Germany previously to the year 1748. Their attachment to their native dress, and their peculiarity of language, habits, and manners contributed to preserve them a race of men separate from others of the same profession, and to give to their system of regimental discipline a distinctive and peculiar character. Their messes were managed by the non-commissioned officers, or old soldiers, who had charge of the barrack-room; and these messes were always so arranged that in each room the men were in friendship or intimacy with each other, or belonged to the same glen or district, or were connected by some similar tie. By these means every barrack-room was like a family establishment. After the weekly allowances for breakfast, dinner, and small necessaries had been provided, the surplus pay was deposited in a stock purse, each member of the mess drawing for it in his turn. The stock thus acquired was soon found worth preserving, and instead of hoarding, they lent it out to the inhabitants, who seemed greatly surprised at seeing a soldier save money. Their accounts with their officers were settled once in three months, and, with the exception of a few careless spendthrifts, all the men purchased their own necessaries, with which they were always abundantly provided. At every settlement of accounts they enjoyed themselves very heartily, but with a strict observance of propriety and good humour; and as the members of each mess considered themselves in a manner answerable for one another's conduct, they animadverted on any impropriety with such severity as to render the interference of further authority unnecessary.

Shortly after the arrival of the regiment in Glasgow two companies were added, and the establishment of the whole regiment augmented to 100 rank and file each company. The battalion, when complete, amounted to 1075 men, including sergeants and drummers. Little in-

ducement was required to fill the ranks, as men were always to be found ready to join a corps in such high estimation. At this time the bounty was a guinea and a crown. It was afterwards increased to three guineas; but this advance had little effect in the north where the *esprit de corps* had greater influence than gold.

Hitherto the officers had been entirely Highland and Scotch; but the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, contrary to the remonstrances of Lord John Murray, who saw the advantage of officering the regiment with natives of Scotland, prevailed with the government to admit two English officers into the regiment. His excellency even went so far as to get two lieutenants' commissions in favour of Scotchmen cancelled, although they had been gazetted.

In consequence of hostilities with America, the regiment was ordered to embark for that country. Before its departure the recruits were taught the use of the firelock, and, from the shortness of the time allowed, were drilled even by candle-light. New arms and accoutrements were supplied to the men by the government, and the colonel furnished them with broadswords and pistols, iron-stocked, at his own expense. The regiment was reviewed on the 10th of April 1776 by General Sir Adolphus Oughton, and being reported quite complete and unexceptionable, embarked on the 14th at Greenock, along with Fraser's Highlanders.²

II.

1776-1795.

The 42d goes to America—Battle of Brooklyn, 1776—Broadswords and pistols laid aside—Skirmish near New York—White Plains—Capture of Fort Washington and Fort Lee—Skirmish at Trenton—Defeat of Mawhood's detachment—Pisquatawa—Chesapeake—Battle of Brandywine—Skirmish at Monmouth—New Plymouth—Portsmouth—Verplanks and Stony Point, 1779—Mutiny of a detachment at Leith—Charlestown—Paulus Hook—Desertion, 1783—Halifax—Cape Breton—Return of the regiment to England—Proceeds to Flanders—The "red heckle"—England—Coast of France—Ostend—Nimeguen—Gilderwalsen—Return of the regiment to England.

In conjunction with Fraser's Highlanders, the 42d embarked at Greenock on the 14th of

² Of the number of privates, 931 were Highlanders, 74 Lowland Scotch, 5 English (in the band), 1 Welsh, and 2 Irish.

April 1776, to join an expedition under General Howe against the American revolutionists. The transports separated in a gale of wind, but they all reached their destination in Staten Island, where the main body of the army had assembled.¹ A grenadier battalion was immediately formed under the command of the Hon. Major (afterwards General) Sir Charles Stewart, the staff appointments to which, out of respect to the 42d, were taken by the commander-in-chief from that regiment. A light infantry corps was also formed, to the command of which Lieutenant-colonel Musgrave was appointed. The flank companies of the 42d were attached to these battalions. "The Highland grenadiers were remarkable for strength and height, and considered equal to any company in the army: the light infantry were quite the reverse in point of personal appearance, as the commanding officer would not allow a choice of men for them. The battalion companies were formed into two temporary battalions, the command of one being given to Major William Murray (Lintrose), and that of the other to Major William Grant (Rothiemurchus), with an adjutant quarter-master in each battalion; the whole being under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Thomas Stirling. These grenadiers were placed in the reserve with the grenadiers of the army, under the command of Earl Corn-

¹ The Oxford transport, with a company of the 42d on board, was captured by an American privateer. The military officers and ship's crew were taken on board the privateer, and a crew and guard sent to the transport, with directions to make the first friendly port. A few days afterwards the soldiers overpowered the Americans; and with the assistance of the carpenter, who had been left on board, navigated the vessel into the Chesapeake, and casting anchor at Jamestown, which had been evacuated by Lord Dunmore and the British, she was taken possession of, and the men marched as prisoners to Williamsburgh in Virginia, where every exertion was made, and every inducement held out, to prevail with them to break their allegiance, and join the American cause. When it was found that the offers of military promotion were rejected, they were told that they would have grants of fertile land to settle in freedom and happiness, and that they would all be lairds themselves, and have no rents to pay. These latter inducements also failed. "These trust-worthy men declared they would neither take nor possess any land, but what they had deserved by supporting their king, whose health they could not be restrained from drinking, although in the middle of enemies; and when all failed, they were sent in small separate parties to the back-settlements."—They were exchanged in 1778, and joined the regiment.—Stewart's *Sketches*, i. 368.

wallis. To these were added the 33d, his lordship's own regiment."²

The whole of the British force under the command of Sir William Howe, including 13,000 Hessians and Waldeckers, amounted to 30,000 men. The campaign opened by a landing on Long Island on the 22d of August 1776. The whole army encamped in front of the villages of Gravesend and Utrecht. The American army, under General Putnam, was encamped at Brooklyn, a few miles distant. A range of woody hills, which intersected the country from east to west, divided the two armies.

The British general having resolved to attack the enemy in three divisions, the right wing, under General Clinton, seized, on the 26th of August, at night-fall, a pass on the heights, about three miles from Bedford. The main body then passed through, and descended to the level country which lay between the hills and General Putnam's lines. Whilst this movement was going on, Major-general Grant (Ballindalloch) with his brigade (the 4th), supported by the Royal Highlanders from the reserve, was directed to march from the left along the coast to the Narrows, and attack the enemy in that quarter. The right wing having reached Bedford at nine o'clock next morning, attacked the left of the American army, which, after a short resistance, retired to their lines in great confusion, pursued by the British troops, Colonel Stuart leading with his battalion of Highland grenadiers. The Hessians, who had remained at Flat Bush, on hearing the fire at Bedford, advanced, and, attacking the centre of the American army, drove them, after a short engagement, through the woods, and captured three pieces of cannon. General Grant had previously attacked the right of the enemy, and a cannonade had been kept up near the Narrows on both sides, till the Americans heard the firing at Bedford, when they retreated in disorder. Notwithstanding these advantages, neither General Howe nor General Grant ventured to follow them up by pursuing the enemy, and attacking them in their lines, although they could have made no effectual resistance. The enemy lost 2000 men, killed, drowned, and taken prisoners.

² Stewart's *Sketches*.

The British had 5 officers, and 56 non-commissioned officers and privates killed; and 12 officers and 245 non-commissioned officers and privates wounded. Among the latter was Lieutenant Crammond and 9 rank and file of the 42d.

About this time the broadswords and pistols which the men received in Glasgow were ordered to be laid aside. The pistols being considered unnecessary, except in the field, were not intended, like the swords, to be worn by the men in quarters. The reason for discontinuing the broadswords was that they retarded the men by getting entangled in the brushwood. "Admitting that the objection was well-founded, so far as regarded the swords, it certainly could not apply to the pistols. In a close woody country, where troops are liable to sudden attacks and surprises by a hidden enemy, such a weapon is peculiarly useful. It is, therefore, difficult to discover a good reason for laying them aside. I have been told by several old officers and soldiers, who bore a part in these attacks, that an enemy who stood for many hours the fire of musketry, invariably gave way when an advance was made sword in hand. They were never restored, and the regiment has had neither swords nor pistols since."³

The army encamped in front of the enemy's lines in the evening of the 27th of August, and next day broke ground opposite their left redoubt. General Washington had crossed over from New York during the action at Brooklyn, and seeing resistance hopeless, resolved to retreat. With surprising skill he transported 9000 men, with guns, ammunition, and stores, in the course of one night, over to New York; and such was the secrecy with which this movement was effected, that the British army knew nothing of it till next morning, when the last of the rear-guard were seen in their boats crossing the broad ferry and out of danger.

Active operations were not resumed till the 15th of September, when the reserve, including the Royal Highlanders, crossed over to New York, and, after some opposition, took possession of the heights above the town. The

Highlanders and Hessians fell in with and captured a body of New England men and Virginians. Next day the light infantry were sent out to dislodge a party of the enemy from a wood opposite the British left. A smart action ensued, and, the enemy pushing forward reinforcements, the Highlanders were sent to support the light infantry. The Americans were then driven back to their entrenchments; but they renewed the attack with an increased force, and were again repulsed with considerable loss. The British had 14 men killed, and 5 officers and 70 men wounded. The 42d had 1 sergeant and 5 privates killed; and Captains Duncan Macpherson and John Mackintosh, and Ensign Alexander Mackenzie (who died of his wounds), and 1 piper, 2 drummers, and 47 privates wounded.

General Howe, in expectation of an attack, threw up entrenchments; but General Washington having no such intention, made a general movement, and took up a strong position on the heights in the rear of the White Plains. To induce the enemy to quit their ground, General Howe resolved to make a movement, and accordingly embarked his army on the 12th of October in flat-bottomed boats, and passing through the intricate narrow called Hell Gate, disembarked the same evening at Frogsneck, near West Chester. In consequence of the bridge which connected the latter place with the mainland having been broken down by the enemy, the general re-embarked his troops next day, and landed at Pell's Point, at the mouth of Hudson's river. On the 14th he reached the White Plains in front of the enemy's position. As a preliminary to a general engagement, General Howe attacked a post on a rising ground occupied by 4000 of the enemy, which he carried; but General Washington declining battle, the British general gave up the attempt, and proceeded against Fort Washington, the possession of which was necessary in order to open the communication between New York and the continent, to the eastward and northward of Hudson's river. The fort, the garrison of which consisted of 3000 men, was protected by strong grounds covered with lines and works. The Hessians, under General Knyphausen, supported by the whole of the

³ Stewart's *Sketches*.

reserve, under Major-General Earl Percy, with the exception of the 42d, who were to make a feint on the east side of the fort, were to make the principal attack. The Royal Highlanders embarked in boats on the 16th of November, before day-break, and landed in a small creek at the foot of the rock, in the face of a smart fire. The Highlanders had now discharged the duty assigned them, but determined to have a full share in the honour of the day, they resolved upon an assault, and assisted by each other, and by the brushwood and shrubs which grew out of the crevices of the rocks, scrambled up the precipice. On gaining the summit, they rushed forward, and attacked the enemy with such rapidity, that upwards of 200, unable to escape, threw down their arms; whilst the Highlanders, following up their advantage, penetrated across the table of the hill, and met Lord Percy's brigade as they were coming up on the opposite side. On seeing the Hessians approach in another direction, the enemy surrendered at discretion. In this affair the Royal Highlanders had 1 sergeant and 10 privates killed; and Lieutenants Patrick Graham (Inchbrakie), Norman Macleod,⁴ and Alexander Grant, and 4 sergeants and 66 rank and file wounded.

To secure the entire command of the North river, and to open an easy entrance into the Jerseys, Fort Lee was next reduced, in which service the Royal Highlanders were employed. The enemy, pursued by the detachment which captured that post, retired successively to Newbridge, Elizabeth Town, Newark, and Brunswick. On the 17th of November General Howe entered Prince Town with the main body of the army, an hour after it was evacuated by General Washington. Winter having

⁴ "This hill was so perpendicular, that the ball which wounded Lieutenant Macleod, entering the posterior part of his neck, ran down on the middle of his ribs, and lodged in the lower part of his back.

"One of the pipers, who began to play when he reached the point of a rock on the summit of the hill, was immediately shot, and tumbled from one piece of rock to another till he reached the bottom.

"Major Murray, being a large corpulent man, could not attempt this steep ascent without assistance. The soldiers, eager to get to the point of their duty, scrambled up, forgetting the situation of Major Murray, when he, in a melancholy supplicating tone, cried, 'Oh soldiers, will you leave me!' A party leaped down instantly, and brought him up, supporting him from one ledge of the rocks to another till they got him to the top."—Stewart's *Sketches*.

now set in, General Howe put his army into winter quarters. The advanced posts, which extended from Trenton to Mount-holly, were occupied by the Hessians and the Royal Highlanders, who were the only British regiments in front.

If, instead of suspending active operations, General Howe had continued occasionally to beat up the quarters of the Americans whilst dispirited by their late reverses, it is thought that he would have reduced them to the last extremity. General Washington availed himself of the inactivity of the British commander, and by making partial attacks on the advanced posts, he not only improved the discipline of his army, but, in consequence of the success which sometimes attended these attacks, revived the drooping spirits of his men. On the 22d of January 1777, he surprised and completely defeated the detachment of Hessians stationed at Trenton; in consequence of which reverse, the Royal Highlanders, who formed the left of the line of defence at Mount-holly, fell back on the light infantry at Prince Town.

During the remainder of the season the Royal Highlanders were stationed in the village of Pisquataua, on the line of communication between New York and Brunswick by Amboy. The duty was severe, from the rigour of the season and the want of accommodation. The houses in the village not being sufficient to contain one-half of the men, the officers and soldiers were intermixed in barns and sheds, and they always slept in their body-clothes, as the enemy were constantly sending down nocturnal parties to fire at the sentinels and picquets. The Americans, however, always kept at a respectful distance, and did not make any regular attack on the post till the 10th of May 1777, on which day, at four o'clock in the afternoon, a body of 2000 men, under the command of Maxwell and Stephens, American generals, attempted to surprise the Highlanders. Advancing with great secrecy, and being completely covered by the rugged nature of the country, their approach was not perceived till they had gained a small level piece of ground in front of the picquets, when they rushed forward, and attacked them with such promptitude, that the picquets had hardly time to seize their arms. At this time the

soldiers were either all differently employed, or taking the rest they could not obtain at night; but the picquets, by disputing every inch of ground, gave time to the soldiers to assemble, who drove the enemy back with great precipitation, leaving behind them upwards of 200 men in killed and wounded. On this occasion the 42d had 3 sergeants and 9 privates killed; and Captain Duncan Macpherson, Lieutenant William Stewart, 3 sergeants, and 35 privates wounded.⁵

The British troops again took the field about the middle of June, when General Howe attempted to draw Washington from his station at Middle Brook; but the American commander knew too well the value of such a strong position to abandon it. Not judging it prudent to attack it, the British general resolved to change the seat of war. Pursuant to this resolution, he embarked 36 battalions of British and Hessians, including the flank battalions of the grenadiers and light infantry, and sailed for the Chesapeake. Before the embarkation the Royal Highlanders received an accession of 170 recruits from Scotland.

The army landed at Elk Ferry on the 24th of August, after a tedious voyage. It was not till the 3d of September that they began their march for Philadelphia. The delay enabled Washington to cross the country, and to take an advantageous position at Red Clay Creek,

⁵ "On this occasion Sergeant Macgregor, whose company was immediately in the rear of the picquet, rushed forward to their support with a few men who happened to have their arms in their hands, when the enemy commenced the attack. Being severely wounded, he was left insensible on the ground. When the picquet was overpowered, and the few survivors forced to retire, Macgregor, who had that day put on a new jacket with silver-lace, having, besides, large silver buckles in his shoes, and a watch, attracted the notice of an American soldier, who deemed him a good prize. The retreat of his friends not allowing him time to strip the sergeant on the spot, he thought the shortest way was to take him on his back to a more convenient distance. By this time Macgregor began to recover; and, perceiving whither the man was carrying him, drew his dirk, and grasping him by the throat, swore that he would run him through the breast if he did not turn back and carry him to the camp. The American finding this argument irresistible, complied with the request, and meeting Lord Cornwallis (who had come up to the support of the regiment when he heard the firing), and Colonel Stirling, was thanked for his care of the sergeant; but he honestly told them that he only conveyed him thither to save his own life. Lord Cornwallis gave him liberty to go whithersoever he chose. His lordship procured for the sergeant a situation under government at Leith, which he enjoyed many years."—Stewart's *Sketches*.

whence he pushed forward detachments to harass the British troops on their march. General Howe did not reach the Brandy Wine River till the middle of September, in consequence of the difficulties he met with in traversing a country covered with wood and full of defiles. On reaching that river, he found that the enemy had taken up a strong position beyond it, with the view of opposing the further advance of the royal army. The Americans had secured all the fording places, and in expectation that the British would attempt to cross at Chad's Ford, they had erected batteries and thrown up entrenchments at that place to command the passage. Making a circuit of some miles, Lord Cornwallis crossed Jeffrey's Ford with one division of the army without opposition, and turning down the river fell in with the American general, Sullivan, who had been detached by Washington to oppose him. An action took place, and the Americans were driven from all their posts through the woods towards the main army. Meanwhile General Knyphausen, with his division, made demonstrations for crossing the river at Chad's Ford, and as soon as he knew from the firing of cannon that Lord Cornwallis's movement had succeeded, he passed the river, and carried the batteries and entrenchments of the enemy. A general rout ensued, and Washington, with the corps he was able to keep together, fled with his baggage and cannon to Chester. The British had 50 officers killed and wounded in the battle of Brandywine, and 438 rank and file, including non-commissioned officers. The flank companies of the 42d, being the only ones engaged, had 6 privates killed, and 1 sergeant and 15 privates wounded.

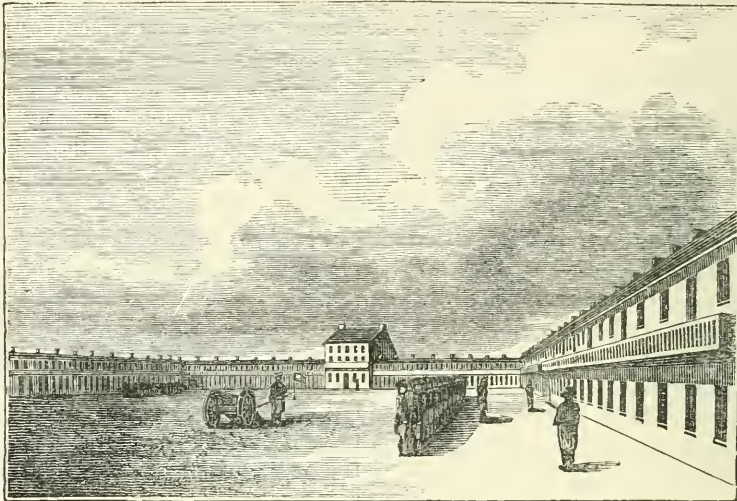
On the 25th, the army marched to German Town, and the following morning the grenadiers took peaceable possession of Philadelphia. The 42d took part in the operations, by which the British commander endeavoured to bring the enemy to a general engagement at White Marsh, and was afterwards quartered at Philadelphia.⁶

⁶ From Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia* we learn that a Mrs Gordon opened a boarding-house in Front Street, which was much frequented by British officers during the American Revolution war, and at times was nearly filled with officers of the 42d and Royal

The next enterprise in which the Royal Highlanders were engaged, was under Major-General Charles Grey, who embarked with the grenadiers, the light infantry brigade, and the 42d regiment, for the purpose of destroying a number of privateers, with their prizes, at New Plymouth. The troops landed on the banks of the Acushnet river on the 5th of September, and having destroyed seventy

vessels, with all the stores, cargoes, wharfs, and buildings, along the whole extent of the river, the whole were re-embarked the following day, and returned to New York.

Matters remained quiescent till the 25th of February 1779, when Colonel Stirling, with a detachment consisting of the light infantry of the Guards and the 42d regiment, was ordered to attack a post at Elizabeth Town, which was



British Barracks, Philadelphia. From Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*.

taken without opposition. In April following, the Highland regiment was employed in an expedition to the Chesapeake, to destroy the stores and merchandise at Portsmouth in Virginia. They were again employed with the Guards and a corps of Hessians in another expedition under General Mathews, which sailed on the 30th, under the convoy of Sir

Irish. "The British Barracks," we learn from Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*, "were built in the Northern Liberties soon after the defeat of Braddock's army, and arose from the necessity, as it was alleged, of making better permanent provision for troops deemed necessary to be among us for future protection. Many of the people had so petitioned the king, not being then so sensitive of the presence of 'standing armies' as their descendants have since become. The parade and 'pomp of war' which their erection produced in the former peaceful city of Penn, gave it an attraction to the town's people, and being located far out of town, it was deemed a pleasant walk to the country and fields, to go out and see the long ranges of houses, the long lines of kilted and bonneted Highlanders, and to hear 'the spirit stirring fife and soul-inspiring drum!' The ground plot of the barracks extended from Second to Third Street, and from St Tamany Street to Green Street, having the officer's quarters, a large three-storey brick build-

ing, on Third Street, the same now standing as a Northern Liberty Town Hall. The parade ground fronted upon Second Street, shut in by an ornamental palisade fence on the line of that street. After the war of Independence they were torn down, and the lots sold for the benefit of the public. It was from the location of those buildings that the whole region thereabout was familiarly called Campingtoun. In 1758 I notice the first public mention of 'the new barracks in Campingtoun,' the *Gazettes* stating the arrival there of 'Colonel Montgomery's Highlanders,' and some arrangement by the City Council to provide them their bedding, &c. In the year 1764 the barracks were made a scene of great interest to all the citizens; there the Indians, who fled from the threats of the murderous Paxtang boys, sought their refuge under the protection of the Highlanders, while the approach of the latter was expected, the citizens ran there with their arms to defend them and to throw up entrenchments."

The campaign of 1779 was begun by the

capture, on the part of the British, of Verplanks and Stony Point. A garrison of 600 men, among whom were two companies of Fraser's Highlanders, took possession of this last post; but owing to the too great confidence of the commander, it was surprised and re-captured. Flushed with this success, the American general, Wayne, made an immediate attack upon Verplanks, which was garrisoned by the 33d regiment; but receiving accounts of the advance of Colonel Stirling with the light infantry of the 42d, he retreated from Verplanks and abandoned Stony Point, of which Colonel Stirling took possession. This officer being shortly thereafter appointed aid-de-camp to the king, and a brigadier-general, the command of the 42d regiment devolved on Major Charles Graham.

About this time a circumstance occurred which tended greatly to deteriorate, for several years, the hitherto irreproachable character of the Royal Highland regiment. By order of the inspector-general at Chatham, a body of 150 recruits, raised principally from the refuse of the population of London and Dublin, was embarked for the regiment in the autumn of this year. Of such dissipated habits had these men been, that 16 died on the voyage, and 75 were sent to the hospital as soon as they disembarked.⁷ The infusion of such immoral ingredients could not have failed to taint the whole mass, and General Stirling made a strong representation to the commander-in-chief to avert such a calamity from the regiment, by removing the recruits to another corps. They were, in consequence, drafted into the 26th, in exchange for the same number of Scotchmen; but the introduction of these men into the regiment dissolved the charm which, for nearly forty years, had preserved the Highlanders from contamination. During that long period there were few courts-martial, and, for many years, no instance of corporal punishment occurred. So nice were their notions of honour, that, "if a soldier was brought to the halberts, he became degraded, and little more good was to be expected of him. After being

publicly disgraced, he could no longer associate with his comrades; and, in several instances, the privates of a company have, from their pay, subscribed to procure the discharge of an obnoxious individual." But "punishments being found indispensable for the men newly introduced, and others becoming more habituated to the sight, much of the sense of honour was necessarily lost."⁸

An illustration of the strong national feeling with which the corps was regarded by the Highlanders, and of the expediency of keeping it unmixed, occurred in April of the same year, when two strong detachments of recruits belonging to the 42d and 71st regiments arrived at Leith from Stirling Castle, for the purpose of embarking to join their respective regiments in North America. Being told that they were to be turned over to the 80th and 82d, the Edinburgh and Hamilton regiments, the men remonstrated, and declared openly and firmly that they were determined to serve only in the corps for which they were enlisted. After some negotiation, troops were sent to Leith with orders to convey the refractory Highlanders as prisoners to Edinburgh Castle, if they persisted in their determination. As they still refused to forego their resolution, attempts were made to enforce the orders; but the Highlanders refused to submit, and flying to arms, a desperate conflict ensued, in which Captain Mansfield of the South Fencible regiment and 9 men were killed, and 31 soldiers wounded. Being at last overpowered, the mutineers were carried to the castle.

In the month of May following, three of these prisoners, Charles Williamson and Archibald Macivor, soldiers of the 42d regiment, and Robert Budge, soldier of the 71st, were brought before a court-martial, "charged with having been guilty of a mutiny at Leith, upon Tuesday the 20th of April last past, and of having instigated others to be guilty of the same, in which mutiny several of his majesty's subjects were killed, and many wounded."

Their reasons for resisting the orders to embark are thus stated in their defence:—"The prisoners, Archibald Macivor and Charles Williamson, enlisted as soldiers in the 42d,

⁷ "In the year 1776 (says General Stewart) the three battalions of the 42d and of Fraser's Highlanders embarked 3248 soldiers; after a stormy passage of more than three months, none died; they had only a few sick, and these not dangerously."

⁸ Stewart's *Sketches*.

being an old Highland regiment, wearing the Highland dress. Their native language was Gaelic,—the one being a native of the northern parts of Argyleshire, and the other of the western parts of Inverness-shire, where the language of the country is Gaelic only. They have never used any other language, and are so ignorant of the English tongue that they cannot avail themselves of it for any purpose of life. They have always been accustomed to the Highland habit, so far as never to have worn breeches, a thing so inconvenient, and even so impossible for a native Highlander to do, that, when the Highland dress was prohibited by act of parliament, though the philibeg was one of the forbidden parts of the dress, yet it was necessary to connive at the use of it, provided only that it was made of a stuff of one colour and not of tartan, as is well known to all acquainted with the Highlands, particularly with the more mountainous parts of the country. These circumstances made it more necessary for them to serve in a Highland regiment only, as they neither could have understood the language, nor have used their arms, or marched in the dress of any other regiment."

The other prisoner, Budge, stated that he was a native of the upper parts of Caithness, and being ignorant of the English language, and accustomed to wear the Highland garb, he enlisted to serve in Fraser's Highlanders, and in no other regiment. In continuation, the three prisoners stated, that, "when they arrived at Leith, they were informed by their officer, Captain Innes, who had conducted them, that they were now to consider the officers of the 82d, or Duke of Hamilton's regiment, a regiment wearing the Lowland dress and speaking the tongue, as their officers; but how this happened they were not informed. No order from the commander-in-chief for their being drafted was read or explained to them, but they were told that they must immediately join the Hamilton and Edinburgh regiments. A great number of the detachment represented, without any disorder or mutinous behaviour, that they were altogether unfit for service in any other corps than Highland ones, particularly that they were incapable of wearing breeches as a part of their dress. At the same time, they declared

their willingness to be regularly transferred to any other Highland regiment, or to continue to serve in those regiments into which they had been regularly enlisted. But no regard was paid to these remonstrances, which, if they had had an opportunity, they would have laid before the commander-in-chief. But an order for an immediate embarkation prevented this. The idea that naturally suggested itself to them was, that they should insist on serving in the same regiment in which they had been enlisted, and not to go abroad as part of the Duke of Hamilton's regiment till such time as these difficulties were removed. They accordingly drew up under arms on the shore of Leith, each respective corps by itself. The prisoners were informed that the orders issued were to take them prisoners to the castle: had these orders been explained to them, they would have submitted, and, with proper humility, have laid their case before those that could have given them redress. But, unfortunately, the sergeant who undertook to explain to them in Gaelic, represented that they were immediately to go on board as part of the Hamilton regiment, but which they do with great deference say, that they did not at the time conceive they could lawfully have done." After the defence was read, "Captain Innes of the 71st regiment showed an attestation to the court, which he said was in the uniform style of the attestations for that regiment; and it expressly bore, that the persons thereby attested were to serve in the 71st regiment, commanded by General Simon Fraser of Lovat, and that they were to serve for three years only, or during the continuance of the present war."

Having been found guilty, the prisoners were sentenced to be shot. The king gave them a free pardon, "in full confidence that they would endeavour, by a prompt obedience and orderly behaviour, to atone for this atrocious offence." These men, along with the rest of the detachment, joined the second battalion of the 42d. The prisoners justified the confidence of his majesty by steadiness and good conduct in the regiment.

With the intention of pushing the war with vigour, the new commander-in-chief resolved to attack Charlestown, the capital of South

Carolina. Leaving General Knyphausen in command, he embarked part of his army, and after a boisterous and protracted voyage of nearly seven weeks, during which some of his transports were lost or taken, he landed at John's Island, 30 miles from Charlestown, on the 11th of February 1780. Owing to various impediments, he did not reach Charlestown till the end of March. After a siege of six weeks the place surrendered. The loss of the British did not exceed 300 men. Lieutenant Macleod of the 42d, and 9 privates, were killed; and Lieutenant Alexander Grant of the same regiment, son of Colonel Grant of Moy, was wounded by a six-pound ball, which struck him on the back in a slanting direction, near the right shoulder, and carried away the entire scapula with several other bones. The surgeons considered his case as utterly hopeless, but to their surprise they found him alive next morning, and free from fever and all bad symptoms. He recovered completely, and served many years in perfect good health. 14 privates were wounded.

The Royal Highlanders, with the Grenadiers and Hessians, re-embarked on the 4th of June for New York, and, after several movements in the province, went into winter quarters. Here they received an accession of 100 recruits from Scotland. The regiment was not again employed in any active service during the remainder of the war.

Whilst the war lasted, the Americans held out every allurements to the British soldiers to induce them to desert their ranks and join the cause of American independence. Many were, in consequence, seduced from their allegiance; but during five campaigns, and until the unfortunate draft of men from the 26th regiment, not one man from the 42d deserted its ranks. About the close of the war the regiment was stationed at Paulus Hook, an advanced post from New York leading to the Jerseys, and here, for the first time, several of the men deserted to the enemy. One of these deserters, by name Anderson, was afterwards taken, tried by a court-martial, and shot.

After the peace the establishment of the regiment was reduced to 8 companies of 50 men each. The officers of the ninth and tenth companies were not put on half-pay, but kept

as supernumeraries to fill up vacancies as they occurred in the regiment. Many of the men having been discharged at their own request, their places were supplied by drafts from Fraser's and Macdonald's Highlanders, and from the Edinburgh and Hamilton regiments, some of the men in these corps having preferred rather to remain in America than return home with their regiments.

During the American revolutionary war the loss of the Royal Highlanders was as follows:—

	KILLED.
In Officers,	2
Sergeants,	9
Rank and File, including Drummers,	72
Total,	83
	WOUNDED.
In Officers,	12
Sergeants,	18
Rank and File, including Drummers,	256
Total,	286
Grand Total,	369

In October 1783, the regiment was sent to Halifax, in Nova Scotia, where it remained till the year 1786, when six companies were removed to the island of Cape Breton, the remaining two companies being detached to the island of St John. Next year two companies were added to the regiment, in consequence of preparations for war with Holland. Captains William Johnstone and Robert Christie succeeded to these companies. Lieutenant Robert Macdonald, brother of Macdonald of Sanda, from the half-pay of Fraser's regiment, and Ensign James Rose, were appointed lieutenants; and Ensign David Stewart (afterwards major-general, and author of the *Sketches*), and James Stewart, nephew of the Earl of Moray, ensigns.

On the 1st of January 1785, new colours were presented to the regiment by Major-General John Campbell, commanding the Forces in Nova Scotia, who made an eloquent address on that occasion:—

“Forty-second, Royal Highlanders,—With particular pleasure I address you on this occasion, and congratulate you on the service you have done your country, and the honour you have procured yourselves, by protecting your old colours, and defending them from

your enemies in different engagements during the late unnatural rebellion.

“From those ragged, but honourable, remains, you are now to transfer your allegiance and fidelity to these new National and Regimental Standards of Honour, now consecrated and solemnly dedicated to the service of our King and Country. These Colours are committed to your immediate care and protection; and I trust you will, on all occasions, defend them from your enemies, with honour to yourselves, and service to your country,—with that distinguished and noble bravery which has always characterised the ROYAL HIGHLANDERS in the field of battle.

“With what pleasure, with what peculiar satisfaction,—nay, with what pride, would I enumerate the different memorable actions where the regiment distinguished itself. To particularise the whole would exceed the bounds of this address: let me therefore beg your indulgence while I take notice only of a few of them.”

He then in glowing language alluded to the numerous engagements in which the regiment had distinguished itself, from Fontenoy to Pisquata, and concluded by urging upon the men ever to try to sustain the high character of the regiment, and never to forget they were citizens of a great country, and Christians as well as soldiers.

About this time the regiment had to regret the loss of its colonel, Lord John Murray, who died on the 1st of June 1787, after commanding the corps forty-one years. He was the steady friend of the officers and men. Major-General Sir Hector Munro succeeded him in the command.⁹

⁹ “On the 1st of June this year, Lord John Murray died, in the forty-second year of his command of the regiment, and was succeeded by Major-General Sir Hector Munro. It is said that Lord Eglinton was much disappointed on that occasion. He had formed an attachment to the Highland soldiers, when he commanded his Highland regiment in the seven years' war; and, owing to Lord J. Murray's great age, had long looked to the command of the Royal Highlanders. In Lord North's administration, and likewise in Mr Pitt's, he had, in some measure, secured the succession; but the king had previously, and without the knowledge of his ministers, assented to an application from Sir H. Munro. Lord Eglinton was appointed to the Scots Greys on the first vacancy. Till Lord John Murray was disabled by age, he was the friend and supporter of every deserving officer and soldier in the regiment. The public journals during the German

The regiment embarked for England in August 1789, and landed in Portsmouth in October, after an absence of fourteen years. They wintered in Tynemouth barracks, where they received a reinforcement of 245 young recruits. At this time a small alteration was made in the military appointments of the men. Instead of the black leather belts for the bayonet, white buff belts were substituted. The epaulettes of the officers, formerly very small, were then enlarged.¹

The regiment was removed to Glasgow in the month of May 1790, where they were received with great cordiality by the inhabitants. From an ill-judged hospitality on the part of the citizens, who compelled some of the soldiers to drink copiously of ardent spirits, the discipline of the regiment was relaxed; but its removal to Edinburgh Castle in the month of November cured the evil.

Warlike preparations having been made in 1790, in expectation of a rupture with Spain, orders were received to augment the regiment; but, from recent occurrences in the Highlands, the regiment was not successful in recruiting. Several independent companies were raised, one of which, a fine body of young Highlanders, recruited by the Marquis of Huntly (afterwards Duke of Gordon), joined the regiment along with his lordship, who had exchanged with Captain Alexander Grant.

The regiment was reviewed in June 1791, by Lord Adam Gordon, the commander-in-chief in Scotland, and was marched to the north in October following. The head quarters were at Fort George; one company was stationed at Dundee, another at Montrose, two at Aberdeen, and one at Banff. The regiment assembled at Fort George in the

or seven years' war give many instances. I shall notice one. When the disabled soldiers came home from Ticonderoga in 1758, to pass the Board at Chelsea, it is stated, “that the morning they were to appear before the Board, he was in London, and dressed himself in the full Highland uniform, and, putting himself at the head of all those who could walk, he marched to Chelsea, and explained their case in such a manner to the Commissioners, that all obtained the pension. He gave them five guineas to drink the king's health, and their friends, with the regiment, and two guineas to each of those who had wives, and he got the whole a free passage to Perth, with an offer to such as chose to settle on his estate, to give them a house and garden.”—*Westminster Journal*.

¹ Stewart's *Sketches*.

spring of 1792, and after having been marched south to Stirling, and reviewed by the Hon. Lieutenant-General Leslie, returned to their former cantonments along the coast. The men had however scarcely returned to their quarters, when they were ordered to proceed by forced marches into Ross-shire, to quell some tumults among the tenantry who had been cruelly ejected from their farms. Fortunately, however, there was no occasion for the exercise of such an unpleasant duty, as the poor people separated and concealed themselves on hearing of the approach of the military. After a series of marches and countermarches, the regiment returned to its former cantonments.

In consequence of the war with France, the whole regiment was ordered south, and, preparatory to their march, assembled at Montrose in April 1793. An attempt to increase the establishment by recruiting proved unsuccessful, the result, in some degree, of the depopulating system which had lately been commenced in Ross-shire, and which soured the kindly dispositions of the Highlanders. The corps at this time scarcely exceeded 400 men, and to make up for deficiencies in recruiting, two independent companies, raised by Captains David Hunter of Burnside, and Alexander Campbell of Ardchattan, were ordered to join the regiment.

On the 8th of May, the regiment embarked at Musselburgh for Hull, the inhabitants of which received the Highlanders most kindly, and were so well pleased with their good conduct that, after they embarked for Flanders, the town sent each man a present of a pair of shoes, a flannel shirt, and worsted socks. The regiment joined the army under his Royal Highness the Duke of York, then encamped in the neighbourhood of Menin, on the 3d of October.

The first enterprise in which the Highlanders were engaged was in conjunction with the light companies of the 19th, 27th, and 57th regiments, in the month of October, when they marched to the relief of Nieuport, then garrisoned by the 53d regiment, and a small battalion of Hessians. On the appearance of this reinforcement, the besiegers retired. The Highlanders had 1 sergeant and 1 private killed, and 2 privates wounded. After this the regiment was re-embarked for England,

along with the three others just mentioned, to join an expedition then preparing against the French colonies in the West Indies; but on arriving at Portsmouth, the 42d was ordered to join another expedition then fitting out against the coast of France, under the command of the Earl of Moira. Colonel Graham, who had held the command of the regiment since the year 1791, being at this time appointed to the command of a brigade, the command devolved on Major George Dalrymple.

The expedition sailed on the 30th of November; but although it reached the coast of France to the eastward of Cape la Hogue, no landing took place. The expedition, after stopping some time at Guernsey, returned to Portsmouth in the beginning of January 1794. The troops remained in England till the 18th of June, when they were re-embarked for Flanders, under the command of the Earl of Moira. They landed at Ostend on the 26th. At this time the allied armies, in consequence of the advance of a large French army and the partial defection of Prussia, were placed in a very critical situation, particularly the small division under the Duke of York encamped at Malines. A junction with the duke became a primary object with Lord Moira, who accordingly resolved to abandon Ostend. He embarked all the stores and the garrison, and whilst the embarkation was proceeding, the troops were ordered under arms on the sand hills in the neighbourhood in light marching order. The officers left all their luggage behind, except what they carried on their backs. In the evening of the 28th the troops moved forward, and halting ten miles beyond the town, proceeded at midnight towards Ostaker, and reached Alost on the 3d of July. Whilst these troops remained here, about 400 of the enemy's cavalry entered the town, and being mistaken for Hessians, passed unmolested to the market-place. One of them made an attempt to cut down a Highlander named Macdonald, who was passing through the market-place with a basket on his head. The dragoon having wounded the man severely in the hand which held the basket, the enraged mountaineer drew his bayonet with the other hand and attacked the horseman, who fled. Macdonald thereupon continued his course,

venting his regret as he went along that he had not a broadsword to cut down the intruder. On being recognised, the enemy were driven out by some dragoons and piqueets.

After a fatiguing march in presence of a superior force under General Vandamme, the reinforcement joined the Duke of York on the 9th of July. A succession of petty skirmishes occurred until the 20th, when Lord Moira resigned the command. He was succeeded by Lieutenant-General Ralph Abereromby, to whom the command of the third brigade, or reserve, in which were the Highlanders, was assigned. The army crossed the Waal at Nimeguen on the 8th of October. Several smart affairs took place between the advanced posts of the two armies till the 20th, when the enemy attacked the whole of the British advanced posts. They were repulsed, but the 77th regiment sustained a severe loss in officers and men. By incessant attacks, however, the enemy established themselves in front of Nimeguen, and began to erect batteries preparatory to a siege; but on the 4th of November they were driven from their works, after an obstinate resistance. The enemy still persevering with great energy to push their preparations for a siege, it was found necessary to evacuate the town.

This evacuation took place on the 7th of November, and the army was cantoned along the banks of the river. They suffered greatly from the severity of the weather, and so intense was the frost, that the enemy crossed the Waal on the ice. They took post at Thuyt; but although the place was surrounded with entrenchments, and the approach flanked by batteries placed on the isle of Bommell, they were forced from all their posts, and obliged to repass the Waal, by a body of 8000 British, among whom was the third brigade. The loss of the British was trifling. The enemy again crossed the Waal on the 4th of January 1795, and retook Thuyt, from which it was now found impossible to dislodge them. In an attack which they made on the forces under General David Dundas at Gildermaslen, they were repulsed with the loss of 200 men, whilst that of the British was only about one-fourth of that number. The 42d had 1 private killed, and Lieutenant-Colonel Lamond and 7 privates wounded.

Compelled by the severity of the weather, and the increasing numbers of the French, to retreat, the British troops retired behind the Leek, after the division under Lord Cathcart had repulsed an attack made by the enemy on the 8th.

Disease, the result of a want of necessaries and proper clothing, had greatly diminished the ranks of the British; and the men, whose robustness of constitution had hitherto enabled them to withstand the rigours of one of the severest winters ever remembered, at last sank under the accumulated hardships which beset them. Such was the state of the British army when General Pichegru, crossing the Waal in great force, made a general attack on the 14th of January along the whole line, from Arnheim to Amerougen. After a continued resistance till morning, the British began the disastrous retreat to Deventer, the miseries of which have only been exceeded by the sufferings of the French in their disastrous retreat from Moscow.² The inhumanity of the Dutch boors, who uniformly shut their doors against the unfortunate sufferers, will ever remain a disgrace on the Dutch nation. The hospitable conduct of the inhabitants of Bremen, where the remains of this luckless army arrived in the beginning of April, formed a noble contrast to that of the selfish and unfeeling Dutch.

In no former campaign was the superiority of the Highlanders over their companions in arms, in enduring privations and fatigues, more conspicuous than in this; for whilst some of the newly-raised regiments lost more than 300 men by disease alone, the 42d, which had 300 young recruits in its ranks, lost only 25, including those killed in battle, from the time of their disembarkation at Ostend till their embarkation at Bremen, on the 14th of April.

The Royal Highlanders having landed at Harwich were marched to Chelmsford, and encamped in June 1795 in the neighbourhood of Danbury. In September the regiment was augmented to 1000 men, by drafts from the Strathspey and Perthshire Highlanders, and the regiments of Colonel Duncan Cameron and Colonel Simon Fraser, which had been raised the preceding year, and were now broken

² Stewart's Sketches.

up. "Although these drafts," says General Stewart, "furnished many good and serviceable men, they were, in many respects, very inferior to former recruits. This difference of character was more particularly marked in their habits and manners in quarters, than in their conduct in the field, which was always unexceptionable. Having been embodied for upwards of eighteen months, and having been subject to a greater mixture of character than was usual in Highland battalions, these corps had lost much of their original manners, and of that strict attention to religious and moral duties which distinguished the Highland youths on quitting their native glens, and which, when in corps unmixed with men of different characters, they always retained. This intermixture produced a sensible change in the moral conduct and character of the regiment."

Since 1795 the soldiers of the 42d have worn a red feather or "heckle" in their bonnets, being in this respect distinguished from all the other Highland regiments. The following is the story of the "glorious old red heckle," as told by Lieutenant-Colonel Wheatley, who, we believe, had his information directly from those who took part in the exploit on account of which the Black Watch is entitled to wear the plume.

In December 1794, when the Forty-Second were quartered at Thuyt, as above mentioned, they received orders for the night of the 31st to march upon Bommell, distant some miles on the opposite side of the river Waal, which they reached by four o'clock on the morning of 1st January 1795. Here they were joined by a number of other regiments, and lay on their arms until daybreak, when they attacked the French army, and drove them across the river on the ice. The British held their position on the banks of the river until the evening of the 3d, when (the French having been reinforced) a partial retreat took place early on the morning of the 4th. The British retired upon the village of Guildermalson, where the 42d, with a number of other regiments, halted, and formed up to cover the retreat through the village. The French cavalry, however, cut through the retreating picquets, and made their way up to the regiments stationed at the village, where they were met and repulsed,

and a number of them taken prisoners.³ Two field-pieces were placed in front of the village to protect the retreat of the picquets; but instead of resisting the charge of cavalry, they (the picquets) retreated to the rear of the village, leaving their guns in possession of the French, who commenced dragging them off. An A.D.C. (Major Rose) ordered Major Dalrymple, commanding the 42d, to charge with his regiment, and retake the guns; which was immediately done, with the loss of 1 man killed and 3 wounded. The guns were thus rescued and dragged in by the 42d, the horses having been disabled and the harness cut.

There was little or no notice taken of this affair at the time, as all was bustle; but after their arrival in England, it was rumoured that the 42d were to get some distinctive badge for their conduct in retaking the guns on the 4th of January; but the nature of the honour was kept a profound secret. On the 4th of June 1795, as the regiment, then quartered at Royston, Cambridgeshire, was out on parade to fire three rounds in honour of his Majesty's birthday, the men were surprised and delighted when a large box was brought on to the field, and a red feather distributed to each soldier. This distinctive ornament has ever since adorned the otherwise funereal headdress of the old Black Watch.

In 1822, from a mistaken direction in a book of dress for the guidance of the army, some of the other Highland regiments concluded that they also had a right to wear "a red vulture feather." The 42d, however, remonstrated, and their representations at headquarters called forth the following memorandum:—

"For Officers commanding Highland Regiments.

"HORSE GUARDS, 20th Aug. 1822.

"The red vulture feather prescribed by the recent regulations for Highland regiments is intended to be used exclusively by the Forty-Second Regiment: other Highland corps will be allowed to continue to wear the same description of feather that may have been hitherto in use.

"H. TORRENS, Adjutant-General."

³ One of these, a trumpeter, was brought to England by the 42d, and given over to the York Rangers, at the formation of that corps.

III

1795—1811.

Expedition to the West Indies—England, Gibraltar, Minorca, 1798—Expedition to Egypt, 1800—Battle of the 13th March 1801—Battle of the 21st—Death of Sir Ralph Abercromby—Capture of Rosetta—Surrender of Grand Cairo and of Alexandria—England—Misunderstanding between the 42d and the Highland Society of London—The regiment reviewed by George III.—Return of the 42d to Scotland—Embarks at Leith for Weeley in Essex—Second battalion—Gibraltar—Portugal—Spain—Retreat to Corunna—Battle of Corunna—Death of Sir John Moore—England, 1809—Walcheren—Scotland, 1810—England, 1811.

GOVERNMENT having determined to reduce the French and Dutch possessions in the West Indies, a large armament was fitted out under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir Ralph Abercromby. The land forces consisted of 460 cavalry and 16,479 infantry. The Royal Highlanders formed part of this expedition. Another expedition, destined also for the West Indies, consisting of 2600 cavalry and 5680 foot, assembled at Cork during the embarkation of the first. Great care was taken to furnish the troops with everything necessary for the voyage, and particular attention was paid to their clothing. To protect them from the damps and chills of midnight, they were supplied with flannel, and various changes were made in their clothing to guard them against the effects of the yellow fever. Among other changes, the plaid kilt and bonnet of the Highlanders were laid aside, and their place supplied by Russian duck pantaloons and a round hat; but experience showed that the Highland dress was better suited to a campaign in the West Indies during the rainy season, than the articles which superseded it.

The embarkation was completed by the 27th of October 1795; but in consequence of damage sustained by some of the ships in a hurricane, and the loss of others, the expedition did not sail till the 11th of November. On that day the fleet, amounting to 328 sail, got under weigh with a favourable breeze. Owing to accidents which befell two of the ships, the fleet did not clear the channel till the 13th of December; but it had scarcely got out when a violent storm arose, which continued almost without intermission for several weeks. The

greater part of the fleet was scattered, and many of the ships took refuge in different ports in England. Admiral Crichton struggled with such of the ships as remained with him till the end of January, but was at last obliged, from the disabled state of some of the ships, to return to Portsmouth, where he arrived on the 29th of that month with about 50 sail. Seventy-eight of the ships which kept the sea proceeded on their voyage, and reached Barbadoes in a straggling manner. Had the troops been sent off in detachments as they embarked, these misfortunes would have been avoided.

After the partial return of the expedition, the destination of some of the returned regiments was changed. Five companies of the Highlanders were in a few weeks embarked for Gibraltar, under the commanded of Lieutenant-Colonel Dickson. The other five companies reached Barbadoes on the 9th of February in the *Middlesex* East Indiaman, one of the straggling ships which had proceeded on the voyage. The expedition again put to sea on the 14th of February, and arrived at Barbadoes on the 14th of March. By the great care of Sir Ralph Abercromby, in ordering the transports to be properly ventilated on their arrival, and by enforcing cleanliness and exercise among the troops, few deaths occurred; and of the five Highland companies, none died, and only 4 men with trifling complaints were left on board when the troops disembarked at St Lucia in April. The troops from Cork, though favoured with better weather, were less fortunate in their voyage, several officers and a great many men having died.

The first enterprise was against the Dutch colonies of Demerara and Berbice, which surrendered to a part of the Cork division under Major-General White on the 22d of April. On the same day the expedition sailed from Barbadoes, and appeared off St Lucia on the 26th, it being considered imprudent to attempt Guadaloupe with a force which had been so much diminished.

The troops landed in four divisions at Longueville Bay, Pigeon Island, Chock Bay, and Anee la Raze. The Highlanders, under the command of Brigadier-General John Moore, landed in a small bay close under Pigeon

Island. The army moved forward on the 27th to close in upon Morne Fortunée, the principal post in the island. To enable them to invest this place, it became necessary to obtain possession of Morne Chabot, a strong and commanding position overlooking the principal approach. Detachments under the command of Brigadier-Generals Moore and the Hon. John Hope, were accordingly ordered to attack this post on two different points. General Moore advanced at midnight, and General Hope followed an hour after by a less circuitous route; but falling in with the enemy sooner than he expected, General Moore carried the Morne, after a short but obstinate resistance, before General Hope came up. Next day General Moore took possession of Morne Duchassaux. By the advance of Major-General Morshead from Ance la Raze, Morne Fortunée was completely invested, but not until several officers and about 50 of the grenadiers, who formed the advanced post under Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald, had been killed and wounded.

To dispossess the enemy of the batteries they had erected on the Cul de Sac, Major-General Morshead's division was ordered to advance against two batteries on the left; whilst Major-General Hope, with the five companies of the Highlanders, the light infantry of the 57th regiment, and a detachment of Malcolm's Rangers, supported by the 55th regiment, was to attack the battery of Seeke, close to the works of Morne Fortunée. The light infantry and the rangers quickly drove the enemy from the battery; but they were obliged to retire from the battery in their turn under the cover of the Highlanders, in consequence of the other divisions under Brigadier-General Perryn and Colonel Riddle having been obstructed in their advance. In this affair Colonel Malcolm, a brave officer, was killed, and Lieutenant J. J. Fraser of the 42d, and a few men, wounded. The other divisions suffered severely.

So great were the difficulties which presented themselves from the steep and rugged nature of the ground, that the first battery was not ready to open till the 14th of May. In an attempt which the 31st regiment made upon a fortified ridge called the Vizie, on the evening of the 17th, they were repulsed with great

loss; but the grenadiers, who had pushed forward to support them, compelled the enemy to retire. For six days a constant fire was kept up between the batteries and the fort. Having ineffectually attempted to drive back the 27th regiment from a lodgment they had formed within 500 yards of the garrison, the enemy applied for and obtained a suspension of hostilities. This was soon followed by a capitulation and the surrender of the whole island. The garrison marched out on the 29th, and became prisoners of war. The loss of the British was 2 field officers, 3 captains, 5 subalterns, and 184 non-commissioned officers and rank and file killed; and 4 field officers, 12 captains, 15 subalterns, and 523 non-commissioned officers and rank and file wounded and missing.

As an instance of the influence of the mind on bodily health, and of the effect of mental activity in preventing disease, General Stewart adduces this expedition as a striking illustration:—"During the operations which, from the nature of the country, were extremely harassing, the troops continued remarkably healthy; but immediately after the cessation of hostilities they began to droop. The five companies of Highlanders, who landed 508 men, sent few to the hospital until the third day subsequent to the surrender; but after this event, so sudden was the change in their health, that upwards of 60 men were laid up within the space of seven days. This change may be, in part, ascribed to the sudden transition from incessant activity to repose, but its principal cause must have been the relaxation of the mental and physical energies, after the motives which stimulated them had subsided."

The next enterprise was against St Vincent, where the expedition, consisting of the Buffs, the 14th, 34th, 42d, 53d, 54th, 59th, and 63d regiments, and the 2d West Indian Regiment, landed on the 8th of June. The enemy had erected four redoubts on a high ridge, called the Vizie, on which they had taken up a position. The arrangements for an attack having been completed on the 10th, the troops were drawn up in two divisions under Major-Generals Hunter and William Morshead, at a short distance from the ridge. Another division formed on the opposite side

of the hill. The attack was commenced by a fire from some field-pieces on the redoubts, which was kept up for some hours, apparently with little effect. As a feint, the Highlanders and some of the Rangers in the meantime moved forward to the bottom of a woody steep which terminated the ridge, on the top of which stood one of the redoubts, the first in the range. Pushing their way up the steep, the 42d turned the feint into a real assault, and, with the assistance of the Buffs, by whom they were supported, drove the enemy successively from the first three redoubts in less than half an hour. Some of the Highlanders had pushed close under the last and principal redoubt, but the general, seeing that he had the enemy in his power, and wishing to spare the lives of his troops, recalled the Highlanders, and offered the enemy terms of capitulation, which were accepted. The conditions, *inter alia*, were, that the enemy should embark as prisoners of war; but several hundreds of them broke the capitulation by escaping into the woods the following night. The total loss of the British on this occasion was 181 in killed and wounded. The Highlanders had 1 sergeant and 12 rank and file killed; and 1 officer (Lieutenant Simon Fraser), 2 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 29 rank and file wounded.¹

In order to subjugate the island, the troops were divided and sent to different stations, and military posts were established in the neighbourhood of the country possessed by the Caribs and brigands. Favoured by the natural strength of the country, the enemy carried on a petty warfare with the troops among the woods till the month of September, when they

¹ General Stewart says that in the assault on the redoubts, when proceeding from the second to the third, he found a lad of seventeen years of age whom he had enlisted in August preceding, with his foot on the body of a French soldier, and his bayonet thrust through from ear to ear, attempting to twist off his head. Lieutenant Stewart touched him on the shoulder, and desired him to let the body alone. "Oh, the brigand," said he, "I must take off his head." When told that the man was already dead, and that he had better go and take the head off a living Frenchman, he answered, "You are very right, Sir; I did not think of that;" and immediately ran forward to the front of the attack. Yet such is the power of example, that this young man, so bold, turned pale and trembled, when, a few days after he had enlisted, he saw one of his companions covered with blood from a cut he had received in the head and face in some horseplay with his comrades.

surrendered. The French, including the brigands, were sent prisoners to England, and the Indians or Caribs, amounting to upwards of 5000, were transported to Ratan, an island in the gulf of Mexico.²

² In one of the skirmishes in the woods between a party of the 42d and the enemy, Lieutenant-Colonel Graham (afterwards a lieutenant-general and governor of Stirling Castle) was wounded, and lay senseless on the ground. "His recovery from his wound," says General Stewart, "was attended by some uncommon circumstances. The people believing him dead, rather dragged than carried him over the rough channel of the river, till they reached the sea-beach. Observing here that he was still alive, they put him in a blanket and proceeded in search of a surgeon. After travelling in this manner four miles, I met them, and directed the soldiers to carry him to a military post, occupied by a party of the 42d under my command. All the surgeons were out in the woods with the wounded soldiers, and none could be found. Colonel Graham was still insensible. A ball had entered his side, and passing through, had come out under his breast. Another, or perhaps the same ball, had shattered two of his fingers. No assistance could be got but that of a soldier's wife, who had been long in the service, and was in the habit of attending sick and wounded soldiers. She washed his wounds, and bound them up in such a manner, that when a surgeon came and saw the way in which the operation had been performed, he said he could not have done it better, and would not unbind the dressing. The colonel soon afterwards opened his eyes, and though unable to speak for many hours, seemed sensible of what was passing around him. In this state he lay nearly three weeks, when he was carried to Kingston, and thence conveyed to England. He was still in a most exhausted state,—the wound in his side discharging matter from both orifices. He went to Edinburgh, with little hopes of recovery; but on the evening of the illumination for the victory of Camperdown, the smoke of so many candles and flambeaux having affected his breathing, he coughed with great violence; and, in the exertion, threw up a piece of cloth, carried in and left by the ball in its passage through his body. From that day he recovered as by a charm.

"The soldier's wife," continues the General, "who was so useful to him in his extremity, was of a character rather uncommon. She had been long a follower of the camp, and had acquired some of its manners. While she was so good and useful a nurse in quarters, she was bold and fearless in the field. When the arrangements were made previously to the attack on the Vizie on the 10th of June, I directed that her husband, who was in my company, should remain behind to take charge of the men's knapsacks, which they had thrown off to be light for the advance up the hill, as I did not wish to expose him to danger on account of his wife and family. He obeyed his orders, and remained with his charge; but his wife, believing, perhaps, that she was not included in these injunctions, pushed forward to the assault. When the enemy had been driven from the third redoubt, I was standing giving some directions to the men, and preparing to push on to the fourth and last redoubt, when I found myself tapped on the shoulder, and turning round, I saw my Amazonian friend standing with her clothes tucked up to her knees, and seizing my hand, 'Well done, my Highland lad,' she exclaimed, 'see how the brigands scamper like so many deer!'—'Come,' added she, 'let us drive them from yonder hill!' On inquiry, I found that she had been in the hottest fire, cheering

In September, Sir Ralph Abercromby returned to England, when the temporary command of the army devolved upon Major-General Charles Graham, who was promoted this year from the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 42d to the colonelcy of the 5th West India Regiment. He was succeeded in the lieutenant-colonelcy by Major James Stewart. The commander-in-chief returned from England in February 1797, and immediately collected a force for an attack on Trinidad, which surrendered without opposition. He, thereafter, assembled a body of troops, consisting of the 26th light dragoons dismounted, the 14th, 42d, 53d, and some other corps, at St Christopher's, for an attack on Porto Rico, whither they proceeded on the 15th of April, and anchored off Congregus's Point on the 17th. The enemy made a slight opposition to the landing, but retired when the troops disembarked. As the inhabitants of Porto Rico, who had been represented as favourable, did not show any disposition to surrender, and as the Moro or castle was too strong to be attacked with such an inconsiderable force, which was insufficient to blockade more than one of its sides, the commander-in-chief resolved to give up the attempt, and accordingly re-embarked his troops on the 30th of April. This was the last enterprise against the enemy in that quarter during the rest of the war. The Highlanders were sent to Martinique, where they embarked for England, free from sickness, after having the casualties of the two preceding years more than supplied by volunteers from the 79th Highlanders, then stationed in Martinique. The Royal Highlanders landed at Portsmouth on the 30th of July in good health, and were marched to Hillsea barracks. After remaining a few weeks there, the five companies embarked for Gibraltar, where they joined the five other companies, whose destination had been changed by their return to port after the sailing of the expedition to the West Indies. The regiment was now 1100 men strong.

The next service in which the Royal Highlanders were engaged was on an expedition

and animating the men; and when the action was over, she was as active as any of the surgeons in assisting the wounded."

against the island of Minorca, under the command of Lieutenant-General the Hon. Sir Charles Stewart, in the month of November 1798. The British troops having invested Cittadella, the principal fortress in the island, on the 14th of November, the Spanish commander, who had concentrated his forces in that garrison, surrendered on the following day. The Spanish general, whose force greatly exceeded that of the invaders, was deceived as to their numbers, which, from the artful mode in which they were dispersed over the adjoining eminences, he believed to amount to at least 10,000 men.

The possession of Minorca was of considerable importance, as it was made the rendezvous of a large force about to be employed on the coast of the Mediterranean, in support of our allies, in the year 1800. The command of this army was given to Sir Ralph Abercromby, who arrived on the 22d of June 1799, accompanied by Major-Generals Hutchinson and Moore. A part of the army was embarked for the relief of Genoa, then closely besieged by the French, and a detachment was also sent to Colonel Thomas Graham of Balgowan, who blockaded the garrison of La Vallette in the island of Malta.

Genoa having surrendered before the reinforcement arrived, the troops returned to Minorca, and were afterwards embarked for Gibraltar, where they arrived on the 14th of September, when accounts were received of the surrender of Malta, after a blockade of nearly two years. Early in October the armament sailed for Cadiz, to take possession of the city, and the Spanish fleet in the harbour of Carraccas, and was joined by the army under Sir James Pulteney from Ferrol; but when the Highlanders and part of the reserve were about landing in the boats, a gun from Cadiz announced the approach of a flag of truce. The town was suffering dreadfully from the ravages of the pestilence, and the object of the communication was to implore the British commander to desist from the attack. Sir Ralph Abercromby, with his characteristic humanity, could not withstand the appeal, and accordingly suspended the attack. The fleet got under weigh the following morning for the bay of Tetuan, on the

coast of Barbary, and after being tossed about in a violent gale, during which it was obliged to take refuge under the lee of Cape Spartell, the fleet returned to Gibraltar.

Government having determined to make an attempt to drive the French out of Egypt, despatched orders to the commander-in-chief to proceed to Malta, where, on their arrival, the troops were informed of their destination. Tired of confinement on board the transports, they were all greatly elevated on receiving this intelligence, and looked forward to a contest on the plains of Egypt with the hitherto victorious legions of France, with the feelings of men anxious to support the honour of their country. The whole of the British land forces amounted to 13,234 men and 630 artillery, but the efficient force was only 12,334. The French force amounted to 32,000 men, besides several thousand native auxiliaries.

The fleet sailed in two divisions for Marmorice, a bay on the coast of Greece, on the 20th and 21st of December, in the year 1800. The Turks were to have a reinforcement of men and horses at that place. The first division arrived on the 28th of December, and the second on the 1st of January following. Having received the Turkish supplies, which were in every respect deficient, the fleet again got under weigh on the 23d of February, and on the morning of Sunday the 1st of March the low and sandy coast of Egypt was descried. The fleet came to anchor in the evening of 1st March 1801 in Aboukir bay, on the spot where the battle of the Nile had been fought nearly three years before. After the fleet had anchored, a violent gale sprung up, which continued without intermission till the evening of the 7th, when it moderated.

As a disembarkation could not be attempted during the continuance of the gale, the French had ample time to prepare themselves, and to throw every obstacle which they could devise in the way of a landing. No situation could be more embarrassing than that of Sir Ralph Abereromby on the present occasion; but his strength of mind carried him through every difficulty. He had to force a landing in an unknown country, in the face of an enemy more than double his numbers, and nearly three times as numerous as they were pre-

viously believed to be—an enemy, moreover, in full possession of the country, occupying all its fortified positions, having a numerous and well-appointed cavalry, inured to the climate, and a powerful artillery,—an enemy who knew every point where a landing could, with any prospect of success, be attempted, and who had taken advantage of the unavoidable delay, already mentioned, to erect batteries and bring guns and ammunition to the point where they expected the attempt would be made. In short, the general had to encounter embarrassments and bear up under difficulties which would have paralysed the mind of a man less firm and less confident of the devotion and bravery of his troops. These disadvantages, however, served only to strengthen his resolution. He knew that his army was determined to conquer, or to perish with him; and, aware of the high hopes which the country had placed in both, he resolved to proceed in the face of obstacles which some would have deemed insurmountable.³

The first division destined to effect a landing consisted of the flank companies of the 40th, and Welsh Fusileers on the right, the 28th, 42d, and 58th, in the centre, the brigade of Guards, Corsican Rangers, and a part of the 1st brigade, consisting of the Royals and 54th, on the left,—amounting altogether to 5230 men. As there was not a sufficiency of boats, all this force did not land at once; and one company of Highlanders, and detachments of other regiments, did not get on shore till the return of the boats. The troops fixed upon to lead the way got into the boats at two o'clock on the morning of the 8th of March, and formed in the rear of the *Mondovi*, Captain John Stewart, which was anchored out of reach of shot from the shore. By an admirable arrangement, each boat was placed in such a manner, that, when the landing was effected, every brigade, every regiment, and even every company, found itself in the proper station assigned to it. As such an arrangement required time to complete it, it was eight o'clock before the boats were ready to move forward. Expectation was wound up to the highest pitch, when, at nine o'clock, a signal

³ Stewart's *Sketches*.

was given, and all the boats, with a simultaneous movement, sprung forward, under the command of the Hon. Captain Alexander Cochrane. Although the rowers strained every nerve, such was the regularity of their pace, that no boat got a-head of the rest.

At first the enemy did not believe that the British would attempt a landing in the face of their lines and defences; but when the boats had come within range of their batteries, they began to perceive their mistake, and then opened a heavy fire from their batteries in front, and from the castle of Aboukir in flank. To the showers of grape and shells, the enemy added a fire of musketry from 2500 men, on the near approach of the boats to the shore. In a short time the boats on the right, containing the 23d, 28th, 42d, and 58th regiments, with the flank companies of the 40th, got under the elevated position of the enemy's batteries, so as to be sheltered from their fire, and meeting with no opposition from the enemy, who did not descend to the beach, these troops disembarked and formed in line on the sea shore. Lest an irregular fire might have created confusion in the ranks, no orders were given to load, but the men were directed to rush up the face of the hill and charge the enemy.

When the word was given to advance, the soldiers sprung up the ascent, but their progress was retarded by the loose dry sand which so deeply covered the ascent, that the soldiers fell back half a pace every step they advanced. When about half way to the summit, they came in sight of the enemy, who poured down upon them a destructive volley of musketry. Redoubling their exertions, they gained the height before the enemy could reload their pieces; and, though exhausted with fatigue, and almost breathless, they drove the enemy from their position at the point of the bayonet. A squadron of cavalry then advanced and attacked the Highlanders, but they were instantly repulsed, with the loss of their commander. A scattered fire was kept up for some time by a party of the enemy from behind a second line of small sand-hills, but they fled in confusion on the advance of the troops. The Guards and first brigade having landed on ground nearly on a level with the

water, were immediately attacked,—the first by cavalry, and the 54th by a body of infantry, who advanced with fixed bayonets. The assailants were repulsed.⁴

In this brilliant affair the British had 4 officers, 4 sergeants, and 94 rank and file killed, among whom were 31 Highlanders; 26 officers, 34 sergeants, 5 drummers, and 450 rank and file wounded; among whom were, of the Highlanders, Lieutenant-Colonel James Stewart, Captain Charles Macquarrie, Lieutenants Alexander Campbell, John Dick, Frederick Campbell, Stewart Campbell, Charles Campbell, Ensign Wilson, 7 sergeants, 4 drummers, and 140 rank and file.⁵

The venerable commander-in-chief, anxious to be at the head of his troops, immediately left the admiral's ship, and on reaching the shore, leaped from the boat with the vigour of youth. Taking his station on a little sand-hill, he received the congratulations of the officers by whom he was surrounded, on the ability and firmness with which he had conducted

⁴ When the boats were about to start, two young French field officers, who were prisoners on board the *Minotaur*, Captain Louis, went up to the rigging "to witness, as they said, the last sight of their English friends. But when they saw the troops land, ascend the hill, and force the defenders at the top to fly, the love of their country and the honour of their arms overcame their new friendship: they burst into tears, and with a passionate exclamation of grief and surprise ran down below, and did not again appear on deck during the day."—Stewart's *Sketches*.

⁵ "The great waste of ammunition," says General Stewart, "and the comparatively little execution of musketry, unless directed by a steady hand, was exemplified on this occasion. Although the sea was as smooth as glass, with nothing to interrupt the aim of those who fired,—although the line of musketry was so numerous, that the soldiers compared the fall of the bullets on the water to boys throwing handfuls of pebbles into a mill-pond,—and although the spray raised by the cannon-shot and shells, when they struck the water, wet the soldiers in the boats,—yet, of the whole landing force, very few were hurt; and of the 42d one man only was killed, and Colonel James Stewart and a few soldiers wounded. The noise and foam raised by the shells and large and small shot, compared with the little effect thereby produced, afford evidence of the saving of lives by the invention of gunpowder; while the fire, noise, and force, with which the bullets flew, gave a greater sense of danger than in reality had any existence. That eight hundred and fifty men (one company of the Highlanders did not land in the first boats) should force a passage through such a shower of balls and bomb-shells, and only one man killed and five wounded, is certainly a striking fact." Four-fifths of the loss of the Highlanders was sustained before they reached the top of the hill. General Stewart, who then commanded a company in the 42d, says that eleven of his men fell by the volley they received when mounting the ascent.

the enterprise. The general, on his part, expressed his gratitude to them for "an intrepidity scarcely to be paralleled," and which had enabled them to overcome every difficulty.

The remainder of the army landed in the course of the evening, but three days elapsed before the provisions and stores were disembarked. Menou, the French commander, availed himself of this interval to collect more troops and strengthen his position; so that on moving forward on the evening of the 12th, the British found him strongly posted among sand-hills, and palm and date trees, about three miles east of Alexandria, with a force of upwards of 5000 infantry, 600 cavalry, and 30 pieces of artillery.

Early on the morning of the 13th, the troops moved forward to the attack in three columns of regiments. At the head of the first column was the 90th or Perthshire regiment; the 92d or Gordon Highlanders formed the advance of the second; and the reserve marching in column covered the movements of the first line, to which it ran parallel. When the army had cleared the date trees, the enemy, leaving the heights, moved down with great boldness on the 92d, which had just formed in line. They opened a heavy fire of cannon and musketry, which the 92d quickly returned; and although repeatedly attacked by the French line, supported by a powerful artillery, they maintained their ground singly till the whole line came up. Whilst the 92d was sustaining these attacks from the infantry, the French cavalry attempted to charge the 90th regiment down a declivity with great impetuosity. The regiment stood waiting their approach with cool intrepidity, and after allowing the cavalry to come within fifty yards of them, they poured in upon them a well-directed volley, which so completely broke the charge that only a few of the cavalry reached the regiment, and the greater part of these were instantly bayoneted; the rest fled to their left, and retreated in confusion. Sir Ralph Abercromby, who was always in front, had his horse shot under him, and was rescued by the 90th regiment when nearly surrounded by the enemy's cavalry.

After forming in line, the two divisions moved forward — the reserve remaining in column to cover the right flank. The enemy

retreated to their lines in front of Alexandria, followed by the British army. After reconnoitring their works, the British commander, conceiving the difficulties of an attack insuperable, retired, and took up a position about a league from Alexandria. The British suffered severely on this occasion. The Royal Highlanders, who were only exposed to distant shot, had only 3 rank and file killed, and Lieutenant-Colonel Dickson, Captain Archibald Argyll Campbell, Lieutenant Simon Fraser, 3 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 23 rank and file wounded.

In the position now occupied by the British general, he had the sea on his right flank, and the Lake Maadie on his left. On the right the reserve was placed as an advanced post; the 58th possessed an extensive ruin, supposed to have been the palace of the Ptolemies. On the outside of the ruin, a few paces onward and close on the left, was a redoubt, occupied by the 28th regiment. The 23d, the flank companies of the 40th, the 42d, and the Corsican Rangers, were posted 500 yards towards the rear, ready to support the two corps in front. To the left of this redoubt a sandy plain extended about 300 yards, and then sloped into a valley. Here, a little retired towards the rear, stood the cavalry of the reserve; and still farther to the left, on a rising ground beyond the valley, the Guards were posted, with a redoubt thrown up on their right, a battery on their left, and a small ditch or embankment in front, which connected both. To the left of the Guards, in echelon, were posted the Royals, 54th (two battalions), and the 92d; then the 8th or Kings, 18th or Royal Irish, 90th, and 13th. To the left of the line, and facing the lake at right angles, were drawn up the 27th or Enniskillen, 79th or Cameron Highlanders and 50th regiment. On the left of the second line were posted the 30th, 89th, 44th, Dillon's, De Roll's, and Stuart's regiments; the dismounted cavalry of the 12th and 26th dragoons completed the second line to the right. The whole was flanked on the right by four cutters, stationed close to the shore. Such was the disposition of the army from the 14th till the evening of the 20th, during which time the whole was kept in constant employment, either in performing military duties, strengthening

the position—which had few natural advantages—by the erection of batteries, or in bringing forward cannon, stores, and provisions. Along the whole extent of the line were arranged two 24 pounders, thirty-two field-pieces, and one 24 pounder in the redoubt occupied by the 28th.

The enemy occupied a parallel position on a ridge of hills extending from the sea beyond the left of the British line, having the town of Alexandria, Fort Caffarell, and Pharos, in the rear. General Lanusse was on the left of Menou's army with four demi-brigades of infantry, and a considerable body of cavalry commanded by General Roise. General Regnier was on the right with two demi-brigades and two regiments of cavalry, and the centro was occupied by five demi-brigades. The advanced guard, which consisted of one demi-brigade, some light troops, and a detachment of cavalry, was commanded by General D'Estain.

Meanwhile, the fort of Aboukir was blockaded by the Queen's regiment, and, after a slight resistance, surrendered to Lord Dalhousie on the 18th. To replace the Gordon Highlanders, who had been much reduced by previous sickness, and by the action of the 13th, the Queen's regiment was ordered up on the evening of the 20th. The same evening the British general received accounts that General Menou had arrived at Alexandria with a large reinforcement from Cairo, and was preparing to attack him.

Anticipating this attack, the British army was under arms at an early hour in the morning of the 21st of March, and at three o'clock every man was at his post. For half an hour no movement took place on either side, till the report of a musket, followed by that of some cannon, was heard on the left of the line. Upon this signal the enemy immediately advanced, and took possession of a small picquet, occupied by part of Stuart's regiment; but they were instantly driven back. For a time silence again prevailed, but it was a stillness which portended a deadly struggle. As soon as he heard the firing, General Moore, who happened to be the general officer on duty during the night, had galloped off to the left; but an idea having struck him as he proceeded,

that this was a false attack, he turned back and had hardly returned to his brigade when a loud huzza, succeeded by a roar of musketry, showed that he was not mistaken. The morning was unusually dark, cloudy, and close. The enemy advanced in silence until they approached the picquets, when they gave a shout and pushed forward. At this moment Major Sinclair, as directed by Major-General Oakes, advanced with the left wing of the 42d, and took post on the open ground lately occupied by the 28th regiment, which was now ordered within the redoubt. Whilst the left wing of the Highlanders was thus drawn up, with its right supported by the redoubt, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Stewart was directed to remain with the right wing 200 yards in the rear, but exactly parallel to the left wing. The Welsh Fusileers and the flank companies of the 40th moved forward, at the same time, to support the 58th, stationed in the ruin. This regiment had drawn up in the chasms of the ruined walls, which were in some parts from ten to twenty feet high, under cover of some loose stones which the soldiers had raised for their defence, and which, though sufficiently open for the fire of musketry, formed a perfect protection against the entrance of cavalry or infantry. The attack on the ruin, the redoubt, and the left wing of the Highlanders, was made at the same moment, and with the greatest impetuosity; but the fire of the regiments stationed there, and of the left wing of the 42d, under Major Stirling, quickly checked the ardour of the enemy. Lieutenant-Colonels Paget of the 28th, and Houston of the 58th, after allowing the enemy to come quite close, directed their regiments to open a fire, which was so well-directed and effective, that the enemy were obliged to retire precipitately to a hollow in their rear.⁶

During this contest in front, a column of the enemy, which bore the name of the "Invincibles," preceded by a six-pounder, came silently along the hollow interval from which the cavalry picquet had retired, and passed between the left of the 42d and the right of the Guards. Though it was still so dark that an object could not be properly

⁶ Stewart's *Sketches*.

distinguished at the distance of two yards, yet, with such precision did this column calculate its distance and line of march, that on coming in line with the left wing of the Highlanders, it wheeled to its left, and marched in between the right and left wings of the regiment, which were drawn up in parallel lines. As soon as the enemy were discovered passing between the two lines, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Stewart instantly charged them with the right wing to his proper front, whilst the rear-rank of Major Stirling's force, facing to the right about, charged to the rear. Being thus placed between two fires, the enemy rushed forward with an intention of entering the ruin, which they supposed was unoccupied. As they passed the rear of the redoubt the 28th faced about and fired upon them. Continuing their course, they reached the ruin, through the openings of which they rushed, followed by the Highlanders, when the 58th and 48th, facing about as the 28th had done, also fired upon them. The survivors (about 200), unable to withstand this combined attack, threw down their arms and surrendered. Generals Moore and Oakes were both wounded in the ruin, but were still able to continue in the exercise of their duty. The former, on the surrender of the "Invincibles," left the ruin, and hurried to the left of the redoubt, where part of the left wing of the 42d was busily engaged with the enemy after the rear rank had followed the latter into the ruins. At this time the enemy were seen advancing in great force on the left of the redoubt, apparently with an intention of making another attempt to turn it. On perceiving their approach, General Moore immediately ordered the Highlanders out of the ruins, and directed them to form line in battalion on the flat on which Major Stirling had originally formed, with their right supported by the redoubt. By thus extending their line they were enabled to present a greater front to the enemy; but, in consequence of the rapid advance of the latter, it was found necessary to check their progress even before the battalion had completely formed in line. Orders were therefore given to drive the enemy back, which were instantly performed with complete success.

Encouraged by the commander-in-chief, who

called out from his station, "My brave Highlanders, remember your country, remember your forefathers!" they pursued the enemy along the plain; but they had not proceeded far, when General Moore, whose eye was keen, perceived through the increasing clearness of the atmosphere, fresh columns of the enemy drawn up on the plain beyond with three squadrons of cavalry, as if ready to charge through the intervals of their retreating infantry. As no time was to be lost, the general ordered the regiment to retire from their advanced position, and re-form on the left of the redoubt. This order, although repeated by Colonel Stewart, was only partially heard in consequence of the noise of the firing; and the result was, that whilst the companies who heard it retired on the redoubt, the rest hesitated to follow. The enemy observing the intervals between these companies, resolved to avail themselves of the circumstance, and advanced in great force. Broken as the line was by the separation of the companies, it seemed almost impossible to resist with effect an impetuous charge of cavalry; yet every man stood firm. Many of the enemy were killed in the advance. The companies, who stood in compact bodies, drove back all who charged them, with great loss. Part of the cavalry passed through the intervals, and wheeling to their left, as the "Invincibles" had done early in the morning, were received by the 28th, who, facing to their rear, poured on them a destructive fire, which killed many of them. It is extraordinary that in this onset only 13 Highlanders were wounded by the sabre,—a circumstance to be ascribed to the firmness with which they stood, first endeavouring to bring down the horse, before the rider came within sword-length, and then despatching him with the bayonet, before he had time to recover his legs from the fall of the horse.⁷

⁷ Concerning this episode in the fight, and the capture of the standard of the "Invincibles" by one of the 42d, we shall here give the substance of the narrative of Andrew Dowie, one of the regiment who was present and saw the whole affair. We take it from Lieutenant-Colonel Wheatley's Memoranda, and we think our readers may rely upon it as being a fair statement of the circumstances. It was written in 1845, in a letter to Sergeant-Major Drysdale of the 42d, who went through the whole of the Crimean and Indian Mutiny campaigns without being one day absent, and who died at Uphall, near Edinburgh.

Enraged at the disaster which had befallen the *elite* of his cavalry, General Menou ordered forward a column of infantry, supported by cavalry, to make a second attempt on the position; but this body was repulsed at all points by the Highlanders. Another body of cavalry now dashed forward as the former had done, and met with a similar reception, numbers falling, and others passing through to the rear, where they were again overpowered by the 28th. It was impossible for the Highlanders to withstand much longer such repeated attacks, particularly as they were reduced to the necessity of fighting every man on his own ground, and unless supported they must soon have been destroyed. The fortunate arrival of the brigade of Brigadier-General Stuart, which advanced from the second line, and formed on the left of the Highlanders, probably saved them from destruction. At this time the enemy were advancing in great force, both in cavalry and infantry, apparently determined to overwhelm the handful of men who had hitherto baffled all their efforts. Though surprised to

Major and Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel in the regiment—on the 4th July 1865—While Dowie was inside of the ruin above mentioned, he observed an officer with a stand of colours, surrounded by a group of some 30 men. He ran and told Major Stirling of this, who advanced towards the French officer, grasped the colours, carried them off, and handed them to Sergeant Sinclair of the 42d Grenadiers, telling him to take them to the rear of the left wing, and display them. The major then ordered all out of the fort to support the left wing, which was closely engaged. Meantime, some of the enemy seeing Sinclair with the colours, made after and attacked him. He defended himself to the utmost till he got a sabre-cut on the back of the neck, when he fell with the colours among the killed and wounded. Shortly afterwards the German regiment, commanded by Sir John Stewart, came from the rear line to the support of the 42d, and in passing through the killed and wounded, one Anthony Lutz picked up the colours, stripped them off the staff, wound them round his body, and in the afternoon took them to Sir Ralph's son, and it was reported received some money for them. In 1802 this German regiment (97th or Queen's Own) arrived at Winchester, where this Anthony Lutz, in a quarrel with one of his comrades, stabbed him with a knife, was tried by civil law, and sentence of death passed upon him. His officers, to save his life, petitioned the proper authorities, stating that it was he who took the "Invincible Colours." Generals Moore and Oakes (who had commanded the brigade containing the 42d), then in London, wrote to Lieut.-Col. Dickson, who was with the regiment in Edinburgh Castle, and a court of inquiry was held on the matter, the result of the examination being in substance what has just been narrated. Sergeant Sinclair was promoted to ensign in 1803; was captain in the 81st from 1813 to 1816, when he retired on half-pay, and died in 1831.

find a fresh and more numerous body of troops opposed to them, they nevertheless ventured to charge, but were again driven back with great precipitation.

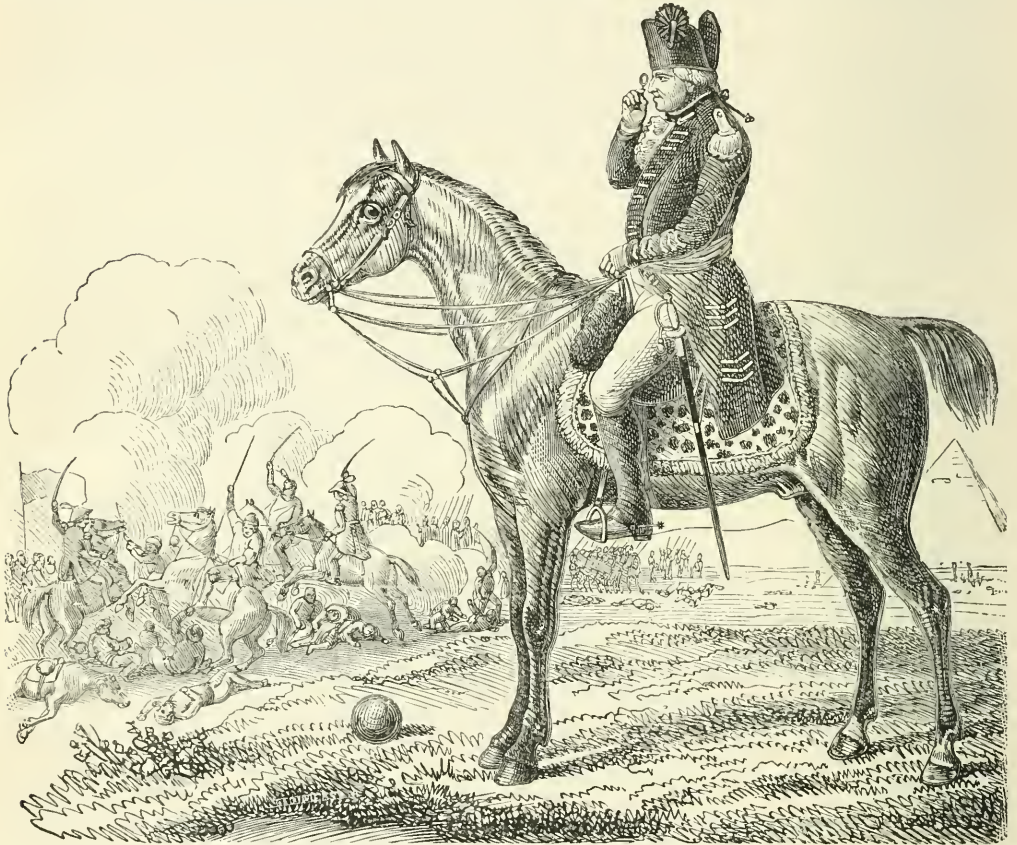
It was now eight o'clock in the morning; but nothing decisive had been effected on either side. About this time the British had spent the whole of their ammunition; and not being able to procure an immediate supply, owing to the distance of the ordnance-stores, their fire ceased,—a circumstance which surprised the enemy, who, ignorant of the cause, ascribed the cessation to design. Meanwhile, the French kept up a heavy and constant cannonade from their great guns, and a straggling fire from their sharpshooters in the hollows, and behind some sand-hills in front of the redoubt and ruins. The army suffered greatly from the fire of the enemy, particularly the Highlanders, and the right of General Stuart's brigade, who were exposed to its full effect, being posted on a level piece of ground over which the cannon-shot rolled after striking the ground, and carried off a file of men at every successive rebound. Yet notwithstanding this havoc no man moved from his position except to close up the gap made by the shot, when his right or left hand man was struck down.

At this stage of the battle the proceedings of the centre may be shortly detailed. The enemy pushed forward a heavy column of infantry, before the dawn of day, towards the position occupied by the Guards. After allowing them to approach very close to his front, General Ludlow ordered his fire to be opened, and his orders were executed with such effect, that the enemy retired with precipitation. Foiled in this attempt, they next endeavoured to turn the left of the position; but they were received and driven back with such spirit by the Royals and the right wing of the 54th, that they desisted from all further attempts to carry it. They, however, kept up an irregular fire from their cannon and sharpshooters, which did some execution. As General Regnier, who commanded the right of the French line, did not advance, the left of the British was never engaged. He made up for this forbearance by keeping up a heavy cannonade which did considerable injury.

Emboldened by the temporary cessation of the British fire on the right, the French sharpshooters came close to the redoubt; but they were thwarted in their designs by the opportune arrival of ammunition. A fire was immediately opened from the redoubt, which made them retreat with expedition. The whole line followed, and by ten o'clock the enemy had resumed their original position in front of Alexandria. After this, the enemy despairing

of success, gave up all idea of renewing the attack, and the loss of the commander-in-chief, among other considerations, made the British desist from any attempt to force the enemy to engage again.

Sir Ralph Abercomby, who had taken his station in front early in the day between the right of the Highlanders and the left of the redoubt, having detached the whole of his staff, was left alone. In this situation two of



Sir Ralph Abercomby in Egypt. From Kay's *Edinburgh Portraits*.

the enemy's dragoons dashed forward, and drawing up on each side, attempted to lead him away prisoner. In a struggle which ensued, he received a blow on the breast; but with the vigour and strength of arm for which he was distinguished, he seized the sabre of one of his assailants, and forced it out of his hand. A corporal (Barker) of the 42d coming up to his support at this instant, for lack of other ammunition, charged his piece with powder and his ramrod, shot one of the

dragoons, and the other retired. The general afterwards dismounted from his horse though with difficulty; but no person knew that he was wounded, till some of the staff who joined him observed the blood trickling down his thigh. A musket-ball had entered his groin, and lodged deep in the hip-joint. Notwithstanding the acute pain which a wound in such a place must have occasioned, he had, during the interval between the time he had been wounded and the last charge of cavalry,

walked with a firm and steady step along the line of the Highlanders and General Stuart's brigade, to the position of the Guards in the centre of the line, where, from its elevated position, he had a full view of the whole field of battle, and from which place he gave his orders as if nothing had happened to him. In his anxiety about the result of the battle, he seemed to forget that he had been hurt; but after victory had declared in favour of the British army, he became alive to the danger of his situation, and in a state of exhaustion, lay down on a little sand-hill near the battery.

In this situation he was surrounded by the generals and a number of officers. The soldiers were to be seen crowding round this melancholy group at a respectful distance, pouring out blessings on his head, and prayers for his recovery. His wound was now examined, and a large incision was made to extract the ball; but it could not be found. After this operation he was put upon a litter, and carried on board the *Foudroyant*, Lord Keith's ship, where he died on the morning of the 28th of March. "As his life was honourable, so his death was glorious. His memory will be recorded in the annals of his country, will be sacred to every British soldier, and embalmed in the memory of a grateful posterity."⁸

The loss of the British, of whom scarcely 6000 were actually engaged, was not so great as might have been expected. Besides the commander-in-chief, there were killed 10 officers, 9 sergeants, and 224 rank and file; and 60 officers, 48 sergeants, 3 drummers, and 1082 rank and file, were wounded. Of the Royal Highlanders, Brevet-Major Robert Bisset, Lieutenants Colin Campbell, Robert Anderson, Alexander Stewart, Alexander Donaldson, and Archibald M'Nicol, and 48 rank and file, were killed; and Major James Stirling, Captain David Stewart, Lieutenant Hamilton Rose, J. Millford Sutherland, A. M. Cunningham, Frederick Campbell, Maxwell Grant, Ensign William Mackenzie, 6 sergeants, and 247 rank and file wounded. As the 42d was more exposed than any of the other regiments engaged, and sustained the brunt of the battle, their loss was nearly three times the

aggregate amount of the loss of all the other regiments of the reserve. The total loss of the French was about 4000 men.

General Hutchinson, on whom the command of the British army now devolved, remained in the position before Alexandria for some time, during which a detachment under Colonel Spencer took possession of Rosetta. Having strengthened his position between Alexandria and Aboukir, General Hutchinson transferred his headquarters to Rosetta, with a view to proceed against Rhamanich, an important post, commanding the passage of the Nile, and preserving the communication between Alexandria and Cairo. The general left his camp on the 5th of May to attack Rhamanich; but although defended by 4000 infantry, 800 cavalry, and 32 pieces of cannon, the place was evacuated by the enemy on his approach.

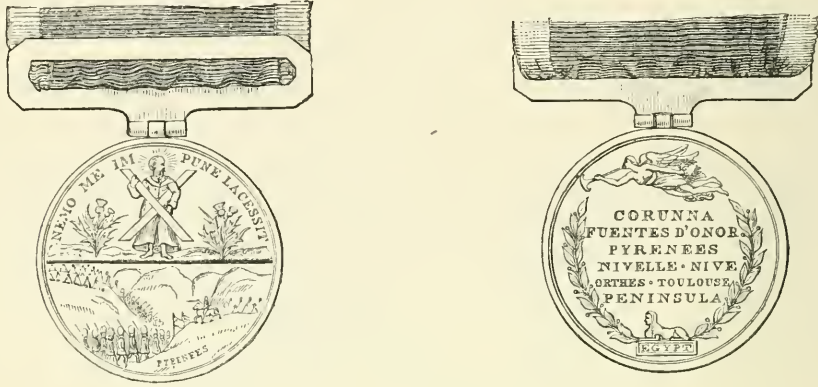
The commander-in-chief proceeded to Cairo, and took up a position four miles from that city on the 16th of June. Belliard, the French general, had made up his mind to capitulate whenever he could do so with honour; and accordingly, on the 22d of June, when the British had nearly completed their approaches, he offered to surrender, on condition of his army being sent to France with their arms, baggage, and effects.

Nothing now remained to render the conquest of Egypt complete but the reduction of Alexandria. Returning from Cairo, General Hutchinson proceeded to invest that city. Whilst General Coote, with nearly half the army, approached to the westward of the town, the general himself advanced from the eastward. General Menou, anxious for the honour of the French arms, at first disputed the advances made towards his lines; but finding himself surrounded on two sides by an army of 14,500 men, by the sea on the north, and cut off from the country on the south by a lake which had been formed by breaking down the dike between the Nile and Alexandria, he applied for, and obtained, on the evening of the 26th of August, an armistice of three days. On the 2d of September the capitulation was signed, the terms agreed upon being much the same with those granted to General Belliard.

After the French were embarked, immediate arrangements were made for settling in

⁸ General Hutchinson's *Official Despatches*.

quarters the troops that were to remain in the country, and to embark those destined for other stations. Among these last were the three Highland regiments. The 42d landed at Southampton, and marched to Winchester. With the exception of those who were affected with ophthalmia, all the men were healthy. At Winchester, however, the men caught a contagious fever, of which Captain Lamont and several privates died.



Medal of 42d Royal Highland Regiment (see page 404). From the collection of Surgeon-Major Fleming, late 4th Dragoon Guards.

“At this period,” says General Stewart, “a circumstance occurred which caused some conversation on the French standard taken at Alexandria. The Highland Society of London, much gratified with the accounts given of the conduct of their countrymen in Egypt, resolved to bestow on them some mark of their esteem and approbation. The Society being composed of men of the first rank and character in Scotland, and including several of the royal family as members, it was considered that such an act would be honourable to the corps and agreeable to all. It was proposed to commence with the 42d as the oldest of the Highland regiments, and with the others in succession, as their service offered an opportunity of distinguishing themselves. Fifteen hundred pounds were immediately subscribed for this purpose. Medals were struck with a head of Sir Ralph Abercromby, and some emblematical figures on the obverse. A superb piece of plate was likewise ordered. While these were in preparation, the Society held a meeting, when Sir John Sinclair, with the warmth of a clansman, mentioned his namesake, Sergeant Sinclair, as having taken or having got possession of the French standard, which had been brought home. Sir John being at that time ignorant of the circumstances, made no mention of the loss of the ensign which the sergeant had gotten in charge. This called forth the claim of Lutz,⁹ already referred to, accompanied with some strong remarks by Cobbett, the editor of the work in which the claim appeared. The Society then asked an explanation from the officers of the 42d. To this very proper request a reply was given by the officers who were then present with the regiment. The majority of these happened to be young men, who expressed, in warm terms, their



Medal to the Officers of the 42d Royal Highlanders for services in Egypt. From the same collection.

⁹ See note, pp. 370, 71.

surprise that the Society should imagine them capable of countenancing any statement implying that they had laid claim to a trophy to which they had no right. This misapprehension of the Society's meaning brought on a correspondence, which ended in an interruption of farther communication for many years."¹

In May 1802 the regiment marched to Ashford, where they were reviewed by George III., who expressed himself satisfied with its appearance; but although the men had a martial air, they had a diminutive look, and were by no means equal to their predecessors, either in bodily appearance or in complexion.

Shortly after this review the regiment was ordered to Edinburgh. During their march to the north the men were everywhere received with kindness; and, on approaching the northern metropolis, thousands of its inhabitants met them at a distance from the city, and, welcoming them with acclamations, accompanied them to the castle. They remained in their new quarters, giving way too freely to the temptations to which they were exposed, by the hospitality of the inhabitants, till the spring of 1803, when, in consequence of the interruption of peace, they were embarked at Leith for the camp then forming at Weeley, in Essex. The regiment at this time did not exceed 400 men, in consequence chiefly of the discharge of 475 men the preceding year. While in Edinburgh (December 1, 1803) new colours, bearing the distinctions granted for its services in Egypt, were formally presented to the regiment.

As a means at once of providing for the internal defence of the kingdom, and recruiting the regular army, an act was passed to raise a body of men by ballot, to be called "The Army of Reserve." Their services were to be confined to Great Britain and Ireland, with liberty to volunteer into the regular army, on a certain bounty. In the first instance, the men thus raised in Scotland were formed into second battalions to regiments of the line. The quota raised in the counties of Perth, Elgin, Nairn, Cromarty, Ross, Sutherland, Caithness,

Argyle, and Bute, which was to form the second battalion of the 42d, amounted to 1343 men. These embarked in November at Fort George, to join the first battalion in Weeley barracks, about which time upwards of 500 had volunteered into the regular army. In April of this year Captain David Stewart, Garth, was appointed major, and Lieutenants Robert Henry Dick and Charles M'Lean, captains to the second battalion of the 78th regiment. In September following, Colonel Dickson was appointed brigadier-general; and Lieutenant-Colonels James Stewart and Alexander Stewart having retired, they were succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonels Stirling and Lord Blantyre. Captains M'Quarrie and James Grant became majors; Lieutenants Stewart Campbell, Donald Williamson, John M'Diarmid, John Dick, and James Walker, captains; and Captain Lord Saltoun was promoted to the Foot Guards.

In consequence of the removal of a part of the garrison of Gibraltar, the first battalion of the 42d, and the second battalion of the 78th, or Seaforth Highlanders, were marched to Plymouth, where they embarked early in October for Gibraltar, which they reached in November. Nothing worthy of notice occurred during their stay in Gibraltar. Since their former visit, the moral habits of the 42d had improved, and they did not fall into those excesses in drinking in which they had previously indulged. The mortality consequently was not so great as before—31 only out of 850 men having died during the three years they remained at this station.

In 1806 Sir Hector Munro, the colonel of the regiment, died, and was succeeded by Major-General the Marquis of Huntly, afterwards Duke of Gordon.

After the battle of Vimiera, which was fought on the 21st of August 1808, the British army was joined by the 42d from Gibraltar, then 624 men strong,² and by the Gordon and Cameron Highlanders from England. Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had gained the battle, was superseded the same day by two senior generals, Sir Harry Burrard and Sir John Moore, who were, strange to tell, again superseded by General

¹ Further details concerning this unfortunate misunderstanding will be given when we come to speak of the presentation of the vase in 1817.

² Of these 231 were Lowlanders, 7 English, and 3 Irish.

Sir Hew Dalrymple the following morning. Generals Burrard and Dalrymple having been recalled in consequence of the convention of Cintra, the command of the army devolved on Sir John Moore, who, on the 6th of October, received an order to march into Spain. Having made no previous preparations for marching, the advance of the army from Lisbon was retarded; and as he could obtain little assistance from the Portuguese Government, and no correct information of the state of the country, or of the proper route he ought to take, he was obliged to act almost entirely upon conjecture. Conceiving it impossible to convey artillery by the road through the mountains, he resolved to divide his army, and to march into Spain by different routes.

One of these divisions, consisting of the brigade of artillery and four regiments of infantry, of which the 42d was one, under the Hon. Lieutenant General Hope, marched upon Madrid and Espinar; another, under General Paget, moved by Elvas and Alcantara; a third by Coimbra and Almeida, under General Beresford; and a fourth, under General Mackenzie Fraser, by Abrantes and Almeida. These divisions, amounting together to 18,000 infantry and 900 cavalry, were to form a junction at Salamanca. General Moore reached Salamanca on the 13th of November, without seeing a single Spanish soldier. Whilst on the march, Lieutenant-General Sir David Baird arrived off Corunna with a body of troops from England, for the purpose of forming a junction with General Moore; but his troops were kept on board from the 13th to the 31st of October, and, when allowed to disembark, no exertions were made by the Spaniards to forward his march.

Whilst waiting the junction of General Baird and the division of General Hope, which, from its circuitous route, was the last of the four in reaching Salamanca, General Moore received intelligence of the defeat and total dispersion of General Blake's army on the 10th of November, at Espenora de los Monteros, as well as of a similar fate which subsequently befell the army of General Castanos at Tudela. No Spanish army now remained in the field except the corps under the Marquis of Romana, but acting independ-

ently, it tended rather to obstruct than forward the plans of the British commander.

It was now the 1st of December. General Baird had reached Astorga, and General Hope's division was still four day's march from Salamanca. Beset by accumulated difficulties, and threatened with an army already amounting to 100,000 men, and about to be increased by additional reinforcements, General Moore resolved on a retreat, though such a measure was opposed to the opinion of many officers of rank. Whilst he himself was to fall back upon Lisbon, he ordered Sir David Baird to retire to Corunna, and embark for the Tagus. He afterwards countermanded the order for retreat, on receiving some favourable accounts from the interior, but having soon ascertained that these were not to be relied on, he resumed his original intention of retiring. Instead of proceeding, however, towards Lisbon, he determined to retreat to the north of Spain, with the view of joining General Baird. This junction he effected at Toro, on the 21st of December. Their united forces amounted to 26,311 infantry, and 2450 cavalry, besides artillery.

The general resolved to attack Marshal Soult at Saldanha; but, after making his dispositions, he gave up his determination, in consequence of information that Soult had received considerable reinforcements; that Buonaparte had marched from Madrid with 40,000 infantry and cavalry; and that Marshals Junot, Mortier, and Leferbe, with their different divisions, were also on their march towards the north of Spain. The retreat was begun on the 24th of December, on which day the advance guard of Buonaparte's division passed through Tordesillas.

When ordered again to retreat, the greatest disappointment was manifested by the troops, who, enraged at the apathy shown by the people, gratified their feelings of revenge by acts of insubordination and plunder hitherto unheard of in a British army. To such an extent did they carry their ravages, that they obtained the name of "malditos ladrones," or cursed robbers, from the unfortunate inhabitants. The following extract of general orders, issued at Benevente, on the 27th of December, shows how acutely the gallant Moore felt the

disgrace which the conduct of his British troops brought on the British name.—“The Commander of the Forces has observed, with concern, the extreme bad conduct of the troops, at a moment when they are about to come into contact with the enemy, and when the greatest regularity and the best conduct are most requisite. The misbehaviour of the troops in the column which marched from Valdaras to this place, exceeds what he could have believed of British soldiers. It is disgraceful to the officers, as it strongly marks their negligence and inattention. The Commander of the Forces refers to the general orders of the 15th of October and the 11th of November. He desires that they may be again read at the head of every company in the army. He can add nothing but his determination to execute them to the fullest extent. He can feel no mercy towards officers who neglect, in times like these, essential duties, or towards soldiers who injure the country they are sent to protect. It is impossible for the General to explain to his army his motive for the movements he directs. When it is proper to fight a battle he will do it, and he will choose the time and place he thinks most fit. In the mean time, he begs the officers and soldiers of the army to attend diligently to discharge their part, and leave to him and to the general officers the decision of measures which belong to them alone.”

It is quite unnecessary, in a work of this nature, to give the details of this memorable retreat. Suffice it to say, that after a series of brilliant and successful encounters with the enemy, and after enduring the most extraordinary privations, the British army arrived in the neighbourhood of Corunna on the 11th of January 1809. Had the transports been at Corunna, the troops might have embarked without molestation, as the French general did not push forward with vigour from Lago; but, as they had to wait the arrival of transports from Vigo, the enemy had full time to come up. The inhabitants showed the greatest kindness to the troops, and, in conjunction with them, exerted themselves with much assiduity to put the town in a proper state of defence.

On the land side Corunna is surrounded by a double range of hills, a higher and a

lower. As the outward or higher range was too extensive, the British were formed on the inner or lower range. The French on their arrival took post on the higher range.

Several of the transports having arrived on the 14th, the sick, the cavalry, and part of the artillery were embarked. Next day was spent in skirmishing, with little loss on either side; but on the 16th, affairs assumed a more serious aspect. After mid-day, the enemy were seen getting under arms. The British drew up immediately in line of battle. General Hope's division occupied the left. It consisted of Major-General Hill's brigade of the Queen's, 14th, 32d; and Colonel Crawford's brigade of the 36th, 71st, and 92d or Gordon Highlanders. On the right of the line was the division of General Baird, consisting of Lord William Bentinck's brigade of the 4th, 42d or Royal Highlanders, and 50th regiment; and Major-General Manningham's brigade of the third battalion of the Royals, 26th or Cameronians, and second battalion of the 81st; and Major-General Ward with the first and second battalions of the Foot Guards. The other battalions of Guards were in reserve, in rear of Lord William Bentinck's brigade. The Rifle corps formed a chain across a valley on the right of Sir David Baird, communicating with Lieutenant-General Fraser's division, which was drawn up in the rear at a short distance from Corunna. This division was composed of the 6th, 9th, 23d or Welsh Fusileers, and second battalion of the 43d, under Major-General Beresford; and the 36th, 79th or Cameron Highlanders, and 82d, under Brigadier-General Fane. General Paget's brigade of reserve formed in rear of the left. It consisted of the 20th, 28th, 52d, 91st, and Rifle corps. The whole force under arms amounted to nearly 16,000 men.

The battle was begun by the enemy, who, after a discharge of artillery, advanced upon the British in four columns. Two of these moved towards General Baird's wing, a third advanced upon the centre, and a fourth against the left. The enemy kept a fifth column as a reserve in the rear. On the approach of the French the British advanced to meet them. The 50th regiment, under Majors Napier and Stanhope, two young officers who had been

trained up under the general's own eye, passing over an enclosure in front, charged and drove the enemy out of the village of Elvina, with great loss. General Moore, who was at the post occupied by Lord William Bentinck's brigade, directing every movement, on observing the brave conduct of the regiment, exclaimed, "Well done the 50th—well done my majors!" Then proceeding to the 42d, he cried out, "Highlanders, remember Egypt." They thereupon rushed forward, accompanied by the general, and drove back the enemy in all directions. He now ordered up a battalion of the Guards to the left flank of the Highlanders. The light company, conceiving, as their ammunition was spent, that the Guards were to relieve them, began to fall back; but Sir John discovering their mistake, said to them, "My brave 42d, join your comrades,—ammunition is coming,—you have your bayonets." This was enough.

Sir David Baird about this time was forced to leave the field, in consequence of his arm being shattered by a musket ball, and immediately thereafter a cannon ball struck Sir John Moore in the left shoulder and beat him to the ground. "He raised himself and sat up with an unaltered countenance, looking intensely at the Highlanders, who were warmly engaged. Captain Hardinge threw himself from his horse and took him by the hand; then observing his anxiety, he told him the 42d were advancing, upon which his countenance immediately brightened up."

After the general and Sir David Baird had been carried off the field, the command of the army devolved upon Lieutenant-General Hope, who, at the close of the battle, addressed a letter to Sir David, from which the following is an extract:—"The first effort of the enemy was met by the commander of the forces and by yourself, at the head of the 42d regiment, and the brigade under Lord William Bentinck. The village on your right became an object of obstinate contest. I lament to say, that, after the severe wound which deprived the army of your services, Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, who had just directed the most able disposition, fell by a cannon-shot. The troops, though not unacquainted with the irreparable loss they had sustained, were not dis-

mayed, but, by the most determined bravery, not only repelled every attempt of the enemy to gain ground, but actually forced him to retire, although he had brought up fresh troops in support of those originally engaged. The enemy finding himself foiled in every attempt to force the right of the position, endeavoured by numbers to turn it. A judicious and well-timed movement which was made by Major-General Paget with the reserve, which corps had moved out of its cantonments to support the right of the army, by a vigorous attack defeated this intention. The major-general having pushed forward the 95th (Rifle corps) and the first battalion of the 52d regiment, drove the enemy before him, and in his rapid and judicious advance threatened the left of the enemy's position. This circumstance, with the position of Lieutenant-General Fraser's division (calculated to give still farther security to the right of the line), induced the enemy to relax his efforts in that quarter. They were, however, more forcibly directed towards the centre, when they were again successfully resisted by the brigade under Major-General Manningham, forming the left of your division, and a part of that under Major-General Leith, forming the right of that under my orders. Upon the left the enemy at first contented himself with an attack upon our picquets, which, however, in general maintained their ground. Finding, however, his efforts unavailing on the right and centre, he seemed determined to render the attack upon the left more serious, and had succeeded in obtaining possession of the village through which the great road to Madrid passes, and which was situated in front of that part of the line. From this post, however, he was soon expelled, with a considerable loss, by a gallant attack of some companies of the second battalion of the 14th regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholls. Before five in the evening, we had not only successfully repelled every attack made upon the position, but had gained ground, in almost all points, and occupied a more forward line than at the commencement of the action; whilst the enemy confined his operations to a cannonade, and the fire of his light troops, with a view to draw off his other corps. At six the firing ceased."

The loss of the British was 800 men killed and wounded. The 42d had 1 sergeant and 36 rank and file killed; and 6 officers, viz., Captains Duncan Campbell, John Fraser, and Maxwell Grant, and Lieutenants Alexander Anderson, William Middleton, and Thomas MacInnes, 1 sergeant, and 104 rank and file wounded. The enemy lost upwards of 3000 men,—a remarkable disproportion, when it is considered that the British troops fought under many disadvantages.

In general orders issued on the 18th of January, Lieutenant-General Hope congratulated the army on the victory, and added,—“On no occasion has the undaunted valour of British troops been more manifest. At the termination of a severe and harassing march, rendered necessary by the superiority which the enemy had acquired, and which had materially impaired the efficiency of the troops, many disadvantages were to be encountered.

“These have all been surmounted by the conduct of the troops themselves; and the enemy has been taught, that whatever advantages of position or numbers he may employ, there is inherent, in British officers and soldiers, a bravery that knows not how to yield,—that no circumstances can appal,—and that will ensure victory when it is to be obtained by the exertion of any human means.

“The lieutenant-general has the greatest satisfaction in distinguishing such meritorious services as came within his observation, or have been brought to his knowledge.

“His acknowledgments are in a peculiar manner due to Lieutenant-General Lord William Bentinck, and *the brigade under his command, consisting of the Fourth, FORTY-SECOND, and Fiftieth Regiments, which sustained the weight of the attack.*”

Though the victory was gained, General Hope did not consider it advisable, under existing circumstances, to risk another battle, and therefore issued orders for the immediate embarkation of the army. By the great exertions of the naval officers and seamen, the whole, with the exception of the rear guard, were on board before the morning; and the rear guard, with the sick and wounded, were all embarked the following day.

General Moore did not long survive the

action. When he fell he was removed, with the assistance of a soldier of the 42d, a few yards behind the shelter of a wall. He was afterwards carried to the rear in a blanket by six soldiers of the 42d and Guards. When borne off the field his aid-de-camp, Captain Hardinge, observing the resolution and composure of his features, expressed his hopes that the wound was not mortal, and that he would still be spared to the army. Turning his head round, and looking steadfastly at the wound for a few seconds, the dying commander said, “No, Hardinge; I feel that to be impossible.” A sergeant of the 42d and two spare files, in case of accident, were ordered to conduct their brave general to Corunna. Whilst being carried along slowly, he made the soldiers turn frequently round, that he might view the field of battle and listen to the firing. As the sound grew fainter, an indication that the enemy were retiring, his countenance evinced the satisfaction he felt. In a few hours he was numbered with the dead.

Thus died, in the prime of life, one of the most accomplished and bravest soldiers that ever adorned the British army. From his youth he embraced the profession with the sentiments and feelings of a soldier. He felt that a perfect knowledge and an exact performance of the humble but important duties of a subaltern officer are the best foundation for subsequent military fame. In the school of regimental duty, he obtained that correct knowledge of his profession, so essential to the proper direction of the gallant spirit of the soldier; and was enabled to establish a characteristic order and regularity of conduct, because the troops found in their leader a striking example of the discipline which he enforced on others. In a military character, obtained amidst the dangers of climate, the privations incident to service, and the sufferings of repeated wounds, it is difficult to select any point as a preferable subject for praise. The life of Sir John Moore was spent among his troops. During the season of repose, his time was devoted to the care and instruction of the officer and soldier; in war, he courted service in every quarter of the globe. Regardless of personal considerations, he esteemed that to which his country called him, the post

of honour; and, by his undaunted spirit and unconquerable perseverance, he pointed the way to victory.³

General Moore had been often heard to express a wish that he might die in battle like a soldier; and, like a soldier, he was interred in his full uniform in a bastion in the garrison of Corunna.⁴

When the embarkation of the army was completed it sailed for England. One division, in which the 42d was, landed at Portsmouth; another disembarked at Plymouth.

The regiment was now brigaded at Shorncliffe with the rifle corps, under the command of Major-General Sir Thomas Graham. As the second battalion, which had been in Ireland since 1805, was about to embark for Portugal, they could obtain no draughts from it to supply the casualties which they had

³ General Orders, Horse Guards, 1st February 1809.

⁴ "It was not without cause that the Highland soldiers shed tears for the sufferings of the kind and partial friend whom they were now about to lose. He always reposed the most entire confidence in them; placing them in the post of danger and honour, and wherever it was expected that the greatest firmness and courage would be required; gazing at them with earnestness in his last moments, and in this extremity taking pleasure in their successful advance; gratified at being carried by them, and talking familiarly to them when he had only a few hours to live; and, like a perfect soldier, as he was, dying with his sword by his side. Speaking to me, on one occasion, of the character of the Highland soldiers, "I consider," said he, "the Highlanders, under proper management, and under an officer who understands and values their character, and works on it, among the best of our military materials. Under such an officer, they will conquer or die on the spot, while their action, their hardihood, and abstinence, enable them to bear up against a severity of fatigue under which larger, and apparently stronger, men would sink. But it is the principles of integrity and moral correctness that I admire most in Highland soldiers, and this was the trait that first caught my attention. It is this that makes them trustworthy, and makes their courage sure, and not that kind of flash in the pan, which would seale a bastion to-day, and to-morrow be alarmed at the fire of a picquet. You Highland officers may sleep sound at night, and rise in the morning with the assurance that, with your men, your professional character and honour are safe, unless *you yourselves destroy the willing and excellent material entrusted to your direction.*" Such was the opinion particularly addressed to me, as a kind of farewell advice in 1805, when my regiment left his brigade to embark for the Mediterranean. It was accompanied by many excellent observations on the character of the Highland soldier, and the duties of Highland officers, especially what regards their management of, and behaviour towards their soldiers, and the necessity of paying attention to their feelings. The correctness of his views on this important subject I have seen fully confirmed by many years' experience."—Stewart's *Sketches*

suffered in the late retreat and loss at Corunna, but these were speedily made up otherwise.

The 42d was next employed in the disastrous expedition to Walcheren, and returned to Dover in September 1809, having only 204 men fit for duty out of 758, who, about six weeks before, had left the shores of England. The regiment marched to Canterbury on the 11th of September, where it remained till July 1810, when it was removed to Scotland, and quartered in Musselburgh. The men had recovered very slowly from the Walcheren fever, and many of them still suffered under its influence. During their stay at Musselburgh, the men unfortunately indulged themselves to excess in the use of ardent spirits, a practice which would have destroyed their health, had not a change of duty put an end to this baneful practice.

IV.

1811—1816.

Return of the 42d to England—Embarks a second time for Portugal in 1812—Consolidation of the first and second battalions—Spain—Battle of Salamanca—Madrid—Siege of Burgos—Retreat into Portugal—Campaign of 1813—Battle of Vittoria—Siege of St Sebastian—Pyrenees—Succession of battles—Fall of St Sebastian—Allied army enters France—Crosses the Nivelle—Passage of the Nive—Series of actions—Bayonne—Battles of Ortlés and Ayre—Bordeaux—Tarbes—Battle of Toulouse—Peace of 1814—War of 1815—Quatre Bras—Waterloo—Return of the 42d to Scotland—Edinburgh.

In August 1811 the regiment sailed for England, and after remaining some time in Lewes barracks, embarked in April of the following year for Portugal. The ardour for recruiting had now ceased, and the consequence was that the regiment obtained few recruits while in Scotland. Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Blantyre, the commander of the second battalion, had experienced the growing indifference of the Highlanders for the army, having been obliged, before his departure for Portugal, to enlist 150 men from the Irish militia. The first battalion joined the army, under Lord Wellington, after the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, and meeting with the second battalion, they were both consolidated

“The second battalion had continued with the allied army in Portugal, and was engaged in the operations by which the English commander endeavoured to retard the advance of the superior numbers of the enemy, under Marshal Massena, who boasted he would drive the British into the sea, and plant the eagles of France on the towers of Lisbon. As the French army advanced in full confidence of success, suddenly the rocks of Busaco were seen bristling with bayonets and streaming with British colours. The Royal Highlanders were in position on the mountains when that formidable post was attacked by the enemy on the 27th of September, and when the valour of the British troops repulsed the furious onsets of the French veterans, who were driven back with severe loss. The loss of the Forty-Second was limited to 2 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 3 rank and file wounded. Major Robert Henry Dick received a medal for this battle.

“Being unable to force the position, the French commander turned it by a flank movement; and the allied army fell back to the lines of Torres Vedras, where a series of works of vast extent, connected with ranges of rocks and mountains, covered the approach to Lisbon, and formed a barrier to the progress of the enemy, which could not be overcome. The Forty-Second were posted in the lines.

“The French commander, despairing to accomplish his threat against the English, fell back to Santarem.

“For three months the opposing armies confronted each other a few stages from Lisbon; the enemy’s numbers became seriously reduced by sickness, and other causes, his resources were exhausted, and during the night of the 5th of March 1811 he commenced his retreat towards the frontiers. The British moved forward in pursuit, and in numerous encounters with the enemy’s rearguard gained signal advantages.

“The French army crossed the confines of Portugal; the British took up a position near the frontiers, and blockaded Almeida. The French advanced to relieve the blockaded fortress; and on the 3d of May they attacked the post of Fuentes d’Onor. The Royal Highlanders had 2 soldiers killed on this occasion; Captain M’Donald, 1 sergeant, and 5 rank and

file wounded. On the 5th of May the enemy made another attack on the British position, but was repulsed. On this occasion the Forty-Second, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Blantyre, were charged by a body of French cavalry, which they defeated with signal gallantry. Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Blantyre received a gold medal; and the word ‘Fuentes d’Onor,’ displayed, by royal authority, on the regimental colour, commemorates the steady valour of the second battalion on this occasion. Its loss was 1 sergeant and 1 private soldier killed; 1 sergeant and 22 rank and file wounded. Major R. H. Dick received a medal for the battle of Fuentes d’Onor, where he commanded a flank battalion.

“In the subsequent operations of this campaign, the second battalion took an active part; but was not brought into close contact with the enemy.”¹

On the consolidation of the two battalions, the officers and staff of the second were ordered to England, leaving the first upwards of 1160 rank and file fit for service. These were placed in the division under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham. The allied army now amounted to 58,000 men, being larger than any single division of the enemy, whose whole force exceeded 160,000 men.

After a successful attack on Almaraz by a division of the army under General Hill, Lord Wellington moved forward and occupied Salamanca, which the French evacuated on his approach, leaving 800 men behind to garrison the fort, and retain possession of two redoubts formed from the walls and ruins of some convents and colleges. After a gallant defence of some days, the fort and redoubts surrendered on the 27th of June 1812.

Whilst the siege was proceeding, Marshal Marmont manœuvred in the neighbourhood, but not being yet prepared for a general action, he retired across the Douro, and took up a position on the 22d from La Seca to Pollos. By the accession of a reinforcement from the Asturias, and another from the army of the centre, the marshal’s force was increased to nearly 60,000 men. Judging himself now able to cope with the allied army, he resolved either

¹ Cannon’s *Historical Record of the 42d.*

to bring Lord Wellington to action, or force him to retire towards Portugal, by threatening his communication with that country. By combining with Marshal Soult from the south, he expected to be able to intercept his retreat and cut him off. Marmont did not, however, venture to recross the Douro, but commenced a series of masterly manœuvres, with the view of ensnaring his adversary. Alluding to this display of tactics, the *Moniteur* remarked that "there were seen those grand French military combinations which command victory, and decide the fate of empires; that noble audacity which no reverse can shake, and which commands events." These movements were met with corresponding skill on the part of the British general, who baffled all the designs of his skilful opponent. Several accidental encounters took place in the various changes of positions, in which both sides suffered considerably.

Tired of these evolutions, Lord Wellington crossed the Guarena on the night of the 19th of July, and on the morning of the 20th drew up his army in order of battle on the plains of Valise; but Marmont declined the challenge, and crossing the river, encamped with his left at Babila Fuentes, and his right at Villamedia. This manœuvre was met by a corresponding movement on the part of the allies, who marched to their right in columns along the plain, in a direction parallel to the enemy, who were on the heights of Cabeça Vilhosa. In this and the other movements of the British, the sagacity of the commander-in-chief appeared so strange to a plain Highlander, who had paid particular attention to them, that he swore Lord Wellington must be gifted with the second sight, as he saw and was prepared to meet Marmont's intended changes of position before he commenced his movements.

The allied army were now on the same ground they had occupied near Salamanca when reducing the forts the preceding month; but in consequence of the enemy crossing the Tormes at Alba de Tormes, and appearing to threaten Ciudad Rodrigo, Lord Wellington made a corresponding movement, and on the 21st of July halted his army on the heights on the left bank. During the night the enemy possessed themselves of the village of Calvarasa

de Ariba, and the heights of Nuestra Señora de la Pena. In the course of this night Lord Wellington received intelligence that General Clausel had reached Pollos with a large body of cavalry, and would certainly join Marmont on the 23d or 24th.

The morning of the 22d, a day memorable in the annals of the Peninsular war, was ushered in with a violent tempest, and a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning. The operations of the day commenced soon after seven o'clock, when the outposts of both armies attempted to get possession of two hills, Los Arapiles, on the right of the allies. The enemy, by his numerical superiority, succeeded in possessing himself of the most distant of these hills, and thus greatly strengthened his position. With his accustomed skill, Marmont manœuvred until two o'clock, when imagining that he had succeeded in drawing the allies into a snare, he opened a general fire from his artillery along his whole line, and threw out numerous bodies of sharpshooters, both in front and flank, as a feint to cover an attempt he meditated to turn the position of the British. This *ruse* was thrown away on Lord Wellington, who, acting on the defensive only, to become, in his turn the assailant with the more effect, and perceiving at once the grand error of his antagonist in extending his line to the left, without strengthening his centre, which had now no second line to support it, made immediate preparations for a general attack; and with his characteristic determination of purpose, took advantage of that unfortunate moment, which, as the French commander observed, "destroyed the result of six weeks of wise combinations of methodical movements, the issue of which had hitherto appeared certain, and which everything appeared to presage to us that we should enjoy the fruit of."²

The arrangements were these. Major-General Pakenham, with the third division, was ordered to turn the left of the enemy, whilst he was to be attacked in front by the divisions of Generals Leith, Cole, Bradford, and Cotton,—those of Generals Clinton, Hope, and Don Carlos de Espana, acting as a reserve. The divisions under Generals Alexander Campbell

² Marmont's *Despatch*.

and Alten were to form the left of the line. Whilst this formation was in progress, the enemy did not alter his previous position, but made an unsuccessful attempt to get possession of the village of Arapiles, held by a detachment of the guards.

About four o'clock in the afternoon, the attack commenced. General Pakenham, supported by the Portuguese cavalry, and some squadrons of the 14th Dragoons under Colonel Harvey, carried all their respective points of attack. The divisions in the centre were equally successful, driving the enemy from one height to another. They, however, received a momentary check from a body of troops from the heights of Arapiles. A most obstinate struggle took place at this post. Having descended from the heights which they occupied, the British dashed across the intervening valley and ascended a hill, on which they found the enemy most advantageously posted, formed in solid squares, the front ranks kneeling, and supported by twenty pieces of cannon. On the approach of the British, the enemy opened a fire from their cannon and musketry, but this, instead of retarding, seemed to accelerate the progress of the assailants. Gaining the brow of the hill, they instantly charged, and drove the enemy before them; a body of them attempting to rally, were thrown into utter confusion by a second charge with the bayonet. A general rout now took place, and night alone saved the French army from utter annihilation.

There fell into the hands of the victors 7000 prisoners and 11 pieces of cannon, but the loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was not ascertained. General Marmont himself was wounded, and many of his officers were killed or disabled. The loss of the allies was 624 killed, and about 4000 wounded.

Among other important results to which this victory led, not the least was the appointment of Lord Wellington as generalissimo of the Spanish armies, by which he was enabled to direct and control the operations of the whole Spanish forces, which had hitherto acted as independent corps.

The allied army pushed forward to Madrid, and, after various movements and skirmishes, entered that city on the 12th of August amid

the acclamations of the inhabitants. Learning that General Clausel, who had succeeded Marshal Marmont in the command, had organised an army, and threatened some of the British positions on the Douro, Lord Wellington left Madrid on the 1st of September, and marching northward, entered Valladolid on the 7th, the enemy retiring as he advanced. Being joined by Castanos, the Spanish general, with an army of 12,000 foot, he took up a position close to Burgos, in which the enemy had left a garrison of 2500 men. The castle was in ruins, but the strong thick wall of the ancient keep was equal to the best casemates, and it was strengthened by a horn-work which had been erected on Mount St Michael. A church had also been converted into a fort, and the whole enclosed within three lines, so connected that each could defend the other. Preliminary to an attack on the castle, the possession of the horn-work was necessary. Accordingly, on the evening of the 19th of September, the light infantry of General Stirling's brigade having driven in the out-posts, took possession of the out-works close to the mount. When dark it was attacked by the same troops, supported by the 42d, and carried by assault.

On the 29th an unsuccessful attempt was made to spring a mine under the enemy's works, but on the 4th of October another mine was exploded with better effect. The second battalion of the 24th regiment established themselves within the exterior line of the castle, but were soon obliged to retire. The enemy made two vigorous sorties on the 8th, drove back the covering parties, and damaged the works of the besiegers, who sustained considerable loss. A third mine was exploded on the 13th, when the troops attempted an assault, but without success. The last attack, a most desperate one, was made on the 19th, but with as little success; two days after which, Lord Wellington, on the 21st, to the great disappointment of the besiegers, ordered the siege, which had lasted thirty days, to be raised, in consequence of the expected advance of a French army of 80,000 men. The loss sustained by the 42d in this siege was 3 officers, 2 sergeants, and 44 rank and file killed and 6 officers, 11 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 230 rank and file wounded. The officers

killed; were Lieutenants R. Ferguson and P. Milne, and Ensign David Cullen; those wounded were Captains Donald Williamson (who died of his wounds), Archibald Menzies, and George Davidson, Lieutenants Hugh Angus Fraser, James Stewart, and Robert Mackinnon.³

Whilst Lord Wellington was besieging Burgos, the enemy had been concentrating their forces, and on the 20th of October his lordship received intelligence of the advance of the French army. Joseph Buonaparte, newly raised by his brother to the throne of Spain, was, with one division, to cut off Lord Wellington's communication with General Hill's division between Aranjuez and Toledo, and another, commanded by General Souham, was to raise the siege of Burgos. After the abandonment of the siege, on the 21st of October, the allied army retired after night-fall, unperceived by General Souham, who followed with a superior force, but did not overtake them till the evening of the twenty-third.

During the retrograde movement, the troops suffered greatly from the inclemency of the weather, from bad roads, but still more from the want of a regular supply of provisions; and the same irregularities and disorganisation prevailed among them as in the retreat to Corunna.

The allied army retired upon Salamanca, and afterwards to Frenada and Corea, on the frontier of Portugal, where they took up their winter quarters. The enemy apparently unable to advance, unwilling to retire, and renouncing the hope of victory, followed the example thus set. Subsequent events proved that this opinion, expressed at the time was correct, "for every movement of the enemy after the campaign of 1812 was retrograde, every battle a defeat."

Having obtained a reinforcement of troops and abundant military supplies from England, Lord Wellington opened the campaign of 1813 by moving on Salamanca, of which, for the third time, the British troops took possession on the 24th of May. The division of Sir R. Hill was stationed between Tormes and the Douro, and the left wing, under Sir Thomas Graham, took

post at Miranda de Douro. The enemy, who gave way as the allies advanced, evacuated Valladolid on the 4th of June, and General Hill having, on the 12th attacked and defeated a division of the French army under General Reille, the enemy hastened their retreat, and blew up the works of the castle of Burgos, on which they had expended much labour the preceding year.

The enemy fell back on Vittoria, followed by Lord Wellington, who drew up his army on the river Bayas, separated by some high grounds from Vittoria. His men were in the highest spirits, and the cheerfulness and alacrity with which they performed this long march, more than 250 miles, formed a favourable contrast with their conduct when retreating the previous year. The French army, under the command of Joseph Buonaparte and Marshal Jourdan, made a stand near Vittoria, for the purpose of defending the passage of the river Zadorra, having that town on their right, the centre on a height, commanding the valley of that stream, and the left resting on the heights between Aruneez and Puebla de Arlanzon. The hostile armies were about 70,000 men each.

On the morning of the 21st of June, the allied army moved forward in three columns to take possession of the heights in the front of Vittoria. The right wing was commanded by General Hill, the centre by General Cole, and the left wing by General Graham. The operations of the day commenced by General Hill attacking and carrying the heights of Puebla, on which the enemy's left rested. They made a violent attempt to regain possession, but they were driven back at all points, and pursued across the Zadorra. Sir Rowland Hill passing over the bridge of La Puebla, attacked and carried the village of Sabijana de Alava, of which he kept possession, notwithstanding repeated attempts of the enemy to regain it. The fourth and light divisions now crossed the Zadorra at different points, while almost at the same instant of time, the column under Lord Dalhousie reached Mendoza; and the third, under Sir T. Picton, followed by the seventh division, crossed a bridge higher up. These four divisions, forming the centre of the army, were destined to attack the right of the enemy's centre on the heights, whilst General

³ The loss of the 79th will be found stated in the memoirs of that regiment.

Hill pushed forward from Alava to attack the left. The enemy dreading the consequences of an attack on his centre, which he had weakened to strengthen his posts on the heights, abandoned his position, and commenced a rapid retreat to Vittoria.

Whilst these combined movements of the right and centre were in progress, the left wing, under Sir Thomas Graham, drove the enemy's right from the hills above Abechuco and Gamarra. To preserve their communication with Bayonne, which was nearly cut off by this movement, the enemy had occupied the villages of Gamarra, Mayor, and Menor, near which the great road touches the banks of the Zalorra. They were, however, driven from these positions by a Spanish division under Colonel Longa, and another of Portuguese under General Pack, supported by General Anson's cavalry brigade and the fifth division of infantry under General Oswald. General Graham, at the same time, attacked and obtained possession of the village of Abechuco.

Thus cut off from retreat by the great road to France, the enemy, as soon as the centre of the allies had penetrated to Vittoria, retreated with great precipitation towards Pampluna, the only other road left open, and on which they had no fortified positions to cover their retrograde movement. The enemy left behind them all their stores and baggage, and out of 152 pieces of cannon, they carried off only one howitzer. General Hill, with his division, continued to pursue the panic-stricken French from one position to another till the 7th of July, when he took post on the summit of the pass of Maya, beyond the Pyrenees, "those lofty heights which," as Marshal Soult lamented, in a proclamation he issued, "enabled him proudly to survey our fertile valleys."

With the exception of Pampluna and St Sebastian, the whole of this part of the north of Spain was now cleared of the enemy. To reduce these places was the next object. It was resolved to blockade the former and lay siege to the latter, which last-mentioned service was intrusted to General Graham. This was a most arduous task, as St Sebastian was, in point of strength, next to Gibraltar.

After an unsuccessful assault, however, the attention of the commander-in-chief being

directed to the movements of Marshal Soult, who was advancing with a large army, the siege of St Sebastian was suspended for a time.

At this time the allied army occupied a range of mountain passes between the valley of Roncesvalles, celebrated as the field of Charlemagne's defeat, and St Sebastian, but as the distance between these stations was sixty miles, it was found impossible so to guard all these passes as to prevent the entrance of an army. The passes occupied by the allies were defended by the following troops:—Major General Byng's brigade and a division of Spanish infantry held the valley of Roncesvalles, to support which General Cole's division was posted at Piscarret, with General Pieton's in reserve at Olaque; the valley of Bastan and the pass of Maya was occupied by Sir Rowland Hill, with Lieutenant-general William Stewart's and Silveira's Portuguese divisions, and the Spanish corps under the Conde de Amaran; the Portuguese brigade of Brigadier-general Archibald Campbell was detached to Los Alduidos; the heights of St Barbara, the town of Pera, and the Puerto de Echelar, were protected by Lord Dalhousie and Baron Alten's light division, Brigadier-general Pack's being in reserve at Estevan. The communication between Lord Dalhousie and General Graham was kept up by General Longa's Spanish division; and the Conde de Abisbal blockaded Pamplona.

Such were the positions of the allied army when Marshal Soult, who had been lately appointed to the command of a numerous French army, recently collected, having formed a plan of operations for a general attack on the allied army, advanced on the 25th of July at the head of a division of 36,000 men against Roncesvalles, whilst General Count d'Erlon, with another division of 13,000 men, moved towards the pass of Maya. Pressed by this overwhelming force, General Byng was obliged, though supported by part of Sir Lowry Cole's division, to descend from the heights that commanded the pass, in order to preserve his communication, in which situation he was attacked by Soult and driven back to the top of the mountain, whilst the troops on the ridge of Arola, part of Cole's division, were forced to retire with considerable loss, and to take up

a position in the rear. General Cole was again obliged to retire, and fell back on Lizoain. Next day General Picton moved forward to support General Cole, but both were obliged to retire in consequence of Soult's advance.

Meanwhile Count d'Erlon forced the battalions occupying the narrow ridges near the pass of Maya to give way; but these being quickly supported by Brigadier-general Barnes's brigade, a series of spirited actions ensued, and the advance of the enemy was arrested. General Hill hearing of the retrograde movement from Roncesvalles, retired behind the Irurita, and took up a strong position. On the 27th Sir Thomas Picton resumed his retreat. The troops were greatly dejected at this temporary reverse; but the arrival of Lord Wellington, who had been with the army before St Sebastian, revived their drooping spirits. Immediately on his arrival he directed the troops in reserve to move forward to support the division opposed to the enemy; formed General Picton's division on a ridge on the left bank of the Argua, and General Cole's on the high grounds between that river and the Lanz. To support the positions in front, General Hill was posted behind the Lizasso; but, on the arrival of General Pakenham on the 28th, he took post on the left of General Cole, facing the village of Sourarom; but before the British divisions had fully occupied the ground, they were vigorously attacked by the enemy from the village. The enemy were, however, driven back with great loss.

Soult next brought forward a strong column, and advancing up the hill against the centre of the allies, on the left of General Cole's line, obtained possession of that post, but he was almost immediately driven back at the point of the bayonet by the Fusiliers. The French renewed the attack, but were again quickly repulsed. About the same time another attack was made on the right of the centre, where a Spanish brigade, supported by the 40th, was posted. The Spaniards gave way, the 40th not only keeping their ground, but driving the enemy down the hill with great loss.

The enemy pushing forward in separate bodies with great vigour, the battle now became general along the whole front of the

heights occupied by the fourth division, but they were repulsed at all points, except one occupied by a Portuguese battalion, which was overpowered and obliged to give way. The occupation of this post by the enemy exposed the flank of Major-General Ross's brigade, immediately on the right, to a destructive fire, which forced him to retire. The enemy were, however, soon dispossessed of this post by Colonel John Maclean, who, advancing with the 27th and 48th regiments, charged and drove them from it, and immediately afterwards attacked and charged another body of the enemy who were advancing from the left. The enemy persevered in his attacks several times, but was as often repulsed, principally by the bayonet. Several regiments charged four different times.

After various successful attacks, the enemy, on the 30th, to use the words of Lord Wellington, "abandoned a position which is one of the strongest and most difficult of access that I have yet seen occupied by troops." The enemy were now pursued beyond Olaque, in the vicinity of which General Hill, who had been engaged the whole day, had repulsed all the attacks of Count d'Erlon.

The enemy endeavoured to rally in their retreat, but were driven from one position to another till the 2d of August, when the allies had regained all the posts they had occupied on the 25th of July, when Soult made his first attack. As the 92d or Gordon Highlanders was the Highland regiment which had the good fortune to be engaged in these brilliant attacks, in which they particularly distinguished themselves, the account of these operations might have been deferred till we come to give an account of the services of that excellent regiment; but as the omission of these details in this place would have broken the continuity of the narrative, it was deemed proper to insert them here.

After this second expulsion of the French beyond the Pyrenees, the siege of St Sebastian was resumed with redoubled energy. A continued fire was kept up from eighty pieces of cannon, which the enemy withstood with surprising courage and perseverance. At length a practicable breach was made, and on the morning of the 31st of August the troops

advanced to the assault. The breach was extensive, but there was only one point at which it was possible to enter, and this could only be done by single files. All the inside of the wall to the height of the curtain formed a perpendicular scarp of twenty feet. The troops made the most persevering exertions to force the breach, and everything that bravery could attempt was repeatedly tried by the men, who were brought forward in succession from the trenches; but each time, on attaining the summit, all who attempted to remain were destroyed by a heavy fire from the entrenched ruins within, so that "no man outlived the attempt to gain the ridge."⁴ The moment was critical; but General Graham, with great presence of mind, directed his artillery to play against the curtain, so as to pass a few feet over the heads of the troops in the breach. The fire was directed with admirable precision, and the troops advanced with perfect confidence. They struggled unremittingly for two hours to force the breach, and, taking advantage of some confusion occasioned by an explosion of ammunition within the ramparts, they redoubled their efforts, and by assisting each other got over the walls and ruins. After struggling about an hour among their works, the French retreated with great loss to the castle, leaving the town, which was now reduced to a heap of ruins, in the possession of the assailants. This success was dearly purchased,—the loss of the allies, in killed and wounded, being upwards of 2000 men. Soult made an attempt to raise the siege, by crossing the Bidassoa on the very day the assault was made with a force of nearly 40,000 men; but he was obliged, after repeated attacks, to repass the river.

Having determined to carry the war into France, Lord Wellington crossed the Bidassoa at low water, near its mouth, on the 7th of October. After a series of successful operations, the allied army was established in the French territories; but as Pampluna still held out, the commander-in-chief delayed his advance for a time. Pampluna surrendered on the 31st of October, after a blockade of four months. Lord Wellington having now the whole allied force, amounting to upwards of

85,000 men, at his disposal, resolved to commence operations.

Since the battle of the Pyrenees, the French had occupied a position with their right towards the sea, at a short distance from St Jean de Luz, their centre on a village in Sare, and on the heights behind it, with their left resting on a stony height in the rear of Ainhoc. This position, strong by nature, had been rendered still stronger by art. The attack on the French lines was to be made in columns of divisions. In consequence of heavy falls of snow and rain, Lord Wellington was obliged to defer his attack till the 10th of November, on the morning of which day the allies moved forward against the enemy.

The attack was begun by General Cole's division, which attacked and carried the principal redoubt in front of Sare with such rapidity, that several of the enemy were taken in it before it could be evacuated. Another redoubt on the left was carried in the same rapid manner by Lord Dalhousie's division, commanded in his absence by Colonel Le Cor. General Cole's division thereupon took possession of the village. General Alten having carried La Petite Rhune, the whole centre divisions united, and made a joint attack on the enemy's principal position behind the village. Sir Thomas Picton's division (now commanded in his absence by General Colville), and that of Le Cor, carried the redoubt on the left of the enemy's centre. The light division advancing from La Petite Rhune, attacked the works in their front, supported by the 52d regiment, which, crossing with great rapidity a narrow neck of land, was here exposed to the fire of two flanking batteries, rushed up the hill with such impetuosity, that the enemy grew alarmed, and fled with precipitation.

Meanwhile the right, under General Hill, attacked the heights of Ainhoc. The attack was led by General Clinton's division, which, marching on the left of five redoubts, forded the Nivelle, the banks of which were steep and difficult, and attacked the troops in front of the works. These were immediately driven back with loss, and General Hamilton joining in the attack on the other redoubt, the enemy hastily retired. The brigade of General Stewart's division, under General Pringle, drove in the

⁴ General Graham's Despatches.

enemy's piequets in front of Ainhoe, whilst General Byng's brigade attacked and drove the enemy from the entrenchments, and from a redoubt farther to the left.

The enemy at length seeing further resistance hopeless, abandoned all their positions and works in front of St Jean de Luz and retired upon Bidart, after destroying all the bridges on the Lower Nivelle. In these successful and complicated movements, the allies had 21 officers and 244 soldiers killed, and 120 officers and 1657 soldiers wounded. Of the 42d regiment, Captain Mungo Macpherson and Lieutenant Kenneth Macdougall were wounded, one private only killed, and 2 sergeants and 23 rank and file wounded. The French lost 31 pieces of cannon, 1300 prisoners, and had a proportional number killed and wounded.

In consequence of the heavy rains and the destruction of the bridges, the allies were prevented from pursuing the enemy, who retired to an entrenched camp near Bayonne. The allied troops were cantoned between the Nivelle and the sea, and made preparations for dislodging the French from their new position; but the incessant rains, which continued till December, put an entire stop to all active movements. Having thrown bridges over the Nive in the beginning of December, Lord Wellington commenced operations on the 9th for the passage of that river. As the position of the enemy was considered too strong to be attacked in front, the commander-in-chief determined to make a movement to the right, and by thus threatening Soult's rear, he hoped to induce him to abandon his position. Accordingly the allied army crossed the Nive at different points on the 9th. General Hope met with little opposition, and General Hill, who crossed by the ford of Cambou, was scarcely opposed. In danger of being intercepted by General Clinton's division, which had crossed at Ustariz, the enemy retired in great haste, and assembled in considerable numbers at Villefranche, but they were driven from this post by the light infantry and two Portuguese regiments, under Colonels Douglas and Browne. General Hill next day took up a position with his division, with his left on Villefranche and his right on the Adour, in consequence of which he cut off the communication between

Bayonne and St Jean Pied de Port. In this situation the French troops stationed at the latter place were forced to retire on St Palais.

Leaving a force to keep General Hill in check, Marshal Soult left his entrenched camp on the morning of the 10th, and making an impetuous attack on the light division of General Hope's wing, drove back his out-posts. Then establishing himself on a ridge between the corps of Baron Alten and Major-General Andrew Hay's fifth division, he turned upon the latter, and attacked it with a determined bravery which it was almost impossible to withstand; but after an arduous struggle the enemy were repulsed by Brigadier-general Robinson's brigade of the fifth division, and Brigadier-general Archibald Campbell's Portuguese brigade. The enemy, no way discouraged by these repulses, renewed the attack about three o'clock, but with the same want of success.

During the night, Soult made dispositions for attacking the light division at Arcangues; but Sir John Hope perceiving his intention, moved towards the threatened point. Anticipated in this movement, the experienced Marshal again changed his dispositions to the left, but General Hope, equally on the alert, met him also in that direction. With the exception of some partial skirmishing between the out-posts, no occurrence of any importance took place on the following day; but on the 12th the enemy renewed the attack on the left without success.

Thus foiled in all his attempts, Soult resolved to change entirely his plan of operations, and accordingly, during the night of the 12th, he drew his army through Bayonne, and on the morning of the 13th attempted to force his way between the centre and right of the British position, at the head of 30,000 men. Advancing with great vigour and celerity, he might have succeeded, had not General Hill, with his usual promptitude and decision, ordered his troops on the flanks to support the centre. The enemy, after a violent struggle, were repulsed with great loss, and retired with such precipitation that they were out of reach before the arrival of the sixth division, which had been ordered up to support General Hill.

Whilst this contest was going on, General

Byng's brigade, supported by the Portuguese brigade under General Buchan, carried an important height, from which the enemy made several attempts to dislodge them, but being unsuccessful at all points, they at length retired to their entrenchments, whither they were followed by General Hill, who took up a parallel position. At the passage of the Nive the 42d had Captain George Stewart and Lieutenant James Stewart killed, and 11 rank and file wounded.

The inclemency of the weather, and a succession of heavy rains which had swelled the rivers and destroyed the roads, rendering farther movements impracticable for a time, Marshal Soult availed himself of the interruption thus given to the progress of the allied army to strengthen his position. The weather becoming favourable about the middle of February 1814, Lord Wellington began a series of movements with the view of inducing Soult to withdraw from his strong position, or, should he decline, to cut off his communication with France, by marching the allied army into the heart of that country. By these movements the British general obtained the command of the Adour, which obliged Soult, who obtained his supplies down that river from the interior, to withdraw from Bayonne in the direction of Daxe. He left, however, a strong garrison in the place.

Leaving General Hope to blockade Bayonne, Lord Wellington made a general movement with the right and centre of the army on the 24th of February. Next day they marched forward to dislodge the enemy from a position they had taken up on the Gave de Pau at Orthés. Between the extreme points of this position ran a chain of heights receding in a line, bending inwards, the centre of which was so retired as to be protected by the guns of both wings. On his left, Soult was supported in this strong position by the town and the river; his right rested on a commanding height in rear of the village of St Bois; whilst the centre, accommodating itself to the incurvation of the heights, described a horizontal reversed segment of a circle protected by the strong position of both wings.

In a short time every point was carried, but the enemy retired in a very orderly manner, firing by echelons of divisions, each

covering the other as they retreated. Observing General Hill, who had just crossed the river, advancing upon their left flank, on the road from Orthés to St Sever, the enemy became at once apprehensive that they would be intercepted, and, instead of continuing their masterly retreat, they ran off at full speed, followed by their pursuers. The latter continued the chase for nearly three miles at a full trot, and the French at length breaking their lines, threw away their arms, and fled in all directions. The pursuit was continued however as far as Sault de Navailles, on reaching which the remains even of an army were no longer to be seen. The loss of the enemy was estimated at 8000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The loss of the allies in killed and wounded amounted to about 1600. Of the 42d, Lieutenant John Innes was the only officer killed, besides 1 sergeant, and 3 rank and file. Major William Cowell, Captain James Walker, Lieutenants Duncan Stewart and James Brander, 5 sergeants, and 85 rank and file were wounded.

The French army, lately so formidable, was now broken and dispersed, and many of the soldiers, dispirited by their reverses, returned to their homes; others, for the first time, abandoned their standards, and went over to the allies. Soult, however, undismayed by these difficulties, collected the remains of that part of his army which still remained faithful, and exerted all his energies to arrest the progress of the victors, but his efforts were unavailing; and after sustaining a defeat at Ayre, where he attempted to cover the removal of considerable magazines, he retreated to Tarbes. All the western part of Gascony being thus left exposed to the operations of the allied army, Lord Wellington detached Marshal Beresford and Lord Dalhousie, with three divisions, to Bordeaux, which they entered amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants.

Having obtained reinforcements from Spain and England, Lord Wellington, after leaving 4000 men at Bordeaux under Lord Dalhousie, again put his army in motion. Soult attempted to make a stand at Vicq with two divisions, but he was driven from this position by General Picton with the third division, and forced to

retire beyond Tarbes. With the apparent intention of disputing the farther advance of the allies, the Marshal concentrated his whole force at this point, but he was dislodged from this position by a series of combined movements. It was now discovered that the enemy were drawn up on two hills running parallel to those from which their advance had been driven, and it was farther ascertained that this commanding position could not be gained by an advance in front without a great sacrifice of men, reinforced as it had been by the troops driven from the heights in front. It was therefore determined to attack it on flank, but, before the necessary arrangements could be completed, night came on, and Soult taking advantage of the darkness, moved off towards Toulouse, whither he was followed next morning by the allies, who reached the banks of the Garonne on the 27th of March.

This river was much swollen by recent rains and the melting of the snow on the Pyrenees. There being only one bridge at Toulouse, and that being in possession of the enemy, it became necessary to procure pontoons to enable the army to pass. Whilst the necessary preparations were going on for this purpose, Marshal Soult made the most extraordinary exertions to put himself in a proper posture of defence. He was not even yet without hopes of success, and although it is generally believed that he was now aware of the abdication of Buonaparte, an event which, he must have known, would put an immediate end to the war, he was unwilling to let slip the only opportunity he now had of wiping off the disgrace of his recent defeats.

The city of Toulouse is defended by an ancient wall, flanked with towers. On three sides it is surrounded by the great canal of Languedoc and by the Garonne, and on the fourth side it is flanked by a range of hills close to the canal, over which pass all the roads on that side the town. On the summit of the nearest of these hills the French had erected a chain of five redoubts, between which and the defences of the town they formed entrenchments and lines of connection. These defences consisted of extensive field-works, and of some of the ancient buildings in the suburbs well fortified. At the foot of the height, and

along one-half its length, ran the small river Ers, the bridges of which had all been destroyed; or the top of the height was an elevated and elongated plain in a state of cultivation, and towards the end next the town there stood a farmhouse and offices. Some trenches had been cut around this house, and three redoubts raised on its front and left. Such was the field selected by Soult to redeem, if possible, by a last effort, his fallen reputation, and to vindicate the tarnished honour of the French arms.

Pontoons having been procured, part of the allied army crossed the Garonne on the 4th of April; but the melting of the snow on the Pyrenees, owing to a few days of hot weather, swelled the river so much that it became necessary to remove the pontoons, and it was not till the 8th that they could be replaced. On that day the whole army crossed the river, except General Hill's division, which remained opposite the town in front of the great bridge, to keep the enemy in check on that side. From the insulated nature of the town, no mode of attack was left to Lord Wellington but to attempt the works in front.

Accordingly, on the 10th of April, he made the following dispositions:—The Spaniards under Don Manuel Freyre were to attack the redoubts fronting the town; General Picton and the light division were to keep the enemy in check on the great road to Paris, but not to attack; and Marshal Beresford, with General Clinton and the sixth division, was to attack the centre of the entrenchments, whilst General Cole with the fourth marched against the right. The part taken by the 42d in this struggle is so well and fully described by Mr Malcolm, formerly of the 42d, in his *Reminiscence of a Campaign in 1814*, that we shall quote his description here:—

“Early on Sunday morning, the 10th of April, our tents were struck, and we moved with the other regiments of the sixth division towards the neighbourhood of Toulouse, until ordered to halt on a level ground, from whence we had a distinct view of the enemy's position on the ridge of hills already mentioned. At the same time we saw Lord Wellington, accompanied by his staff, riding back from the front at a hard trot. Some of the men called

out, 'There goes Wellington, my lads; we shall have some hot work presently.'

"At that moment Major General Pack, who commanded our brigade, came up, and calling its officers and non-commissioned officers round him, addressed them to the following effect:— 'We are this day to attack the enemy; your business will be to take possession of those fortified heights, which you see towards the front. I have only to warn you to be prepared to form close column in case of a charge of cavalry; to restrain the impetuosity of the men; and to prevent them from wasting their ammunition.' The drums then beat to arms, and we received orders to move towards the enemy's position.

"Our division (the sixth) approached the foot of the ridge of heights on the enemy's right and moved in a direction parallel to them, until we reached the point of attack. We advanced under a heavy cannonade, and arrived in front of a redoubt, which protected the right of the enemy's position, where we were formed in two lines,—the first, consisting of some Portuguese regiments,—and the reserve, of the Highland Brigade.

"Darkening the whole hill, flanked by clouds of cavalry, and covered by the fire of their redoubt, the enemy came down upon us like a torrent. Their generals and field-officers riding in front, and waving their hats amidst shouts of the multitude, resembling the roar of an ocean. Our Highlanders, as if actuated by one instinctive impulse, took off their bonnets, and waving them in the air, returned their greeting with three cheers.

"A deathlike silence ensued for some moments, and we could observe a visible pause in the advance of the enemy. At that moment the light company of the Forty-second Regiment, by a well-directed fire, brought down some of the French officers of distinction, as they rode in front of their respective corps. The enemy immediately fired a volley into our lines, and advanced upon us amidst a deafening roar of musketry and artillery. Our troops answered their fire only once, and unappalled by their furious onset, advanced up the hill, and met them at the charge. Upon reaching the summit of the ridge of heights, the redoubt, which had covered their advance, fell into our

possession; but they still retained four others, with their connecting lines of intrenchments, upon the level of the same heights on which we were now established, and into which they had retired.

"Meantime, our troops were drawn up along a road, which passed over the hill, and which having a high bank at each side, protected us in some measure from the general fire of their last line of redoubts. Here our brigade remained until Marshal Beresford's Artillery, which, in consequence of the badness of the roads, had been left in the village of Mont Blanc, could be brought up, and until the Spaniards under General Don Manuel Freyre, who, in proceeding along the left of the Ers, had been repulsed, could be reformed, and brought back to the attack. Marshal Beresford's artillery having arrived, and the Spanish troops being once more brought forward, Major-General Pack rode up in front of our brigade, and made the following announcement:—'I have just now been with General Clinton, and he has been pleased to grant my request, that in the charge which we are now to make upon the enemy's redoubts, the Forty-second regiment shall have the honour of leading on the attack; the Forty-second will advance.'

"We immediately began to form for the charge upon the redoubts, which were about two or three hundred yards distant, and to which we had to pass over some ploughed fields. The grenadiers of the Forty-second regiment followed by the other companies, led the way, and began to ascend from the road; but no sooner were the feathers of their bonnets seen rising over the embankment, than such a tremendous fire was opened from the redoubts and intrenchments, as in a very short time would have annihilated them. The right wing, therefore, hastily formed into line, and without waiting for the left, which was ascending by companies from the road, rushed upon the batteries, which vomited forth a most furious and terrific storm of fire, grape-shot, and musketry.

"The redoubts were erected along the side of a road, and defended by broad ditches filled with water. Just before our troops reached the obstruction, however, the enemy deserted them

and fled in all directions, leaving their last line of strongholds in our possession; but they still possessed two fortified houses close by, from which they kept up a galling and destructive fire. Out of about 500 men, which the Forty-second brought into action, scarcely 90 reached the fatal redoubt from which the enemy had fled.

“Our colonel was a brave man, but there are moments when a well-timed manœuvre is of more advantage than courage. The regiment stood on the road with its front exactly to the enemy, and if the left wing had been ordered forward, it could have sprung up the bank in line and dashed forward on the enemy at once. Instead of this, the colonel faced the right wing to its right, counter-marched in rear of the left, and when the leading rank cleared the left flank it was made to file up the bank, and as soon as it made its appearance the shot, shell, and musketry poured in with deadly destruction; and in this exposed position we had to make a second countermarch on purpose to bring our front to the enemy. These movements consumed much time, and by this unnecessary exposure exasperated the men to madness. The word ‘*Forward—double-quick!*’ dispelled the gloom, and forward we drove, in the face of apparent destruction. The field had been lately rough ploughed or under fallow, and when a man fell he tripped the one behind, thus the ranks were opening as we approached the point whence all this hostile vengeance proceeded; but the rush forward had received an impulse from desperation, ‘the spring of the men’s patience had been strained until ready to snap, and when left to the freedom of its own extension, ceased not to act until the point to which it was directed was attained.’ In a minute every obstacle was surmounted; the enemy fled as we leaped over the trenches and mounds like a pack of noisy hounds in pursuit, frightening them more by our wild hurrahs than actually hurting them by ball or bayonet.

“Two officers (Captain Campbell and Lieutenant Young) and about 60 of inferior rank were all that now remained without a wound of the right wing of the regiment that entered the field in the morning. The flag was hanging in tatters, and stained with

the blood of those who had fallen over it. The standard, cut in two, had been successively placed in the hands of three officers, who fell as we advanced; it was now borne by a sergeant, while the few remaining soldiers who rallied around it, defiled with mire, sweat, smoke, and blood, stood ready to oppose with the bayonet the advancing column, the front files of which were pouring in destructive showers of musketry among our confused ranks. To have disputed the post with such overwhelming numbers, would have been hazarding the loss of our colours, and could serve no general interest to our army, as we stood between the front of our advancing support and the enemy; we were therefore ordered to retire. The greater number passed through the cottage, now filled with wounded and dying, and leaped from the door that was over the road into the trench of the redoubt among the killed and wounded.

“We were now between two fires of musketry, the enemy to our left and rear, the 79th and left wing of our own regiment in our front. Fortunately the intermediate space did not exceed a hundred paces, and our safe retreat depended upon the speed with which we could perform it. We rushed along like a crowd of boys pursuing the bounding ball to its distant limit, and in an instant plunged into a trench that had been cut across the road: the balls were whistling amongst us and over us; while those in front were struggling to get out, those behind were holding them fast for assistance, and we became firmly wedged together, until a horse without a rider came plunging down on the heads and bayonets of those in his way; they on whom he fell were drowned or smothered, and the gap thus made gave way for the rest to get out.

“The right wing of the regiment, thus broken down and in disorder, was rallied by Captain Campbell (afterwards brevet lieutenant-colonel) and the adjutant (Lieutenant Young) on a narrow road, the steep banks of which served as a cover from the showers of grape that swept over our heads.

“As soon as the smoke began to clear away, the enemy made a last attempt to retake their redoubts, and for this purpose advanced in great force: they were a second time repulsed with

great loss, and their whole army was driven into Toulouse."⁵

Finding the city, which was now within reach of the guns of the allies, quite untenable, Soult evacuated it the same evening, and was allowed to retire without molestation. Even had he been able to have withstood a siege, he must have soon surrendered for want of the provisions necessary for the support of a population of 60,000 inhabitants, and of his own army, which was now reduced by the casualties of war and recent desertions to 30,000 men.

The loss of the 42d in the battle of Toulouse, was 4 officers, 3 sergeants, and 47 rank and file killed; and 21 officers, 14 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 231 rank and file wounded. The names of the officers killed were Captain John Swanson, Lieutenant William Gordon, Ensigns John Latta and Donald Macrummen; the wounded were Lieutenant-colonel Robert Macara, Captains James Walker, John Henderson (who died of his wounds), Alexander Mackenzie, and Lieutenants Donald Mackenzie, Thomas Munro, Hugh Angus Fraser, James Robertson, R. A. Mackinnon, Roger Stewart Robert Gordon, Charles Maclaren, Alexander Strange, Donald Farquharson (who died of his wounds), James Watson, William Urquhart; Ensigns Thomas Macniven, Colin Walker,

⁵ In a conversation between General Hill and Major-General Stewart (Garth), a few days after the battle, the former, alluding to the attempt of the enemy to take the redoubt, said to General Stewart, "I saw your old friends the Highlanders in a most perilous situation; and had I not known their firmness I should have trembled for the result. As it was, they could not have resisted the force brought against them if they had not been so instantaneously supported." Being asked by General Stewart what was the amount at which he calculated the strength of the enemy's column of attack, he replied, "Not less than 6000 men." In passing soon afterwards through Languedoc, Stewart stopped to view a brigade of French infantry exercising. The French commanding officer rode up to him, and invited him, with great politeness, to accompany him through the ranks. Talking of the recent battles, the French general concluded his observations thus,— "Well, we are quite satisfied if the English army think we fought bravely, and did our duty well." General Stewart mentioning the Highland corps, "Ah!" said the Frenchman, "these are brave soldiers. If they had good officers, I should not like to meet them unless I was well supported. I put them to the proof on that day." Being asked in what manner, he answered "that he led the division which attempted to retake the redoubt;" and on a further question as to the strength of the column, he replied, "More than 6000 men." As General Hill was more than two miles from the field of action, the accuracy of his calculation is remarkable.

James Geddes, John Malcolm, and Mungo Macpherson.

The allies entered Toulouse on the morning after the battle, and were received with enthusiasm by the inhabitants, who, doubtless, considered themselves extremely fortunate in being relieved from the presence of the French army, whose retention of the city a few hours longer would have exposed it to all the horrors of a bombardment. By a singular coincidence, official accounts reached Toulouse in the course of the day of the abdication of Buonaparte, and the restoration of Louis XVIII.; but it is said that these despatches had been kept back on the road.

At this time the clothing of the army at large, but the Highland brigade in particular, was in a very tattered state. The clothing of the 91st regiment had been two years in wear; the men were thus under the necessity of repairing their old garments in the best manner they could: some had the elbows of the coats mended with gray cloth, others had the one-half of the sleeves of a different colour from the body; and their trousers were in as bad a condition as their coats.

The 42d, which was the only corps in the brigade that wore the *kilt*, was beginning to lose it by degrees; men falling sick and left in the rear frequently got the kilt made into trousers, and on joining the regiment again no plaid could be furnished to supply the loss; thus a great want of uniformity prevailed; but this was of minor importance when compared to the want of shoes. As the march continued daily, no time was to be found to repair them, until completely worn out; this left a number to march with bare feet. These men being occasionally permitted to straggle out of the ranks to select the soft part of the roads or fields adjoining, others who had not the same reason to offer for this indulgence followed the example, until each regiment marched regardless of rank, and sometimes mixed with other corps in front and rear.⁶

In consequence of the cessation of hostilities, the British troops removed without delay to their appointed destinations, and the three Highland regiments were embarked for Ireland,

⁶ Anton's *Military Life*, p. 120.

where they remained till May 1815, when they were shipped for Flanders, on the return of Buonaparte from Elba. In Ireland the 1st battalion was joined by the effective men of the 2d, which had been disbanded at Aberdeen in October 1814.

The intelligence of Buonaparte's advance reached Brussels on the evening of the 15th of June, when orders were immediately issued by the Duke of Wellington for the assembling of the troops. The men of the 42d and 92d regiments had become great favourites in Brussels, and were on such terms of friendly intercourse with the inhabitants in whose houses they were quartered, that it was no uncommon thing to see a Highland soldier taking care of the children, and even keeping the shop of his host,—an instance of confidence perhaps unexampled. These two regiments were the first to muster.⁷ "They assembled with the utmost alacrity to the sound of the well-known pibroch, *Come to me and I will give you flesh*,⁸—an invitation to the wolf and the raven, for which the next day did, in fact, spread an ample banquet at the expense of our brave countrymen, as well as of their enemies. . . . About four o'clock in the morning of the 16th of June, the 42d and 92d Highland regiments marched through the Place Royal and the Parc. One could not but admire their fine appearance; their firm, collected, steady, military demeanour, as they went rejoicing to battle, with their bagpipes playing before them, and the beams of the rising sun shining upon their glittering arms. Before that sun had set in the night, how many of that gallant band were laid low! . . . The kind and generous inhabitants assembled in crowds to witness the departure of their gallant friends, and as the Highlanders marched onward with a steady and collected air, the people breathed many a fervent expression for their safety."

The important part taken in the action of Quatre Bras by the Black Watch could not be told better than in the simple words of one who was present, and did his own share of the work, Sergeant Anton⁹ of the 42d:—

"On the morning of the 16th June, before the sun rose over the dark forest of Soignes, our brigade, consisting of the 1st, 44th, and 92d regiments, stood in column, Sir Denis Pack at its head, waiting impatiently for the 42d, the commanding-officer of which was chidden severely by Sir Denis for being so dilatory. We took our place in the column, and the whole marched off to the strains of martial music, and amidst the shouts of the surrounding multitude. As we entered the forest of Soignes, our stream of ranks following ranks, in successive sections, moved on in silent but speedy course, like some river confined between two equal banks.

"The forest is of immense extent, and we continued to move on under its welcome shade until we came to a small hamlet, or auberge, imbosomed in the wood to the right of the road. Here we turned to our left, halted, and were in the act of lighting fires, on purpose to set about cooking. We were flattering ourselves that we were to rest there until next day, for whatever reports had reached the ears of our commanders, no alarm had yet rung on ours. Some were stretched under the shade to rest; others sat in groups draining the cup, and we always loved a large one, and it was now almost emptied of three days' allowance¹ of spirits, a greater quantity than was usually served at once to us on a campaign; others were busily occupied in bringing water and preparing the camp-kettles, for we were of the opinion, as I have already said, that we were to halt there for the day. But, "hark! a gun!" one exclaims; every ear is set to catch the sound, and every mouth seems half opened, as if to supersede the faithless ear that doubts of hearing. Again another and another feebly floats through the forest. Every ear now catches the sound, and every man grasps his musket. No pensive looks are seen; our generals' weather-beaten, war-worn countenances are all well known to the old soldiers, and no throb of fear palpitates in a single breast; all are again ready in column, and again we tread the wood-lined road.

"The distant report of the guns becomes more

⁷ Cannon's *Historical Records of the 42d*, p. 141.

⁸ For music of this see end of the history of this regiment.

⁹ Anton's *Military Life*, p. 138.

¹ One English pint. There were four days' allowance of bread, and three days' of beef and spirits, issued before leaving Brussels for each man.

loud, and our march is urged on with greater speed. We pass through Waterloo, and leave behind the bright fields of Wellington's fame,—our army's future glory and England's pride. Quatre Bras appears in view; the frightened peasantry come running breathless and panting along the way. We move off to the left of the road, behind a gently rising eminence; form column of companies, regardless of the growing crop, and ascend the rising ground: a beautiful plain appears in view, surrounded with belts of wood, and the main road from Brussels runs through it. We now descend to the plain by an echelon movement towards our right, halted on the road (from which we had lately diverged to the left), formed in line, fronting a bank on the right side, whilst the other regiments took up their position to right and left, as directed by our general. A luxuriant crop of grain hid from our view the contending skirmishers beyond, and presented a considerable obstacle to our advance. We were in the act of lying down by the side of the road, in our usual careless manner, as we were wont when enjoying a rest on the line of march, some throwing back their heads on their knapsacks, intending to take a sleep, when General Pack came galloping up, and chid the colonel for not having the bayonets fixed. This roused our attention, and the bayonets were instantly on the pieces.

“Our pieces were loaded, and perhaps never did a regiment in the field seem so short taken. We had the name of a *crack* corps, but certainly it was not then in that state of discipline which it could justly boast of a few years afterwards. Yet notwithstanding this disadvantage, none could be animated with a fitter feeling for the work before us than prevailed at that moment.

“We were all ready and in line,—“*Forward!*” was the word of command, and forward we hastened, though we saw no enemy in front. The stalks of the rye, like the reeds that grow on the margin of some swamp, opposed our advance; the tops were up to our bonnets, and we strode and groped our way through as fast as we could. By the time we reached a field of clover on the other side, we were very much straggled; however, we united in line as fast as time and our speedy advance would

permit. The Belgic skirmishers retired through our ranks, and in an instant we were on their victorious pursuers. Our sudden appearance seemed to paralyse their advance. The singular appearance of our dress, combined no doubt with our sudden debut, tended to stagger their resolution: we were on them, our pieces were loaded, and our bayonets glittered, impatient to drink their blood. Those who had so proudly driven the Belgians before them, turned now to fly, whilst our loud cheers made the fields echo to our wild hurrahs. France fled or fell before us, and we thought the field our own. We had not yet lost a man, for the victors seldom lose many, except in protracted hard-contested struggles: with one's face to the enemy, he may shun the deadly thrust or stroke; it is the retreating soldier that destruction pursues.

“We drove on so fast that we almost appeared like a mob following the rout of some defeated faction. Marshal Ney, who commanded the enemy, observed our wild unguarded zeal, and ordered a regiment of lancers to bear down upon us. We saw their approach at a distance, as they issued from a wood, and took them for Brunswickers coming to cut up the flying infantry; and as cavalry on all occasions have the advantage of retreating foot, on a fair field, we were halted in order to let them take their way: they were approaching our right flank, from which our skirmishers were extended, and we were far from being in a formation fit to repel an attack, if intended, or to afford regular support to our friends if requiring our aid. I think we stood with too much confidence, gazing towards them as if they had been our friends, anticipating the gallant charge they would make on the flying foe, and we were making no preparative movement to receive them as enemies, further than the reloading of the muskets, until a German orderly dragoon galloped up, exclaiming, “*Franchise! Franchise!*” and, wheeling about, galloped off. We instantly formed a rallying square; no time for particularity; every man's piece was loaded, and our enemies approached at full charge; the feet of their horses seemed to tear up the ground. Our skirmishers having been impressed with the same opinion, that these were Brunswick cavalry, fell beneath

their lances, and few escaped death or wounds; our brave colonel fell at this time, pierced through the chin until the point of the lance reached the brain. Captain (now major) Menzies fell, covered with wounds, and a momentary conflict took place over him; he was a powerful man, and, hand to hand, more than a match for six ordinary men. The grenadiers, whom he commanded, pressed round to save or avenge him, but fell beneath the enemy's lances.

“Of all descriptions of cavalry, certainly the lancers seem the most formidable to infantry, as the lance can be projected with considerable precision, and with deadly effect, without bringing the horse to the point of the bayonet; and it was only by the rapid and well-directed fire of musketry that these formidable assailants were repulsed.

we had been placed under four different commanding-officers.

“An attempt was now made to form us in line; for we stood mixed in one irregular mass,—grenadier, light, and battalion companies,—a noisy group; such is the inevitable consequence of a rapid succession of commanders. Our covering sergeants were called out on purpose that each company might form on the right of its sergeants; an excellent plan had it been adopted, but a cry arose that another charge of cavalry was approaching, and this plan was abandoned. We now formed a line on the left of the grenadiers, while the cavalry that had been announced were cutting through the ranks of the 69th regiment. Meantime the other regiments, to our right and left, suffered no less than we; the superiority of the enemy in cavalry afforded him a decided advantage

on the open plain, for our British cavalry and artillery had not yet reached the field. We were at this time about two furlongs past the farm of Quatre Bras, as I suppose, and a line of French infantry was about the same distance from us in front, and we had commenced firing at that line, when we were ordered to form square to oppose cavalry. General Pack was at our head, and Major Campbell commanded the regiment. We formed square in an instant, in the centre were several wounded French soldiers witnessing our formation round them; they doubtless considered themselves devoted to certain death among us seeming barbarians; but they had no occasion to speak ill of us afterwards; for as they were already incapable of injuring us, we moved about them regardful of their wounds and suffering.

“Our last file had got into square, and into its proper place, so far as unequalled companies could form a



Colonel (afterwards Sir) R. H. Dick. From Miniature (painted about four years after Waterloo) in possession of William Dick, Esq. of Tullymet.

“Colonel Dick assumed the command on the fall of Sir Robert Macara, and was severely wounded. Brevet-major Davidson succeeded, and was mortally wounded; to him succeeded Brevet-major Campbell. Thus, in a few minutes

square, when the cuirassiers dashed full on two of its faces: their heavy horses and steel armour seemed sufficient to bury us under them, had they been pushed forward on our bayonets.

“A moment's pause ensued; it was the pause of death. General Pack was on the right angle of the front face of the square, and he lifted his hat towards the French officer as he was wont to do when returning a salute. I suppose our assailants construed our forbearance as an indication of surrendering: a false idea; not a blow had been struck nor a musket levelled; but when the general raised his hat, it served as a signal, though not a preconcerted one, but entirely accidental; for we were doubtful whether our officer commanding was protracting the order, waiting for the general's command, as he was present. Be this as it may, a most destructive fire was opened; riders, cased in heavy armour, fell tumbling from their horses; the horses reared, plunged, and fell on the dismounted riders; steel helmets and cuirasses rung against unsheathed sabres, as they fell to the ground; shrieks and groans of men, the neighing of horses, and the discharge of musketry, rent the air, as men and horses mixed together in one heap of indiscriminate slaughter. Those who were able to fly, fled towards a wood on our right, whence they had issued to the attack, and which seemed to afford an extensive cover to an immense reserve not yet brought into action.

“Once more clear of those formidable and daring assailants, we formed line, examined our ammunition boxes, and found them getting empty. Our officer commanding pointed towards the pouches of our dead and dying comrades, and from them a sufficient supply was obtained.

“We lay down behind the gentle rise of a trodden down field of grain, and enjoyed a few minutes' rest to our wearied limbs; but not in safety from the flying messengers of death, the whistling music of which was far from lulling us to sleep.

“Afternoon was now far spent, and we were resting in line, without having equalized the companies, for this would have been extremely dangerous in so exposed a position; for the field afforded no cover, and we were in advance of the other regiments. The enemy were at no great distance, and, I may add, firing very actively upon us.

“Our position being, as I have already observed, without any cover from the fire of the

enemy, we were commanded to retire to the rear of the farm, where we took up our bivouac on the field for the night.

“Six privates fell into the enemy's hands; among these was a little lad (Smith Fyfe) about five feet high. The French general, on seeing this diminutive looking lad, is said to have lifted him up by the collar or breech and exclaimed to the soldiers who were near him, “Behold the sample of the men of whom you seem afraid!” This lad returned a few days afterwards, dressed in the clothing of a French grenadier, and was saluted by the name of Napoleon, which he retained until he was discharged.

“The night passed off in silence: no fires were lit; every man lay down in rear of his arms, and silence was enjoined for the night. Round us lay the dying and the dead, the latter not yet interred, and many of the former, wishing to breathe their last where they fell, slept to death with their heads on the same pillow on which those who had to toil through the future fortunes of the field reposed.”

The principal loss sustained by the Highlanders was at the first onset; yet it was by no means so severe as might have been expected. Lieutenant-colonel Sir Robert Macara, Lieutenant Robert Gordon, and Ensign William Gerrard, 2 sergeants, and 40 rank and file were killed. Including officers, there were 243 wounded.

In the battle of Waterloo, in which the regiment was partially engaged, the 42d had only 5 men killed and 45 wounded. In these last are included the following officers, viz.: Captain Mungo Macpherson, Lieutenants John Orr, George Gunn Munro, Hugh Angus Fraser, and James Brander, and Quarter-master Donald Mackintosh. “They fought like heroes, and like heroes they fell—an honour to their country. On many a Highland hill, and through many a Lowland valley, long will the deeds of these brave men be fondly remembered, and their fate deeply deplored. Never did a finer body of men take the field, never did men march to battle that were destined to perform such services to their country, and to obtain such immortal renown.”

The Duke of Wellington in his public despatches concerning Quatre Bras and Water-

loo paid a high compliment to the 42d. "Among other regiments, I must particularly mention the 28th, 42d, 79th, and 92d, and the battalion of Hanoverians."

The word "Waterloo," borne on the colours of the regiment, by royal authority, commemorates the gallantry displayed by the regiment on this occasion; a medal was conferred on each officer and soldier; and the privilege of reckoning two years' service, towards additional pay and pension on discharge, was also granted to the men. It may not be uninteresting to give here a list of the officers of the regiment who were present at the battle of Quatre Bras and Waterloo. It will be seen that while only 3 were killed, few escaped without a wound.

OFFICERS AT WATERLOO—1815.

Lieut.-Col. Sir Robert Macara,	Killed.
Major Robert Henry Dick,	Wounded.
Capt. Arehibald Menzies,	Wounded.
" George Davidson,	Died of Wounds.
" John Campbell,	
" Mungo Macpherson,	Wounded.
" Donald M'Donald,	Wounded.
" Daniel M'Intosh,	Wounded.
" Robert Boyle,	Wounded.
Lieut. Donald Chisholm,	Wounded.
" Duncan Stewart,	Wounded.
" Donald M'Kenzie,	Wounded.
" James Young, Adjutant,	Wounded.
" Hugh A. Fraser,	Wounded.
" John Malcolm,	Wounded.
" Alexander Dunbar,	Wounded.
" James Brander,	Wounded.
" Roger Stewart,	
" Robert Gordon,	Killed.
" James Robertson,	
" Kenneth M'Dougal,	
" Donald M'Kay,	
" Alexander Innes, ²	
" John Grant,	
" John Orr, ²	Wounded.
" George Gunn Munro,	Wounded.
" William Fraser,	Wounded.
Ensign George Gerard,	Killed.
" Andrew L. Fraser,	
" Alexander Brown,	Wounded.
" Alexander Cunningham,	
Adjutant James Young, Lieut.,	Wounded.
Quarter-Master Don. M'Intosh,	Wounded.
Surgeon Swinton Macleod,	
Assistant Surgeon Donald M'Pherson,	
Assistant Surgeon John Stewart,	

It has been observed, as a remarkable circumstance in the history of the Royal Highlanders, that on every occasion when they fired a shot at an enemy (except at Ticonderoga,

² These are the only officers of the regiment now (1873) alive who served in the Peninsula and at Waterloo; the former being now Captain Innes, and a military knight of Windsor, and the latter, Captain Orr, residing in Edinburgh.

where success was almost impossible), they were successful to such an extent at least, that whatever the general issue of the battle might be, that part of the enemy opposed to them never stood their ground, unless the Highlanders were by insurmountable obstacles prevented from closing upon them. Fontenoy even does not form an exception; for although the allies were defeated, the Highlanders carried the points assigned them, and then, as at Ticonderoga, they were the last to leave the field.³

As the battle of Waterloo terminates a period of active service and hard fighting in the case of the 42d, as well as of other regiments, and as it had a rest of many years during the long peace, we shall here give a summary of the number of men that entered the regiment, from its formation down to the battle of Waterloo, and the number of those who were killed, wounded, died of sickness, or were discharged during that period.

The grand total of men embodied in the Black Watch and 42d or Royal Highland regiment, from its origin at Tay Bridge in April 1740, to 24th June 1815, exclusive of the second battalion of 1780⁴ and that of 1803,⁵ was 8792

Of these there were killed, during that period, exclusive of 35 officers, 816

Wounded during the same period, exclusive of 133 officers, 2413

Died by sickness, wounds, and various casualties, including those who were discharged and those who volunteered into other regiments, when the 42d left America in 1767, up to 25th June 1793, 2275

Died by sickness, wounds, and various casualties, from 25th June 1793 to 24th June 1815, 1135⁶

Discharged during same period, 1485

Unaccounted for during same period, having been left sick in an enemy's country, prisoners, &c. 138

— 8262

Number remaining in the first battalion on 24th June 1815, 530

When it is considered that out of seventy-five year's service, forty-five were spent in active warfare, the trifling loss of the regiment

³ Stewart's *Sketches*.

⁴ There were no exchange of men and officers between this and the first battalion.

⁵ The number of men who died in this battalion from December 1803, to 24th October 1814, was 322. The number discharged and transferred to the first battalion and to other regiments, from 1803 till the reduction in 1814, was 965 men.

⁶ The deaths by sickness in the second battalion are not included. This battalion sustained very little loss in war.

by the enemy will appear extraordinary; and the smallness of that loss can only be accounted for by the determined bravery and firmness of the men, it being now the opinion of military men that troops, who act vigorously, suffer less than those who are slow and cautious in their operations.

After spending several months in the vicinity of Paris, the regiment marched to Calais and embarked for England, arriving at Ramsgate, December 19th 1815. The regiment proceeded by Deal and Dover to Hythe, where it lay two weeks, when it marched to Chelmsford.

After staying two weeks in Chelmsford Barracks, the regiment proceeded northwards to Scotland by easy stages, and was everywhere received with overwhelming enthusiasm and lavish hospitality. At Cambridge, for example, Sergeant Anton, in his *Military Life*, tells us, the bells welcomed the Royal Highlanders with joy; every table smoked with savoury viands for their entertainment, and every cellar contributed a liberal supply of its best October for their refreshment. The same thing occurred at Huntingdon and other towns, and at several places the men received a donation equal to two day's pay. And so it was at every town through which the regiment had to pass; the men were feted and petted as if they had saved their country from destruction.

As they approached Edinburgh, the whole population seemed to have poured to welcome them to its arms. Preceded by a guard of cavalry, with its band of music, they entered the city amidst the loud cheering and congratulatory acclamations of friends; while over their heads, "from a thousand windows, waved as many banners, plaided scarfs, or other symbols of courtly greetings."⁷ At Edinburgh they were entertained in a manner that would have made the men of any regiment but a "crack" one completely lose their heads; but the self-possessed Royal Highlanders, while heartily enjoying the many good things provided for them, and grateful for their hearty welcome, seem never to have forgotten the high reputation they had to maintain.⁸

After this, for many years, the Royal Highlanders had a rest from active service.

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V.

1816—1854.

The Highland Society's Vase—Ireland—The Whiteboys—Critical Service—Anecdotes—Old Manceuvres—Bad Management—The Dublin Medal—Gibraltar—Innovations—Regimental Library—Malta—Ionian Islands—Lieutenant-Colonel Middleton's Farewell Order—Scotland—Ireland—Malta—Corfu—Death of Major-General Sir R. H. Dick—Bermuda—Halifax—Home.

WE have already narrated (p. 374, vol. ii.) the proceedings at the meeting of the Highland Society, after the Egyptian campaign, with reference to the 42d. From 1811 to 1817, endeavours had been frequently made to establish a better feeling between the officers and the Highland Society, but in vain: the *Egyptians* would not yield, and in the meantime the vase remained at the makers.

After the return of the regiment from the Waterloo Campaign in 1816, H.R.H. The Duke of York became the mediator, and arranged that the vase should be accepted on the 21st March 1817, the anniversary of the battle of Alexandria. By this time only two of the officers who had served in Egypt were in the regiment, therefore the amicable arrangement was more easily arrived at.

It was at Armagh barracks, on Wednesday the 18th of June 1817, that the vase was presented to the regiment. At the time 4

lished at the time; "Tuesday, the first division of the 42d regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Henry Dick (who succeeded to the command of the regiment, on the death of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Robert Macara, killed at Quatre Bras), marched into the Castle. Major-General Hope, commander of the district, and Colonel David Stewart of Garth, accompanied the Lieutenant-Colonel at the head of the regiment. Not only the streets of the city were crowded beyond all former precedent with spectators, but the windows, and even the house-tops, were occupied. The road from Musselburgh, a distance of six miles, was filled with relations and friends; and so great was the crowd, that it was after four o'clock before they arrived at the Castle Hill, although they passed through Portobello about two o'clock. It was almost impossible for these gallant men to get through the people, particularly in the city. All the bells were rung, and they were everywhere received with the loudest acclamations."

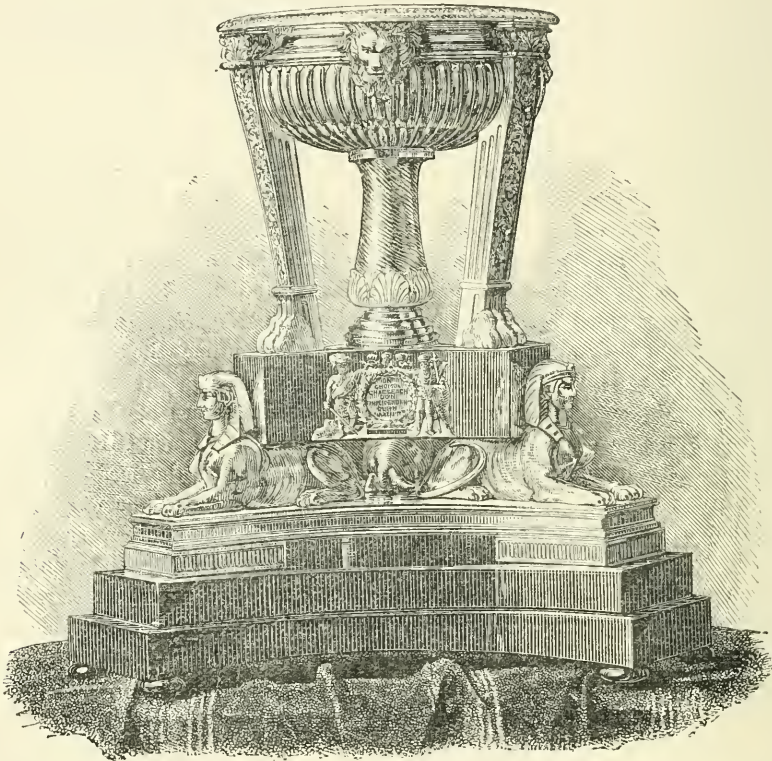
⁷ Anton's *Military Life*, p. 247.

⁸ The following is an extract from the account pub-

companies were detached to Newry, and several other detachments were absent from Armagh; therefore not more than about 3 companies were present at the ceremony. The parade was in review order, in side arms, and a square of two deep was formed. On a table in the centre was the vase, covered, and several small kegs of Highland whisky, brought over from Scotland for the express purpose. A portion of the correspondence with the Highland Society was read by the Adjutant: Lieutenant-Colonel Robert

Henry Dick addressed the regiment: the casks of whisky were broached, and the cup filled. The Colonel drank to the officers and men, the staff officers followed, and afterwards the captains and officers drank to the health of their respective companies, and the cup, held by both hands, and kept well replenished, went three times down the ranks. All was happiness and hilarity, not only on the parade, but for the remainder of the day.

Thus was introduced to the regiment the



Vase presented to 42d Royal Highlanders by the Highland Society of London.

beautiful vase, which, for elegance and design, is hardly to be surpassed.

Of the officers and men present on the occasion, perhaps Lieutenant-Colonel Wheatley is the only one now alive (1874). Of the officers in the regiment at the time, the last of them, Captain Donald M'Donald, died at Musselburgh, on the 24th September 1865, aged 82.

The day of "the Cup" was long remembered amongst the men, and it was always enthusiastically spoken of as to the quality and

quantity of the whisky. The vase has lately (1869) been renovated, and placed on an ebony stand, which has given additional grandeur to its elegance.

The regiment left Glasgow in April of this year, and proceeded to Ireland, landing at Donaghadee, marching thence to Armagh, and detaching parties to all the adjacent towns. The regiment remained in Ireland till 1825, moving about from place to place, and occasionally taking part in the duties to which the troops were liable, on account of the disturbed

state of the country. Many of these duties were far from pleasant, yet the 42d discharged them in such a manner as to gain the respect and goodwill of the natives among whom they sojourned.

In June 1818, the regiment marched to Dundalk; and in May 1819, to Dublin, where it remained upwards of twelve months, receiving highly commendatory notices in orders, from Major-General White, Major-General Bulwer, and Major-General Sir Colquhoun Grant.

On the 29th of January 1820, the colonelcy of the regiment was conferred on Lieutenant-General John Earl of Hopetoun, G.C.B., from the 92d Highlanders, in succession to General the Marquis of Huntly.

From Dublin the regiment marched, in August, to Kilkenny and Clonmel, and while at these stations its appearance and discipline were commended in orders by Major-General Sir Thomas Brisbane, and Major-General Egerton.

The regiment marched, in October 1821, to Rathkeale, and took part in the harassing duties to which the troops in the county of Limerick were exposed during the disturbed state of the country, and its conduct procured the unqualified approbation of the general officers under whom it served.

In July 1822, the regiment marched to Limerick, and the orders issued after the usual half-yearly inspections, by Major-General Sir John Lambert, and Major-General Sir John Elley, were highly commendatory.

From Limerick the regiment proceeded to Buttevant, in July 1823, and afterwards occupied many detached stations in the county of Cork, where it preserved its high reputation for correct discipline, and for general efficiency, which procured for it the encomiums of the inspecting generals.

On the death of General the Earl of Hopetoun, G.C.B., the colonelcy was conferred on Major-General Sir George Murray, G.C.B., G.C.H. (see portrait in steel plate of Colonels of 42d), from the 72d, or the Duke of Albany's Own Highlanders, by commission, dated the 6th of September 1823.

The following details, for which we are indebted to Lieutenant-Colonel Wheatley, will give the reader a vivid idea of the state of Ireland at this time, as well as of the critical

nature of the duties which the 42d had to perform:—

The 42d, which was quartered at Rathkeale, were joined in these duties by the 79th and 93d; the former quartered at Limerick, and the latter at Ennis, County Clare. All three regiments were highly and deservedly popular with the inhabitants.

Detachments were posted all over the country in every village or hamlet, where a house could be hired to hold from 12 to 30 men. But little could be done towards putting the Whiteboys down, as the only offence against the law was being caught in arms. But as soon as the Parliament met, the "Insurrection Act" was hurried through both houses, and became law Feb. 28, 1822. By the Act transportation for seven years was the punishment inflicted on any one found out of his dwelling-place any time between one hour after sunset and sunrise in a proclaimed district. It was harassing duty patrolling over the country, sometimes all night, calling the rolls,* and apprehending such as had been found absent on former occasions. The law was carried out by what was called a "Bench of Magistrates," two or more, with a Sergeant-at-Law as president. All field officers and captains were magistrates, and seven years' transportation was the only sentence the bench could give; the prisoner had either to be let off with an admonition or transported. When the prisoner was brought in, evidence was simply taken that he was found out of his dwelling-place at an unlawful hour, or that he was absent from his habitation on such a night when the roll was called. The local magistrates knew the character he bore, a few minutes consultation was held, when sentence was given, and an escort being already at the court-house door, the prisoner was handcuffed and put on a cart. The words were given "with cartridge prime and load, quick march," and off to the Cove of Cork, where a ship was at anchor to receive them. This summary procedure soon put an end to the nightly depredations. The convicted were at once sent off to Botany Bay, now Sydney. Here is one instance.

Every road leading out of Rathkeale had a

* That is, calling over the list of inmates affixed to the inside of the door of every house and cabin to know if any were absent.

guard or outpost to prevent a surprise, and near to the Askeaton-road guard lived a character known as "the red haired man," a noted Whiteboy (so named from wearing shirts over their clothes when on their nocturnal excursions), who had taken care of himself from the passing of the Insurrection Act, although still a leader and director of their doings. His house was close to the guard, and there were special orders to watch him, and at uncertain hours to visit the house, to find him absent, if possible. On an evening in June, the sentry called to the sergeant of the guard that "the red haired man," half an hour back, had gone into a house where he was still." The sergeant walked about, the retreat beat, and watch in hand, he kept his look-out; one hour after sunset "the red haired man" came out without his hat, and laughing heartily: he was taken prisoner, and next day was on his way to the Cove of Cork!!

Pages could be filled with anecdotes connected with the doings of the several portions of the regiment in their various quarters. One more, to show the natural inborn Irish inclination for fighting.—The major commanding at Shannagolden, while standing on the street on a fair-day, was thus accosted by a tall, gaunt, wiry man, of some 60 years of age. "Good morning to your honour." "Good morning, Mr Sullivan." "I've a favour to ask of you, Major." "Well, Mr Sullivan, what can I do for you?" "Well, your honour knows that I've been a loyal man, that during them disturbed times I always advised the boys to give up the foolish night-work; that I've caused a great many arms to be given up to yourself, Major." Mr Sullivan's detail of his services and his appreciation of them being much too long to go over, it ended in:—"It's a long time, Major, since the boys have had a fight, and all that I want is, that yourself and your men will just keep out of sight, and remain at this end of the town, till me and my boys go up to the fair, and stretch a few of the Whichgeralds." (Fitzgeralds, the opposite faction.) "Oh, then, Major, we'll not be long about it, just to stretch a dozen or two of them Whichgeralds, and then I'll engage we'll go home quietly." Much to Mr Sullivan's disappointment, the Major replied that he could

not allow the peace to be broken, and grievously crest-fallen, Mr S. went to report the failure of his request to the fine set of young Sullivans who were in sight, waiting the issue of the singular application, and ready to be let loose on the Fitzgeralds. A Mr V——, a local magistrate, who was standing with the Major, said that it would tend much to break up the combination of Whiteboyism to let the factions fight among themselves, and that he could not do better than to wink at the Sullivans having a turn with their opponents; but the Major would not entertain the idea of having, possibly, half-a-dozen murders to think of.

In 1821, on the day the head-quarter division marched out of the city of Limerick, en route from Kilkenny to Rathkeale, a man dropped out of the ranks without leave, parting with some friends of the 79th, then quartered in Limerick, when the rear guard came up; poor David Hill was found senseless on the road, with a deep cut on the back of his head, and his musket gone. On reaching Rathkeale, he was tried by a Court Martial held in a square, formed there and then, before the regiment was dismissed. He was sentenced to 300 lashes, and to pay for his musket. It was what would rightly now be considered an unnecessarily cruel individual suffering, though the most stringent discipline was required, as the regiment was virtually in an enemy's country.

About three months afterwards an officer of the 79th was out snipe shooting, near to the scene of poor Hill's misfortune. A countryman entered into conversation with the officer, watched his opportunity, knocked him over, and was off with the gun. Two of the 3d light dragoons on dispatch duty, from Rathkeale for Limerick, saw it; one of them leaped wall after wall, and apprehended the culprit. A special commission was at the time sitting in Limerick, by which he was tried next day, and hanged a day or two after. On the scaffold he confessed that it was he who had knocked over the Highlander (Hill), and told the priest where the gun was hid. When it was recovered it was found cut down to make it a "handy gun." It was given over to Hill.

Lieutenant-Colonel Wheatley, who was with the 42d at this time, was himself an ear-witness

to the following :—About ten minutes after he and his comrade reached their billets at Rathkeale, the man of the house came in from his work, evidently not aware of the soldiers' presence. From the kitchen and stable, one apartment, there was overheard the following catechism between the father and a child about four years old :—"Well Dan, have you been a good boy all day?" "Yes, father." "Come to my knee, Dan ; now tell me, what will you do to the peeler, Dan?" "I'll shoot him, father, I will." "You'll shoot him, will you?" "Yes, father, when I'm big like brother Phill." "Ah, you're a fine fellow, Dan ; there's a penny for you to buy bread." Comment is unnecessary.¹

In September 1823 the 42d, along with the other regiments in the Munster district, was taught the "Torrance" system of drill, which this year superseded the cumbrous old "Dundas." This system effected an entire change in the drill, particularly in the field movements and the platoon exercise. Before this the wheeling or counter-marching of a column was unknown. He was a rash commanding officer who attempted an echelon movement in quick time, and it was not to be presumed upon before a general officer. The marching past in slow time was such a curiosity, that it is worthy of record. At every angle, the command "Halt, left wheel, halt, dress, march," was given, and such work it was again to step off in time with the preceding company ; about one in twenty could do it. Altogether, a drill book of "Dundas's 18 manœuvres" would be a curious study for the present day ; and that corps was to be admired whose Colonel could put them through "the 18 manœuvres." At present the whole could be done in 20 minutes, and as to skirmishing it was almost unknown, except in rifle and light infantry corps.

Long marches were common in those days. The following account of a long march while in Ireland, illustrates well the sad want of system at this time in connection with the army, and the little attention paid to the men's welfare.

In the month of May 1819, the regiment

¹ Peelers and Bobbies are names by which the police are sometimes, even yet, referred to. They were embodied under an Act brought in by Sir Robert Peel about 1820. In 1823 it was extended to all Ireland.

was ordered from Dundalk to Dublin. The detachment (of one subaltern and twenty men) at Cootehill, in County Cavan, was ordered, when relieved, to march to Ardee, and thence to Drogheda, to join a division under a field officer for Dublin. The relieving party of the 3d Buffs did not arrive until after mid-day on the 21st of May, when the detachment of the 42d marched by Shercock under the belief that they would halt at Kingscourt for the night, 18 miles from Cootehill. But, alas ! they marched on amidst pelting rain, and reached Ardee between 11 and 12 o'clock at night, 13 miles from Kingscourt, with the pipe-clay so thoroughly washed from their belts (cross in those days), that they were quite brown. The question will naturally arise, why did they not stop at Kingscourt ? even that distance being a long day's march. There was a reason. The end of the month was the 24th day at this time, and from some neglect or mistake the officer was short of money to keep the men all night at Kingscourt. But 42d soldiers made no complaints, on any occasion, in those days. With the consolatory saying, "what we march to-day we will not have to march to-morrow," the march was, with few exceptions, made cheerfully, although every man carried his full kit.

At this period there was a lamentable want of organisation and good management in many particulars. For instance, there was a garrison field day every Thursday (in Dublin 1819-20), and the guards who went on at ten o'clock the previous day had nothing sent to them in the way of food from the scanty dinner of Wednesday, till they reached their barracks about seven or eight the following evening.

Pay-sergeants were always consulted in all matters of interior economy, whether it regarded the supply of necessaries or improvements in messing, and they looked upon it as an innovation on their *rights* to propose any plan for the good of the soldiers, by which the smallest portion of the pay would have been diverted from passing through their (the pay sergeants') hands ; and thus a great portion of the men were always in debt. A baneful system it was, when men were allowed to be in debt to the sergeant to the extent of several pounds.

During the time the regiment was quartered in Dublin in 1819, a breakfast mess was established, much to the benefit of the soldier, who until this time had pleased himself regarding that meal. Bread and water satisfied some, while others indulged themselves according to their taste or ability to procure what was agreeable to them.

In 1819 a regimental medal (bearing on one side the names Corunna, Fuentes D'Onor, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Nive, Orthès, Toulouse, Peninsula) was struck in Dublin, and issued to those entitled to wear it—at their own expense. The authority of His Royal Highness the Duke of York, at the time commander-in-chief, was obtained for the wearing of it. Many good and gallant soldiers wore them in the regiment for years, but they quickly disappeared, although few of them were discharged under 19 and 20 years' service. The last of them were discharged between 1830 and 1834. Many inquiries have been made concerning this medal, which has puzzled collectors, but on the authority of Lieutenant-Colonel Wheatley, the above is a correct account of its origin and history.

Leaving the province of Munster, in June 1825, the regiment received a highly commendatory communication from Lieutenant-General Sir John Lambert, expressing the high sense he entertained of the discipline and conduct of the corps. It afterwards marched to Dublin, where it was stationed three months.

The regiment was divided into six service and four *depôt* companies, and the service companies received orders to proceed to the celebrated fortress of Gibraltar. They accordingly marched from Dublin, for embarkation at the Cove of Cork, on board His Majesty's ship "Albion," and the "Sovereign" and "Numa" transports: the last division arrived at Gibraltar in the middle of December. The *depôt* companies were removed from Ireland to Scotland.

On arrival at Gibraltar, the regiment occupied Windmill-hill Barracks, and was afterwards removed to Rosia, where it was stationed during the year 1827.

In February 1828, the regiment took possession of a wing of the grand casemates. As an epidemic fever prevailed in the garrison, from

which the regiment suffered severely, it encamped, in September, on the neutral ground. Its loss from the fever was, Ensign Charles Stewart, 6 sergeants, and 53 rank and file.

The regiment returned to the grand casemates on the 9th of January 1829; again encamped in the neutral ground in July, leaving in barracks the men who had recovered from the fever. It returned within the fortress in October.

As there is little or nothing to record with regard to the doings of the regiment during the six years it was at Gibraltar, where it took its share of the usual garrison work, we shall again recur to Lieutenant-Colonel Wheatley's memoranda, and present the reader with some interesting notes on the manners, customs, &c., of the regiment about this time. Let us, however, note here, that in 1825, the regiment was armed with "The Long Land Tower" musket, being the only corps of the line to which it was issued; and again, in 1840, it was the first corps to receive the percussion musket, in both cases, through the interest of Sir George Murray, its colonel.

The bugle, for barrack duty, was introduced in 1828, whilst the 42d was encamped on the neutral ground, Gibraltar, during the epidemic fever. Before this the solitary bugler of the regiment sounded part of "quick march" for the guard, and had about half-a-dozen calls for the light company, whose knowledge of skirmishing barely extended to the covering of an advance in line. In the following year, and 1830, it was taken up in reality, and the corps soon became famous for their skirmishing: not that either the bugle calls for barracks or the light infantry drill was without its enemies. Indeed, in general, the officers were averse to the "new fangled innovations," and, in some instances, complained that they could not understand the bugle even for the men's breakfast, dinner, &c., and wished a return to the drum! However, the innovations, with numerous others, were supported by the commanding officers, and in due time the 42d became equal to its neighbours.

While at Gibraltar, in 1830, a regimental library was started, and continued in a flourishing condition for many years. Its history, as told by one of its originators, Lieutenant

Colonel Wheatley, is extremely interesting. It deserves to be recorded, as it was creditable to the corps, and equally so to the men who so nobly supported it. At this time, such institutions were unknown in the army; indeed, if anything, they were discouraged.

The regiment was quartered with the 43d in the grand casemates, in February 1830. The sergeant-major of that corps had a small library, his private property, collected at sales of books from time to time, from the famous garrison library; he from that formed a circulating library, lending books at a certain rate per month. It was spoken of in the orderly-room one day, after the finish of the morning's duty, and Sir Charles Gordon expressed his surprise that in a Scotch regiment nothing of the kind had been instituted. As soon as he left, the pay-sergeants were called, and desired, by nine o'clock the following morning, to give a return of the number of subscribers willing to pay six days' pay of their rank, to be levied in three monthly instalments, and after the third month, to pay a subscription of sixpence a month. A return of 224 was given in, and it having willingly been approved of by Sir Charles, immediate steps were taken to establish the library. A large order was sent off to the Messrs Tegg, of London, and within a month, what from a purchase of old works from the garrison library, and donations of books from the officers, the library was in good reading order. The officers were most liberal in their donations. The members continued to increase, and various alterations were made from time to time, and in 1836 the subscriptions were reduced to fourpence. The funds were always fully able to meet any charge of conveyance whilst at home, from 1836 to 1841, and again from 1852 to 1854. On being ordered to Turkey in 1854, the whole of the books were disposed of, because the Government reading-rooms and libraries had been in force some time before this, and some corps had been ordered to do away with the regimental ones. At the time of its being broken up, it contained nearly 3000 volumes, and during its existence was highly creditable to the regiment.

In 1832, the regiment received orders to leave Gibraltar and proceed to Malta, embarking on the 13th January, when the governor,

Sir William Houston, expressed in garrison orders "that the 42d Royal Highlanders had embarked in a manner fully supporting their high character for discipline and good conduct, and he regretted their departure." After remaining at Malta till December 1834, the regiment was removed to the Ionian Islands, where it stayed till June 1836, having by that time completed a period of ten years and six months' service in the Mediterranean.

The 42d left Corfu for Britain on the 30th of June, and was accompanied to the place of embarkation by the Lord High Commissioner, Major-General Sir Howard Douglas, who, on its being formed on the esplanade, addressed it in the following terms:—

"Colonel Middleton, Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, and Soldiers of the Royal Highlanders,

"I have come hither to assure you, that the conduct of the Forty-second has given me the highest degree of satisfaction during the time it has been under my orders, and I wish to express to you the deep regret I feel at the departure of this gallant and distinguished corps from the station under my command.

"The highest professional obligation of a regiment, is to act so as to render itself dreaded as well as respected by enemies. This the Forty-second has hitherto nobly and effectually done; and that power, though it exists unimpaired in the condition of this regiment, reposes for the present happily in peace.

"It is peculiarly the duty of a British soldier to conciliate, by personal demeanour and individual conduct, the esteem and regard of his fellow-subjects at home, and wherever he may be serving abroad, to cultivate the best terms, and gain the respect and good will of all classes of persons in the community of the place where he may be quartered. This, too, Forty-second, you have well done! The good terms which so happily subsist between the protector and the protected here, have not only been undisturbed, but cemented by your good conduct; and it affords me the greatest pleasure to have heard it declared by the highest authorities here, that you take with you the regard, respect, and good wishes of this population. As I was honoured by having this regiment placed under

my orders, and I am highly satisfied with the conduct of the corps to the moment of its departure, so should I feel gratified if I should have the good fortune to have you again under my command. If this should be in peace, I shall have the pleasure of renewing the agreeable intercourse I have had with the officers, and the pleasing duties I have had to discharge with you. Should a renewal of the connection take place in war, it will afford me much delight and satisfaction, and I shall feel great honour conferred upon me by being again associated with a corps, which, I well know, would acquire fresh inscriptions to its own renown, and to the honour of our country, on the banners which have braved many a hard-fought battle-field, and which have waved triumphantly over many a victory! Forty-second, *farewell!*"

The regiment, on landing at Leith, on the 7th September 1836, after 19 years absence from Scotland, was joined by the *depôt* companies awaiting it in Edinburgh Castle. It remained till the spring of 1838, when it embarked from Glasgow for Dublin, where it remained until the beginning of 1841. While in Ireland, new colours were presented to the 42d, March 7, 1839.

While at Limerick, Lieutenant-Colonel Middleton reluctantly retired from the command of the regiment, and issued the following pathetic farewell order:—

"NEW BARRACKS, LIMERICK,
12th August, 1839.

"Regimental Order.

"The Lieutenant-Colonel is persuaded that the officers, non-commissioned officers, and the soldiers of the regiment will enter into his feelings, and easily believe that it caused him many a heart-rending struggle before he brought himself to the sad conclusion of severing ties which connected his destiny for thirty-six years with that of the 42d, and which, but for one consideration, nothing on this side the grave could have induced him to do. That consideration they cannot be ignorant of, and which he is sure they will duly appreciate.

"It remains with him, therefore, only to return them, collectively and individually, the warmest expression of his thanks for the cordial and unremitting manner with which they co-operated with him in the various duties connected with his command, which made his situation

truly an enviable one; indeed, he may with truth assert without alloy, until now, when bidding the regiment farewell. In his sorrow, however, it affords him consolation to think that he resigns his proud and enviable charge into the hands of Major Johnstone, so capable in every way of maintaining their discipline, and watching over the best interest of the regiment. The Lieutenant-Colonel hopes the officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, will give the same undeviating support to him that they have on every occasion given the Lieutenant-Colonel, the recollection of which can never be banished from his mind; and wherever his future lot may be cast, his heart will always be with the Royal Highlanders; in saying which, should a tablet be over his tomb, the only epitaph he would wish engraved upon it would be, that he once belonged to the 42d."

In January 1841, the six service companies left Ireland for the Ionian Islands, and in May following, the *depôt* companies left Dublin for Scotland, being stationed at Stirling, which they quitted in March 1842, for Aberdeen.

The 42d and eight other regiments² having been augmented to an establishment of 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 majors, 12 captains, 14 lieutenants, 10 ensigns, 6 staff officers, 67 sergeants, 25 drummers, and 1200 rank and file; the Royal Highlanders received upwards of 400 Scots volunteers from other corps (180 of whom were furnished by the 72d, 79th, 92d, and 93d Highland regiments), towards the completion of their new establishment; and the *depôt* was moved to Aberdeen in May, where it was formed into 6 companies, to be termed the *Reserve Battalion*, and its organisation rapidly proceeded.

In August 1842, when her Majesty the Queen Victoria visited Scotland, the reserve battalion of the Royal Highlanders furnished a guard of honour for Her Majesty at Dupplin, Taymouth, Drummond, and Stirling Castles, and the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel was conferred on the commanding officer, Major James Macdougall.

In November 1842, the reserve battalion embarked from Gosport for Malta, to be joined by the first battalion from the Ionian Islands.

² The 12th, 20th, 23d, 45th, 71st, 91st, 97th, and second battalion Rifle Brigade.

The head-quarters and three companies of the first battalion, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone, embarked at Cephalonia, and landed at Malta on the 20th February; the other three companies arrived at Malta from Zante on the 27th March.

When the regiment embarked at Cephalonia, the Regent, the Bishop, and all the dignitaries saw Colonel Johnstone, the officers and men to the boats, and the leave-taking was nearly as touching as the one at Corfu in 1836. The Regent of the Island and the Civil authorities subsequently sent a large gold medal to Colonel Johnstone, with Cephalos and his dog on one

side of it, and the Colonel's name on the other.³

On the 29th of December 1843, General the Right Honourable Sir George Murray, G.C.B., was removed to the 1st, or the Royal Regiment of Foot, in succession to General Lord Lynedoch, deceased; and the colonelcy of the 42d Royal Highlanders was conferred on Lieutenant-General Sir John Macdonald, K.C.B. (Adjutant-General of the Forces), from the 67th regiment. Sir George Murray on his removal, addressed a letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron, commanding the regiment, from which the following are extracts:—



Colonel Johnstone's Medal.

"I cannot leave the command of the Forty-second Royal Highlanders without requesting you to express to them, in the strongest terms, how high an honour I shall always esteem it to have been for upwards of twenty years the colonel of a regiment, which, by its exemplary conduct in every situation, and by its distinguished valour in many a well-fought field, has earned for itself so large a share of esteem and of renown as that which belongs to the FORTY-SECOND regiment.

"Wherever the military service of our country may hereafter require the presence of the Royal Highlanders, my most friendly wishes and best hopes will always accompany them, and it will afford me the greatest pleasure to learn that harmony and mutual goodwill continue, as heretofore, to prevail throughout their ranks; and that discipline, so essential to the honour and success of every military body, is

upheld amongst them, not more by the vigilance and the good example of those in command,

³ Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone appropriately acknowledged the honour thus conferred upon him by his Cephalonian friends:—

"Farewell to Cephalonia, 1843.

"GENTLEMEN,

"*Nobili e cari Signori.*

"I hardly know how to express my sense of your kindness, or how much I feel honoured by the announcement you have just made me of the intention of my friends in Cephalonia to present me with a medal, on my departure from this Island. As a proof of yours and their esteem, I cannot value it too highly, nor can I fail, however poor my merits may have been, to appreciate the generosity of feeling which has actuated you on this occasion.

Your allusions to the 42d and my family have been most gratifying to me, and one and all desire to join me in every good wish for your prosperity and happiness. May this happiness be long continued to you; and may the zeal and ability for which so many of you are distinguished be honourably and usefully employed in promoting the best interests of your country."

"Dear Friends, farewell,

"*Cari Cefeleni Amici Addio.*"

than by the desire of all to discharge regularly, faithfully, and zealously, the several duties which it belongs to each respectively to perform. Whilst the Royal Highlanders persevere (as I feel confident, by my long acquaintance with them, both before and during the period of my having the honour to command them, that they always will) in the same path of duty which they have hitherto followed, they will never cease to add to that high reputation which they have already achieved for themselves, and for their native land."

Until the 42d went to Corfu, in December 1834, according to Lieutenant-Colonel Wheatley, no Highland regiment had ever been seen there, and the natives flocked from all parts of the island to see the wonderful soldiers. Many of the natives, no doubt, had heard something of the dress, but could only think of it as being like the Albanian kilt, nor would they believe that the knees were bare. The Greeks, says the Colonel, are very stoical, but at the parade next day (Sunday), on the esplanade, they could not conceal their excitement. Both the officers and men of the 42d were very popular at Corfu; and when, after an absence of four years and a-half on home service, the regiment returned to the island in 1841, the islanders regarded it as a compliment, and declared that "the regiment had only been sent to England to get percussion muskets."

On February 10th, 1846, was killed in action at Sobraon in India, Major-General Sir R. H. Dick, who had entered the 42d as ensign in 1800. He served with the second battalion of the 78th in Sicily in 1806; was wounded at the battle of Maida; was in Calabria and Egypt, in 1807; and was severely wounded at Rosetta. He was in the Peninsula from 1809, and was wounded at Waterloo. In the entrance of St Giles' Church, Edinburgh, is a tablet to his memory, erected by the officers of the 42d in 1846.

The two battalions remained at Malta until 1847, when both were ordered to Bermuda. The first sailed on the 27th February, and landed three companies (head-quarters) at Hamilton, and three companies at Ireland Island on the 16th April. The reserve battalion embarked in March, and landed at St. George's Island on the 24th of April.

On the 1st April 1850, the reserve battalion was consolidated into the first, forming a regiment of ten companies of 1000 rank and file. In May 1851, three companies were separated from the regiment to be sent to Scotland, to be joined by the depôt company from the Isle of Wight, and on 4th June, the six service companies embarked on board the "Resistance," and on the following day sailed for Halifax (Nova Scotia), where they arrived on the 12th, sending out detachments to Prince Edward's Island, Cape Breton, and Annapolis, in all 200 officers and men.

The regiment was relieved by the 56th at Bermuda, and replaced the 88th at Halifax, ordered home. The depôt left Bermuda for Aberdeen on 13th July.

Before leaving, a letter, complimenting the regiment highly on its commendable conduct while in Bermuda, was forwarded to Colonel Cameron by his Excellency the governor. We give the following address from "the Corporation and other inhabitants of the town and parish of St. George," which was presented to Colonel Cameron on June 3d, 1851.

*"To Lieutenant-Colonel D. A. Cameron,
42d R. H. Commandant, &c., &c., &c.*

"SIR,—As Her Majesty's 42d regiment under your command is about to leave these Islands, we cannot allow its departure without expressing our esteem for the kindly feelings which have existed between the inhabitants and the 42d, during the four years' residence in this garrison. The urbanity and affability of the officers, the steady and upright conduct of the non-commissioned officers and men, have been eminently conspicuous. To our knowledge, not a man of your gallant and distinguished corps has been convicted of any crime before the civil authorities of this colony; a very gratifying circumstance, and bespeaking the high state of discipline of the regiment.

"To yourself, Sir, officers, and men, we sincerely tender our best wishes for your future welfare; and assured are we, that should the time arrive for the 'Forty-second' to be called into active service, they will display that loyalty and valour for which they are so justly renowned. Wishing you a safe and pleasant passage,—We have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient, humble servants:—

“(Signed by the Mayor, Corporation, and other Inhabitants of the town and parish of St George.)”

To this Colonel Cameron made a suitable reply.

This shows the esteem in which the regiment was held by the inhabitants of Bermuda, and it was well deserved. Not a man had been convicted before the civil authorities; it was something new to the Bermudans, and a subject which they often dwelt upon.

The mean strength of the regiment in the Islands for four years and two months, viz:—April 1847 to June 1851, was 1090; and the deaths, including accidents, &c., were only 31, being much less than the usual mortality at home. The regiment that the 42d had relieved (1st and reserve battalions of the 20th) sustained a heavy loss—several hundreds—from cholera; and the 56th, which replaced it, lost 6 officers and 224 men, in the autumn of 1853.

Early in 1852, the several detachments re-joined at Halifax, and on the 29th May the regiment (again in the “Resistance”) embarked to return home, and on July 16th anchored at Greenock. They landed on the 19th, and proceeded by rail to Stirling, three companies going to Perth, and two to Dundee. The depôt was waiting the arrival of the service companies in Stirling Castle. The regiment had been absent from Scotland upwards of 14 years, viz., since embarking at Glasgow for Dublin in 1838.

Early in April 1853, the regiment was ordered to be in readiness to proceed to England. On the 22d headquarters left Stirling, and proceeded to Weedon, detaching two companies to Northampton. On the 14th of June left Weedon for Chobham. It was there encamped with the 1st Life Guards; 6th Dragoon Guards; 13th Light Dragoons; 17th Lancers; 1st Battalion Grenadier Guards; 1st Battalion Scots Fusiliers; 1st Battalion Coldstreams; 38th, 50th, 93d, and 95th regiments; and 2d Battalion Rifle Brigade, &c., &c.

On the 14th July, the whole of the troops were replaced, and the regiment proceeded to Haslar and Gosport (Fort Monckton), detaching three companies, under Major Cumberland, to Weymouth.

VOL. II.

VI.

1854—1856.

Regiment Embarks for Crimea—Landing at Kalamita Bay—March to the Alma—Russian Position—Battle of the Alma—The Highland Brigade—Sir Colin Campbell—Work done by the 42d—Sir Colin's Bonnet—Work of the 42d before Sebastopol—Sir Colin Campbell's Addresses—The Kertch Expedition—Return Home.

EARLY in 1854, the regiment was removed to Portsea, preparatory to embarking for Turkey, in consequence of hostilities with Russia.

About 200 Volunteers were received from depôts in Ireland, and for the first time for upwards of 45 years, without regard to country. The ten service companies embarked in the hired screw ship the “Hydaspes,” Captain John Baker, on the 20th May, and sailed next morning. They consisted of 32 officers, 45 sergeants, 20 Drummers and Pipers, and 850 Rank and File. On 1st June they went into Malta, and on the 7th anchored off Scutari. They landed and encamped on the 9th, joining in Brigade with the 79th and 93d.

On the 13th the division, consisting of the Brigade of Guards and the Highlanders, embarked and reached Varna next day, and disembarked on 15th, encamping near to Varna. On the 1st of July they moved to Aladyne; on the 28th to Gevrekler (“The three springs”); and on 16th August re-passed Varna to Galatabourna,¹ where the regiment was in camp until the embarkation of the army on the 29th, on which day it went on board the ss. “Emeu,” and sailed with the expedition on the 5th September.

The British force consisted of 27,000 men of all arms; the French about 30,000; and the Turks 7000; making a total of 63,000 men, with 128 guns. Lord Raglan was the chief of the British forces, while Marshal St Arnaud commanded the army of France. The English infantry consisted of four divisions; the Light, First, Second, and Third Divisions. The First Division, under the command of H. R. H. the Duke of Cambridge, consisted of the third Battalion of the Grenadier Guards, and the first battalions of the Coldstream and Scotch Fusilier Guards, commanded by Major-General Bentinck. Major-General Sir Colin Campbell (Lord Clyde, of whom we give a steel

¹ Galatabourna, close to the Black Sea, about five miles to the south-west of Varna.

portrait) was commander of the other half of this division (the Highland Brigade), composed of the 42d, 79th, and 93d Highlanders. The 42d was commanded by Colonel Cameron, who had joined the regiment in 1825, and was made lieutenant-general in 1868.

On the 14th of September 1854, the allied armies of England and France, landed unopposed at Old Fort, Kalamita Bay, about 30 miles north of Sebastopol.

"The seamen knew," says Kinglake,² the fascinating historian of the Crimean War, "that it concerned the health and comfort of the soldiers to be landed dry, so they lifted or handed the men ashore with an almost tender care: yet not without mirth—nay, not without laughter far heard—when, as though they were giant maidens, THE TALL HIGHLANDERS OF THE FORTY-SECOND, placed their hands in the hands of the sailor, and sprang, by his aid, to the shore, their kilts floating out wide while they leapt." It was not until the 18th that all the soldiers and their accompaniments were landed, and not until the 19th that the march southwards on Sebastopol commenced. On the first night of their march, the allies bivouacked on the banks of the stream of the Bulganak, six miles from their landing place.

"During the march, the foot-soldiers of the Allied armies suffered thirst; but early in the afternoon the troops in advance reached the long-desired stream of the Bulganak; and as soon as a division came in sight of the water, the men broke from their ranks, and ran forward that they might plunge their lips deep in the cool, turbid, grateful stream. In one brigade a stronger governance was maintained. Sir Colin Campbell would not allow that even the rage of thirst should loosen the discipline of his grand Highland regiments. He halted them a little before they reached the stream, and so ordered it that, by being saved from the confusion that would have been wrought by their own wild haste, they gained in comfort, and knew that they were gainers. When men toil in organised masses, they owe what well-being they have to wise and firm commanders."³

When the allied forces came in sight of the Alma, they found the Russians intrenched in what looked a very formidable position, on the hills which rise from its left or southern bank. For a short distance from the mouth of the river, the banks rise precipitously from the river and form a table-land above, accessible by several gorges or passes. Further up the river the banks rise more gently, and the slope of the hills southwards is more gradual; everywhere are the heights cut up by passes or ravines into knolls and separate rounded heights. "From the sea-shore to the easternmost spot occupied by Russian troops, the distance for a man going straight was nearly five miles and a-half; but if he were to go all the way on the Russian bank of the river, he would have to pass over more ground, for the Alma here makes a strong bend and leaves open the chord of the arc to invaders who come from the north."⁴ All over the heights extending from near the sea to this distance eastwards along the south-side of the river, the Russian force, amounting to 39,000 men and 106 guns, was massed on the side of the various slopes, in formidable looking columns. On the right of the Russian position rose gradually from the banks of the river a gentle slope, which terminated in a large rounded knoll, known as the Kourganè-hill. At about 300 yards from the river, the Russians had thrown up a large breastwork armed with fourteen heavy guns; this was known as the Great Redoubt. With this work Prince Mentschikoff, the Russian commander, was delighted; indeed, he fancied his position so impregnable, that he expected to hold out for three days, by which time he was confident the allies would be utterly exhausted, and fall an easy prey to his northern legions. On the same hill, but higher up, and more to his right, the Prince threw up another slight breast-work, which he armed with a battery of field guns. This was the Lesser Redoubt. At many other points which commanded the approaches to his position he had large batteries planted, and the vineyards which skirted the north bank of the river were marked and cleared, so as to give effect to the action of the artillery.

As it would be out of place here to give a

² Whose kindness in allowing us to make these extracts we have pleasure in acknowledging.

³ Kinglake's *Crimea*, vol. ii. pp. 186, 216.

⁴ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 234.

general account of the battle of the Alma, we shall content ourselves mainly with setting forth the part taken in it by the 42d Royal Highlanders, the actual strength of which regiment going into action was 27 officers, 40 sergeants, 20 pipers and drummers, and 703 rank and file. The work done by the other Highland regiments will be told in the proper place. The French and Turks, who formed the right of the allied army, were appointed to attack the left of the Russian position, while the British had to bear the brunt of the battle, and engage the enemy in front and on the right, being thus exposed to the full force of the murderous fire from the above-mentioned batteries.⁵

“The right wing of the Russian army was the force destined to confront, first our Light Division, and then the Guards and the Highlanders. It was posted on the slopes of the Kourganè Hill. Here was the Great Redoubt, armed with its fourteen heavy guns; and Prince Mentschikoff was so keen to defend this part of the ground, that he gathered round the work, on the slopes of the hill, a force of no less than sixteen battalions of regular infantry, besides the two battalions of Sailors, and four batteries of field-artillery. The right of the forces on the Kourganè Hill rested on a slope to the east of the Lesser Redoubt, and the left on the great road. Twelve of the battalions of regular infantry were disposed into battalion-columns posted at intervals and checkerwise on the flanks of the Great Redoubt; the other four battalions, drawn up in one massive column, were held as a reserve for the right wing on the higher slope of the hill. Of the four field-batteries, one armed the Lesser Redoubt, another was on the high ground commanding and supporting the Great Redoubt, and the remaining two were held in reserve. General Kvetzinski commanded the troops in this part of the field. On his extreme right, and posted at intervals along a curve drawn from his right front to his centre rear, Prince Mentschikoff placed his cavalry,—a force comprising 3400 lances, with three batteries of horse-artillery.

“Each of these bodies of horse, when brought within sight of the Allies, was always massed in column.

⁵ Kinglake's *Crimea*, vol. ii. p. 242.

“Thus, then, it was to bar the Pass and the great road, to defend the Kourganè Hill and to cover his right flank, that the Russian General gathered his main strength; and this was the part of the field destined to be assailed by our troops. That portion of the Russian force which directly confronted the English army, consisted of 3400 cavalry, twenty-four battalions of infantry, and seven batteries of field-artillery, besides the fourteen heavy guns in the Great Redoubt, making together 23,400 men and eighty-six guns.”⁶

In the march from its bivouac on the night of the 19th there were two or three protracted halts, one caused by a slight brush with some Cossack cavalry and artillery. The rest we must relate mainly in the charming words of Kinglake, after whose narrative all others are stale.

“The last of these took place at a distance of about a mile and a half from the banks of the Alma. From the spot where the forces were halted the ground sloped gently down to the river's side; and though some men lay prostrate under the burning sun, with little thought except of fatigue, there were others who keenly scanned the ground before them, well knowing that now at last the long-expected conflict would begin. They could make out the course of the river from the dark belt of gardens and vineyards which marked its banks; and men with good eyes could desery a slight seam running across a rising-ground beyond the river, and could see, too, some dark squares or oblongs, encroaching like small patches of culture upon the broad downs. The seam was the Great Redoubt; the square-looking marks that stained the green sides of the hills were an army in order of battle.

“That 20th of September on the Alma was like some remembered day of June in England, for the sun was unclouded, and the soft breeze of the morning had lulled to a breath at noon-tide, and was creeping faintly along the hills. It was then that in the Allied armies there occurred a singular pause of sound—a pause so general as to have been observed and remembered by many in remote parts of the ground, and so marked that its interruption

⁶ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 242.

by the mere neighing of an angry horse seized the attention of thousands; and although this strange silence was the mere result of weariness and chance, it seemed to carry a meaning; for it was now that, after near forty years of peace, the great nations of Europe were once more meeting for battle.

“Even after the sailing of the expedition, the troops had been followed by reports that the war, after all, would be stayed; and the long frequent halts, and the quiet of the armies on the sunny slope, seemed to harmonise with the idea of disbeliëf in the coming of the long-promised fight. But in the midst of this repose Sir Colin Campbell said to one of his officers, ‘This will be a good time for the men to get loose half their cartridges;’ and when the command travelled on along the ranks of the Highlanders, it lit up the faces of the men one after another, assuring them that now at length, and after long expectance, they indeed would go into action. They began obeying the order, and with beaming joy, for they came of a warlike race; yet not without emotion of a graver kind—they were young soldiers, new to battle.”⁷

The Light Division formed the right of the British army, and the duty of the Highland Brigade and the Guards was to support this division in its attack on the right of the Russian position. The 42d formed the right of the Highland Brigade, the 93d the centre, and the 79th the left. The Kourganè hill, which had to be assailed by the Light Division, supported by the Highlanders and Guards, was defended by two redoubts, by 42 guns, and by a force of some 17,000 men.

The battle commenced about half-past one P.M., and lasted a little over two hours. The French attack on the left was comparatively a failure, and their losses small, for they had but little of the fighting to sustain. The battle on the part of the English was commenced by the Light and Second Divisions crossing the Alma, the former getting first to the other or Russian side, driving the Russian skirmishers and riflemen before them at the point of the bayonet. As soon as they got out of the vineyards, double the number of guns opened upon them with grape and

canister, still they moved on, keeping up a telling fire against the Russian gunners. By the time they reached the great redoubt they were terribly shattered, but, nevertheless, successfully carried it and captured two guns. Being, however, now comparatively few in number, and unsupported, they were compelled to leave the redoubt by a huge body of Russian infantry, upon whom, they never turned their backs. Other operations, with more or less success, were going on in other parts of the hillside, but our place is with the Highlanders of the First Division, who, along with the Guards, were now advancing to support the Light Division, so sore bestead. “This magnificent division, the flower of the British army, had crossed the river rather higher up than the Light Division, and consequently were on its left. . . . The First Division formed-up after crossing the Alma, and although they incurred considerable loss in so doing, they nevertheless advanced in most beautiful order—really as if on parade. I shall never forget that sight—one felt so proud of them.”⁸ Lord Raglan had been looking on all this time from some high ground, where he and his staff were posted, and where he obtained a comprehensive view of the battle-field. When he saw the First Division coming up in support, he said, “Look how well the Guards and Highlanders advance!”⁹ We must allow Mr Kinglake to tell the rest.

“Further to the left (of the Guards), and in the same formation (of line), the three battalions of the Highland Brigade were extended. But the 42d had found less difficulty than the 93d in getting through the thick ground and the river, and again the 93d had found less difficulty than the 79th; so, as each regiment had been formed and moved forward with all the speed it could command, the brigade fell naturally into direct échelon of regiments, the 42d in front.

42d.

93d.

79th.

⁸ *Letters from Headquarters.*

⁹ *Kinglake's Crimea*, v. ii. p. 448.

⁷ *Kinglake's Crimea*, v. ii. p. 252.

And although this order was occasioned by the nature of the ground traversed and not by design, it was so well suited to the work in hand that Sir Colin Campbell did not for a moment seek to change it.

"These young soldiers, distinguished to the vulgar eye by their tall stature, their tartan uniforms, and the plumes of their Highland bonnets, were yet more marked in the eyes of those who know what soldiers are by the warlike carriage of the men, and their strong, lithesome, resolute step. And Sir Colin Campbell was known to be so proud of them, that already, like the Guards, they had a kind of prominence in the army, which was sure to make their bearing in action a broad mark for blame or for praise."¹

¹ We shall take the liberty of quoting here the same author's sketch of Campbell's career:—

"Whilst Ensign Campbell was passing from boyhood to man's estate, he was made partaker in the great transactions which were then beginning to work out the liberation of Europe. In the May of 1808 he received his first commission—a commission in the 9th Foot; and a few weeks afterwards—then too young to carry the colours—he was serving with his regiment upon the heights of Vimieira. There he saw the turning of a tide in human affairs; saw the opening of the mighty strife between 'Column' and 'Line;' saw France, long unmatched upon the Continent, retreat before British infantry; saw the first of Napoleon's stumbles, and the fame of Sir Arthur Wellesley beginning to dawn over Europe.

"He was in Sir John Moore's campaign, and at its closing scene—Corunna. He was with the Walcheren expedition; and afterwards, returning to the Peninsula, he was at the battle of Barossa, the defence of Tarifa, the relief of Taragona, and the combats at Malaga and Osma. He led a forlorn hope at the storming of St Sebastian, and was there wounded twice; he was at Vittoria; he was at the passage of the Bidassoa; he took part in the American war of 1814; he served in the West Indies; he served in the Chinese war of 1842. These occasions he had so well used that his quality as a soldier was perfectly well known. He had been praised and praised again and again; but since he was not so connected as to be able to move the dispensers of military rank, he gained promotion slowly, and it was not until the second Sikh war that he had a command as a general: even then he had no rank in the army above that of a colonel. At Chillianwalla he commanded a division. Marching in person with one of his two brigades, he had gained the heights on the extreme right of the Sikh position, and then bringing round the left shoulder, he had rolled up the enemy's line and won the day; but since his other brigade (being separated from him by a long distance) had wanted his personal control, and fallen into trouble, the brilliancy of the general result which he had achieved did not save him altogether from criticism. That day he was wounded for the fourth time. He commanded a division at the great battle of Gujerat; and, being charged to press the enemy's retreat, he had so executed his task that 153 guns and the ruin of the foe were the fruit of the victory. In 1851 and the following year he commanded against the hill-tribes. It was he who forced the Kohat Pass. It was he who, with only a few horsemen and some guns, at Punj Pao,

"The other battalions of the Highland Brigade were approaching; but the 42d—the far-famed 'Black Watch'—had already come up. It was ranged in line. The ancient glory of the corps was a treasure now committed to the charge of young soldiers new to battle; but Campbell knew them—was sure of their excellence—and was sure, too, of Colonel Cameron, their commanding officer. Very eager—for the Guards were now engaged with the enemy's columns—very eager, yet silent and majestic, the battalion stood ready.

"Before the action had begun, and whilst his men were still in column, Campbell had spoken to his brigade a few words—words simple, and, for the most part, workmanlike, yet touched with the fire of war-like sentiment. 'Now, men, you are going into action. Remember this: whoever is wounded—I don't care what his rank is—whoever is wounded must lie where he falls till the bandsmen come to attend to him. No soldiers must go carrying off wounded men. If any soldier does such a thing, his name shall be stuck up in his parish church. Don't be in a hurry about firing. Your officers will tell you when it is time to open fire. Be steady. Keep silence.

compelled the submission of the combined tribes then acting against him with a force of 8000 men. It was he who, at Ishakote, with a force of less than 3000 men, was able to end the strife; and when he had brought to submission all those beyond the Indus who were in arms against the Government, he instantly gave proof of the breadth and scope of his mind as well as of the force of his character; for he withstood the angry impatience of men in authority over him, and insisted that he must be suffered to deal with the conquered people in the spirit of a politic and merciful ruler.

"After serving with all this glory for some forty-four years, he came back to England; but between the Queen and him there stood a dense crowd of families—men, women, and children—extending further than the eye could reach, and armed with strange precedents which made it out to be right that people who had seen no service should be invested with high command, and that Sir Colin Campbell should be only a colonel. Yet he was of so fine a nature that, although he did not always avoid great bursts of anger, there was no ignoble bitterness in his sense of wrong. He awaited the time when perhaps he might have high command, and be able to serve his country in a sphere proportioned to his strength. His friends, however, were angry for his sake; and along with their strong devotion towards him there was bred a fierce hatred of a system of military dispensation which could keep in the background a man thus tried and thus known.

"Upon the breaking-out of the war with Russia, Sir Colin was appointed—not to the command of a division, but of a brigade. It was not till the June of 1854 that his rank in the army became higher than that of a colonel."

Five low. Now, men!—those who know the old soldier can tell how his voice would falter the while his features were kindling—'Now, men, the army will watch us; make me proud of the Highland Brigade!'

"It was before the battle that this, or the like of this, was addressed to the brigade; and now, when Sir Colin rode up to the corps which awaited his signal, he only gave it two words. But because of his accustomed manner of utterance, and because he was a true, faithful lover of war, the two words he spoke were as the roll of the drum: 'Forward, 42d!' This was all he then said; and, 'as a steed that knows his rider,' the great heart of the battalion bounded proudly to his touch.

"Sir Colin Campbell went forward in front of the 42d; but before he had ridden far, he saw that his reckoning was already made good by the event, and that the column which had engaged the Coldstream was moving off obliquely towards its right rear. Then with his Staff he rode up a good way in advance, for he was swift to hope that the withdrawal of the column from the line of the redoubt might give him the means of learning the ground before him, and seeing how the enemy's strength was disposed in this part of the field. In a few moments he was abreast of the redoubt, and upon the ridge or crest which divided the slope he had just ascended from the broad and rather deep hollow which lay before him. On his right he had the now empty redoubt, on his right front the higher slopes of the Kourganè Hill. Straight before him there was the hollow, or basin, just spoken of, bounded on its farther side by a swelling wave or ridge of ground which he called the 'inner crest.' Beyond that, whilst he looked straight before him, he could see that the ground fell off into a valley; but when he glanced towards his left front he observed that the hollow which lay on his front was, so to speak, bridged over by a bending rib which connected the inner with the outer crest—bridged over in such a way that a column on his left front might march to the spot where he stood without having first to descend into the lower ground. More towards his left, the ground was high, but so undulating and varied that it would not necessarily disclose any troops

which might be posted in that part of the field.

"Confronting Sir Colin Campbell from the other side of the hollow, the enemy had a strong column—the two right battalions of the Kazan corps—and it was towards this body that the Vladimir column, moving off from the line of the redoubt, was all this time making its way. The Russians saw that they were the subject of a general officer's studies; and Campbell's horse at this time was twice struck by shot, but not disabled. When the retiring column came abreast of the right Kazan column it faced about to the front, and, striving to recover its formation, took part with the Kazan column in opposing a strength of four battalions—four battalions hard-worked and much thinned—to the one which, eager and fresh, was following the steps of the Highland General.

"Few were the moments that Campbell took to learn the ground before him, and to read the enemy's mind; but, few though they were, they were all but enough to bring the 42d to the crest where their General stood. The ground they had to ascend was a good deal more steep and more broken than the slope close beneath the redoubt. In the land where those Scots were bred, there are shadows of sailing clouds skimming straight up the mountain's side, and their paths are rugged, are steep, yet their course is smooth, easy, and swift. Smoothly, easily, swiftly, the 'Black Watch' seemed to glide up the hill. A few instants before, and their tartans ranged dark in the valley—now, their plumes were on the crest. The small knot of horsemen who had ridden on before them were still there. Any stranger looking into the group might almost be able to know—might know by the mere carriage of the head—that he in the plain, dark-coloured frock, he whose sword-belt hung crosswise from his shoulder, was the man there charged with command; for in battle, men who have to obey sit erect in their saddles; he who has on him the care of the fight seems always to fall into the pensive yet eager bend which the Greeks—keen perceivers of truth—used to join with their conception of Mind brought to bear upon War. It is on board ship, perhaps, more commonly than ashore, that people in peace-time have been used to

see their fate hanging upon the skill of one man. Often, landmen at sea have watched the skilled, weather-worn sailor when he seems to look through the gale, and search deep into the home of the storm. He sees what they cannot see; he knows what, except from his lips, they never will be able to learn. They stand silent, but they question him with their eyes. So men new to war gaze upon the veteran commander, when, with knitted brow and steady eyes, he measures the enemy's power, and draws near to his final resolve. Campbell, fastening his eyes on the two columns standing before him, and on the heavier and more distant column on his left front, seemed not to think lightly of the enemy's strength; but in another instant (for his mind was made up, and his Highland blood took fire at the coming array of the tartans) his features put on that glow which, seen in men of his race—race known by the kindling grey eye, and the light, stubborn crimping hair—discloses the rapture of instant fight. Although at that moment the 42d was alone, and was confronted by the two columns on the farther side of the hollow, yet Campbell, having a steadfast faith in Colonel Cameron and in the regiment he commanded, resolved to go straight on, and at once, with his forward movement. He allowed the battalion to descend alone into the hollow, marching straight against the two columns. Moreover, he suffered it to undertake a manœuvre which (except with troops of great steadiness and highly instructed) can hardly be tried with safety against regiments still unshaken. The 'Black watch' 'advanced firing.'

"But whilst this fight was going on between the 42d and the two Russian columns, grave danger from another quarter seemed to threaten the Highland battalion; for, before it had gone many paces, Campbell saw that the column which had appeared on his left front was boldly marching forward; and such was the direction it took, and such the nature of the ground, that the column, if it were suffered to go on with this movement, would be able to strike at the flank of the 42d without having first to descend into lower ground.

"Halting the 42d in the hollow, Campbell swiftly measured the strength of the approaching column, and he reckoned it so strong that he

resolved to prepare for it a front of no less than five companies. He was upon the point of giving the order for effecting this bend in the line of the 42d, when looking to his left rear, he saw his centre battalion springing up to the outer crest."² This was the 93d.

"Campbell's charger, twice wounded already, but hitherto not much hurt, was now struck by a shot in the heart. Without a stumble or a plunge the horse sank down gently to the earth, and was dead. Campbell took his aide-de-camp's charger; but he had not been long in Shadwell's saddle when up came Sir Colin's groom with his second horse. The man, perhaps, under some former master, had been used to be charged with the 'second horse' in the hunting-field. At all events, here he was; and if Sir Colin was angered by the apparition, he could not deny that it was opportune. The man touched his cap, and excused himself for being where he was. In the dry, terse way of those Englishmen who are much accustomed to horses, he explained that towards the rear the balls had been dropping about very thick, and that, fearing some harm might come to his master's second horse, he had thought it best to bring him up to the front.

"When the 93d had recovered the perfectness of its array, it again moved forward, but at the steady pace imposed upon it by the chief. The 42d had already resumed its forward movement; it still advanced firing.

"The turning moment of a fight is a moment of trial for the soul, and not for the body; and it is, therefore, that such courage as men are able to gather from being gross in numbers, can be easily outweighed by the warlike virtue of a few. To the stately 'Black Watch' and the hot 93d, with Campbell leading them on, there was vouchsafed that stronger heart for which the brave pious Muscovites had prayed. Over the souls of the men in the columns there was spread, first the gloom, then the swarm of vain delusions, and at last the sheer horror which might be the work of the Angel of Darkness. The two lines marched straight on. The three columns shook. They were not yet subdued. They were stubborn; but every moment the two advancing battalions grew nearer and nearer, and although—dimly mask-

² Kinglake's *Crimea*, vol. ii. pp. 474-75.

ing the scant numbers of the Highlanders—there was still the white curtain of smoke which always rolled on before them, yet, fitfully, and from moment to moment, the signs of them could be traced on the right hand and on the left in a long, shadowy line, and their coming was ceaseless.

“But moreover, the Highlanders being men of great stature, and in strange garb, their plumes being tall, and the view of them being broken and distorted by the wreaths of the smoke, and there being, too, an ominous silence in their ranks, there were men among the Russians who began to conceive a vague terror—the terror of things unearthly; and some, they say, imagined that they were charged by horsemen strange, silent, monstrous, bestriding giant chargers. Unless help should come from elsewhere, the three columns would have to give way; but help came. From the high ground on our left another heavy column—the column composed of the two right Soudal battalions—was seen coming down. It moved straight at the flank of the 93d.”³ This was met by the 79th.

“Without a halt, or with only the halt that was needed for dressing the ranks, it sprang at the flank of the right Soudal column, and caught it in its sin—caught it daring to march across the front of a battalion advancing in line. Wrapped in the fire thus poured upon its flank, the hapless column could not march, could not live. It broke, and began to fall back in great confusion; and the left Soudal column being almost at the same time overthrown by the 93d, and the two columns which had engaged the ‘Black Watch’ being now in full retreat, the spurs of the hill and the winding dale beyond became thronged with the enemy’s disordered masses.

“Then again, they say, there was heard the sorrowful wail that bursts from the heart of the brave Russian infantry when they have to suffer defeat; but this time the wail was the wail of eight battalions; and the warlike grief of the soldiery could no longer kindle the fierce intent which, only a little before, had spurred forward the Vladimir column. Hope had fled.

“After having been parted from one another

³ Kinglake’s *Crimea*, vol. ii. pp. 481–86

by the nature of the ground, and thus thrown for some time into *échelon*, the battalions of Sir Colin’s brigade were now once more close abreast; and since the men looked upon ground where the grey remains of the enemy’s broken strength were mournfully rolling away, they could not but see that this, the revoir of the Highlanders, had chanced in a moment of glory. Knowing their hearts, and deeming that the time was one when the voice of his people might fitly enough be heard, the Chief touched or half lifted his hat in the way of a man assenting. Then along the Kourganè slopes, and thence west almost home to the Causeway, the hill-sides were made to resound with that joyous, assuring cry, which is the natural utterance of a northern people so long as it is warlike and free.⁴

“The three Highland regiments were now re-formed, and Sir Colin Campbell, careful in the midst of victory, looked to see whether the supports were near enough to warrant him in pressing the enemy’s retreat with his Highland Brigade. He judged that, since Cathcart was still a good way off, the Highlanders ought to be established on the ground which they had already won; and, never forgetting that, all this while, he was on the extreme left of the whole infantry array of the Allies, he made a bend in his line, which caused it to show a front towards the south-east as well as towards the south.

“This achievement of the Guards and the Highland Brigade was so rapid, and was executed with so steadfast a faith in the prowess of our soldiery and the ascendancy of Line over Column, that in vanquishing great masses of infantry 12,000 strong, and in going straight through with an onset which tore open the Russian position, the six battalions together did not lose 500 men.”⁵

The British loss was 25 officers and 19 sergeants killed, and 81 officers and 102 sergeants wounded; 318 rank and file killed, and 1438 wounded, making, with 19 missing, a total loss of 2002. The French loss was probably

⁴ Many of our people who had heard the cheers of the Highlanders were hindered from seeing them by the bend of the ground, and they supposed that the cheers were uttered in charging. It was not so. The Highlanders advanced in silence.

⁵ *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 487–90, 493.

not more than 60 killed and 500 wounded, while the Russian killed and wounded amounted to considerably above 6000. The 42d killed and wounded lost only 37 men.

After the battle, it was a touching sight to see the meeting between Lord Raglan and Sir Colin Campbell. The latter was on foot, as his horse had been killed in the earlier period of the action. Lord Raglan rode up, and highly complimented Campbell and his brigade. Sir Colin, with tears in his eyes,⁶ said it was not the first battle-field they had won together, and that, now that the battle was over, he had a favour to ask his lordship, which he hoped he would not refuse—to wear a bonnet with his brigade while he had the honour to command it.

The request was at once granted, and the making up of the bonnet was intrusted secretly to Lieutenant and Adjutant Drysdale of the 42d. There was a difficulty next morning as to the description of heckle to combine the three regiments of the Brigade. It was at last decided to have one-third of it red, to represent the 42d, and the remaining two-thirds white at the bottom, for the 79th and 93d. Not more than half a dozen knew about the preparation of the bonnet, and these were confined to the 42d. A brigade parade was ordered on the morning of 22d September on the field of Alma, “as the General was desirous of thanking them for their conduct on the 20th.” The square was formed in readiness for his arrival, and he rode into it with the bonnet on. No order or signal was given for it, but he was greeted with such a succession of cheers, again and again, that both the French and English armies were startled into a perfect state of wonder as to what had taken place. Such is the history of “the bonnet gained.”

The 42d had its own share in the harassing and tedious work which devolved on the British soldiers while lying before Sebastopol, although it so happened that it took no part in any of the important actions which followed Alma. Here, as elsewhere, the men supported the well-known character of the regiment in all respects. On the first anniversary of the battle of the Alma, September 20, 1855, the

⁶ *Letters from Headquarters.*

first distribution of medals was made to the soldiers in the Crimea, on which occasion Lieutenant-General Sir Colin Campbell issued the following stirring address, duty preventing him from being present:—

“Highland Brigade,

“On the first anniversary of the glorious battle of the Alma, our gracious Sovereign has commanded the Crimean medal to be presented to her gallant soldiers, who were the first to meet the Russians and defeat them on their own territory. The fatigues and hardships of last year are well known, and have greatly thinned our ranks since we scaled the Alma heights together; but happy am I to see so many faces around me, who, on that day, by their courage, steadiness, and discipline, so materially assisted in routing the Russian hordes from their vaunted impregnable position. To that day Scotchmen can look with pride, (and Scotchmen are everywhere). For your deeds upon that day you received the marked encomiums of Lord Raglan, the thanks of the Queen, and admiration of all. Scotchmen are proud of you! I, too, am a Scotchman, and proud of the honour of commanding so distinguished a Brigade; and still prouder, that through all the trying severities of the winter, its incessant labours, and decimating disease, you have still maintained the same unflinching courage and energy with which your discipline, obedience, and steadiness, in whatever circumstances you have been placed, make you so unrivalled (and none more so than the oldest regiment of the brigade), and your commander confident of success, however numerous and determined your foe. The young soldiers who have not this day been presented with a medal, nor shared in the glories of the Alma, may soon win equal honours, for many an Alma will yet be fought, when I hope they will prove themselves worthy comrades of those who have struck home for Scotland, and for honours for their breast.

“Many have shared the greatest portion of the hardships of this campaign, and were ready upon the 8th (September) to do their duty, and eager for the morning of the 9th, when if we had been required I am positive would have gained renown.

“The honour of these last days all are equally entitled to, and I hope soon again to be presenting the young soldiers with their medals.

“I cannot conclude without bringing to your minds, that the eyes of your countrymen are upon you. I know you think of it, and will endeavour by every effort to maintain your famed and admirable discipline; also that your conduct in private equals your prowess in the field; and when the day arrives that your services are no longer required in the field, welcome arms will be ready to meet you with pride, and give you the blessings your deeds have so materially aided to bring to your country. And in after years, when recalling the scenes of the Crimea by your ingle side, your greatest pride will be that you too were there, and proved yourself a worthy son of sires who, in by-gone days, on many a field added lustre to their country’s fame.”

The brave Sir Colin seems to have been particularly fond of the old Black Watch, “the senior regiment” of the Highland Brigade, as will be seen from the above address, as well as from the following, in which, after regretting he was not present at the distribution of medals and clasps on the 20th September, he proceeds:—

“Your steadiness and gallantry at the battle of Alma were most conspicuous and most gratifying to me, whilst your intrepidity, when before the enemy, has been equalled by the discipline which you have invariably preserved.

“Remember never to lose sight of the circumstance, that you are natives of Scotland; that your country admires you for your bravery; that it still expects much from you; and, as Scotchmen, strive to maintain the name and fame of our countrymen, who are everywhere, and who have nobly fought and bled in all quarters of the globe. In short, let every one consider himself an hero of Scotland. It is my pride, and shall also be my boast amongst the few friends which Providence has left me, and those which I have acquired, that this decoration of the order of the Bath, which I now wear, has been conferred upon me on account of the distinguished gallantry you have displayed. Long may you wear your medals, for you well deserve them! And now for a word to the younger officers and soldiers. It is not

only by bravery in action that you can anticipate success; much depends upon steadiness and discipline. Remember this, for it is owing to the high state of discipline heretofore maintained in the Highland Brigade, *and in the senior regiment thereof in particular*, that such results have been obtained as to warrant the highest degree of confidence in you, in whatever position the fortune of war may place you.

“Endeavour, therefore, to maintain steadiness and discipline, by which you will be able to emulate the deeds of your older comrades in arms, for we may yet have many Almas to fight, where you will have the opportunity of acquiring such distinction as now adorn your comrades.”

From the 19th of October, the Highland Brigade was commanded by Colonel Cameron of the 42d, Sir Colin having been appointed to command the forces in and about Balaclava. In January 1855, the establishment was increased to 16 companies, and on the 3d of May, the regiment was embarked to take part in the Kertch expedition, but was recalled on the 6th. It again embarked on the 2d May, and landed at Kertch on the 24th, whence it marched to Yenikale. Two of the 42d men, while the regiment was at the last-mentioned place, were shot in rather an extraordinary manner. They were standing in a crowd which had assembled round a house for the purpose of “looting” it, when a Frenchman, having struck at the door with the butt of his musket, the piece went off, killing one 42d man on the spot and wounding the other. These, so far as we can ascertain, were the only casualties suffered by the regiment in this expedition. The 42d returned to Balaclava on the 9th of June, and on the 16th of the same month, took up its position in front of Sebastopol. On June 18th it formed one of the regiments of reserve in the assault of the outworks of Sebastopol, and was engaged in siege operations until August 24th, when the regiment marched to Kamara, in consequence of the Russians having again appeared in force on the flank of the allied armies. On September 8th, it marched to Sebastopol, took part in the assault and capture, returned to Kamara the following day, and remained there until the peace, 30th March 1856.

On June 15th, the regiment embarked at Kamiesh for England, landed at Portsmouth on the 24th of July, proceeded by rail to Aldershot, and was reviewed by Her Majesty Queen Victoria, after which it proceeded by rail to Dover, in garrison with the 41st, 44th, 79th, and 93d regiments.

The positive losses of the regiment in the Crimea from actual contact with the enemy, were nothing compared with the sad ravages made upon it, along with the rest of the army, by disease and privation, and want of the actual necessaries of life. During the campaign only 1 officer and 38 men were killed in action, while there died of wounds and disease, 1 officer and 226 men, besides 140 officers and men who had to be sent to England on account of wounds and ill-health.

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VII.

1856—1869.

The 42d proceeds to India—Cawnpore—Seria-Ghat—Marches and Skirmishes—Lucknow—42d Storms La Martiniere—The Begum Kootee—Fort Ruhya—Bareilly—Rohilkund—Maylah Ghaut—Khyrgher Jungles—Presentation of Colours—Title of "Black Watch" restored—Cholera—Embarks for England—Reception at Edinburgh—Leave Edinburgh for Aldershot.

ON December 1856, the establishment was reduced to 12 companies. On July 31st 1857, the regiment proceeded to Portsmouth, and on the 4th of August following it was reviewed by Her Majesty the Queen, who expressed herself highly satisfied with the fine appearance of the regiment. Between this date and the 14th the corps embarked in six different ships for the east, to assist in putting down the Indian Mutiny, and arrived at Calcutta in the October and November following.

The headquarters, with five companies of the 42d Royal Highlanders, had orders to march for Cawnpore on the night of the 28th November; but the news of the state of affairs at Cawnpore having reached Allahabad, the column was recalled, and ordered to form an intrenched camp at Cheemea. Next morning the work was begun, and progressed favourably until the 1st of December. Meanwhile the party was reinforced by a wing of Her Majesty's 38th Regiment, a wing of the 3d battalion Rifle Brigade, a party of Sappers and Artillery,

making in all a force of 1050 men, with two 8-inch howitzers and four field-pieces.

At 5 A.M. on the 2d December, a messenger arrived in camp with a despatch from the Commander-in-chief, ordering the column to make forced marches to Cawnpore. It marched accordingly at 8 P.M. on the same day, and reached Cawnpore about noon on the 5th, having marched a distance of 78 miles in three days, though the men were fairly exhausted through fatigue and want of sleep.

The position which the rebels held at Cawnpore was one of great strength. Their left was posted amongst the wooded high grounds, intersected with nullahs, and thickly sprinkled with ruined bungalows and public buildings, which lie between the town and the Ganges. Their centre occupied the town itself, which was of great extent, and traversed only by narrow winding streets, singularly susceptible of defence. The position facing the intrenchment was uncovered; but from the British camp it was separated by the Ganges canal, which, descending through the centre of the Doab, falls into that river below Cawnpore. Their right stretched out behind this canal into the plain, and they held a bridge over it, and some lime-kilns and mounds of brick in front of it.

The camp of the Gwalior contingent of 10,000 was situated in this plain, about two miles in rear of the right, at the point where the Calpee road comes in. The united force, amounting now, with reinforcements which had arrived, to about 25,000 men, with 40 guns, consisted of two distinct bodies, having two distinct lines of operation and retreat;—that of the Nana Sahib (and under the command of his brothers), whose line of retreat was in rear of the left on Bithoor; and that of the Gwalior contingent, whose retreat lay from the right upon Calpee.

General Windham, commanding in the fort, opened a heavy fire from every available gun and mortar from the intrenchment upon the hostile left and their centre in the town, so as to draw their attention entirely to that side and lead them to accumulate their troops there. Brigadier Greathed, with his brigade of 8th, 64th, and 2d Punjaub infantry, held the line of intrenchment, and engaged the enemy by a brisk attack. To the left, Brigadier Walpole,

with the 2d and 3d battalion Rifle brigade and a wing of 38th foot, crossed the canal just above the town, and advancing, skirted its walls, marking as he reached them every gate leading into the country, and throwing back the head of every column which tried to debouch thence to the aid of the right; whilst to the left, Brigadier Hope, with his Sikhs, and Highlanders, the 42d and 93d, and the 53d foot, and Brigadier Inglis, with the 23d, 32d, and 82d, moved into the plain, in front of the brick-mound, covering the enemy's bridge on the road to Calpee. Meanwhile the whole cavalry and horse artillery made a wide sweep to the left, and crossed the canal by a bridge two miles farther up, in order to turn the flank of the rebels.

The battle commenced on the morning of the 6th with the roar of Windham's guns from the intrenchment. After a few hours this tremendous cannonade slackened, and the rattle of Greathed's musketry was heard closing rapidly on the side of the canal. Walpole's riflemen pushed on in haste; and Hope and Inglis's brigades, in parallel lines, advanced directly against the high brick mound, behind which the enemy were formed in great masses, and their guns, worked with great precision, sent a shower of shot and shell upon the plain. The field batteries on the British side opened briskly, whilst the cavalry were seen moving on the left. The 42d skirmishers now rushed on and closed upon the mound, from which the enemy fell back to the bridge. Lieutenant-Colonel Thorold, commanding, riding in front of the centre of the regiment, here had his horse shot under him by a round shot, which swept through the line and killed private Mark Grant. The gallant old Colonel sprung to his feet, and with his drawn sword in hand, marched in front of the regiment during the remainder of the action, and the pursuit of the flying enemy.

After a moment's pause, the infantry again pushed on, and rushed upon the bridge. The fire was heavy in the extreme, when the sound of heavy guns was heard, and Peel's noble sailors, dragging with them their heavy 24-pounders, came up to the bridge, and brought them into action. The enthusiasm of the men was now indescribable; they rushed on, either

crossing the bridge or fording the canal, came upon the enemy's camp, and took some guns at the point of the bayonet. A Bengal field-battery galloped up and opened fire at easy range, sending volleys of grape through the tents. The enemy, completely surprised at the onslaught, fled in great haste, leaving everything in their camp as it stood;—the rout was complete. The cavalry and horse artillery coming down on the flank of the flying enemy, cut up great numbers of them, and pursued along the Calpee road, followed by the 42d, 53d, and Sikhs, for 14 miles. The slaughter was great, till at last, the rebels despairing of effecting their retreat by the road, threw away their arms and accoutrements, dispersed over the country into the jungle, and hid themselves from the sabres and lances of the horsemen. Night coming on, the wearied forces returned to Cawnpore, carrying with them 17 captured guns. The strength and courage of the young men of the Royal Highlanders was remarkable. Many of them were mere lads, and had never seen a shot fired before, yet during the whole of this day's action and long march, not a single man fell out, or complained of his hardships.

As soon as the Gwalior contingent was routed on the right, a severe contest took place with the Nana Sahib's men in the town, at a place called the Sonbadar's Tank, but before nightfall all Cawnpore was in our possession.

The Nana's men fled in great confusion along the road to Bithoor, whither they were pursued on the 8th by Brigadier-General Hope Grant, at the head of the cavalry, light artillery, and Hope's brigade of infantry (42d and 93d Highlanders, 53d, and 4th Punjaub rifles). Bithoor was evacuated, but the force pushed on, marching all night, and came upon the enemy at the ferry of Seria-Ghat on the Ganges, 25 miles from Cawnpore, at daylight on the 9th. The rebels had reached the ferry, but had not time to cross. They received the British force with a heavy cannonade, and tried to capture the guns with a charge of cavalry, but the horsemen of the British drove them away. Their infantry got amongst the enclosures and trees; but the whole of the guns, amounting to 15 pieces, were captured, together with a large quantity of provisions, camp equipage, and ammunition.

Lieutenant-Colonel Thorold, commanding

the regiment, and Captain J. C. M'Leod, commanding the rear guard, are honourably mentioned by Brigadier-General Hope Grant, in his despatch dated 11th December 1857.

The grenadier company, when destroying some baggage-carts, &c., found a very large gong, which was kept as a trophy by the regiment. The troops encamped near the Ghat on the 9th and 10th, and on the 11th marched back to Bithoor, where they were employed till the 28th December, destroying the palace of the Nana Sahib, and searching for treasure,—a great quantity of which was found in a tank,—with a considerable amount of labour, the flow of water being so great that 200 men were employed night and day baling it out, so as to keep it sufficiently low to enable the sappers to work.

The remainder of the regiment—Nos. 2, 4, 5, 6, and 7 companies—under the command of Major Wilkinson, joined at Bithoor on the 22d December 1857. Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron and Major Priestley, who had been left at Calcutta, joined head-quarters on the 12th December.

The Commander-in-chief with the forces at Cawnpore, marched towards Futteghur on the 25th December, and the column at Bithoor followed on the 28th, overtaking the head-quarter's column on the 29th at Merukie Serai. The regiment marched from the latter place, and at 1 o'clock, p.m. joined the head-quarters camp at Jooshia-Gunge—the whole force a few days after proceeding to Futteghur. After various skirmishes with the enemy during January 1858, about Futteghur, the force on the 1st February commenced a retrograde march on Cawnpore, which it reached on the 7th. On the 10th the 42d and 93d Highlanders crossed the Ganges into Oudh, as a guard on the immense siege-train which had been collected in Cawnpore for service at Lucknow. On the 11th they marched to Onao, where, with other troops the regiment remained, acting as convoy escort to the immense train of provisions and military materials being sent forward towards Lucknow.

On the 21st the regiment moved forward, and on the morning of the 26th, met their old companions in arms, the 79th Highlanders, at Camp Purneah. A cordial greeting took place

between old comrades, after which the regiments proceeded together to Bunteerah the same morning. Here the whole of the Commander-in-chief's force assembled. The siege train, &c., was gradually brought forward, and all necessary preparations made for the attack on Lucknow.

The force marched from Bunteerah on the 1st March, and passing through Alum Bagh (the post held by Major-General Sir James Outram) and by the old fort of Jellalahabad on the left, soon met the enemy's outposts, which, after a few rounds from their field-guns, retired to the city. The palace of Dalkoosha was seized without opposition, and being close to the river Goomptee, formed the right of the British position. The intervening space between this and the Alum Bagh on the left was held by strong bodies of troops posted under cover, for the hour of action had not yet arrived.

Lucknow had been fortified by every means that native art could devise to make a strong defence. The canal was scarped, and an immense parapet of earth raised on the inner side, which was loop-holed in all directions. Every street was barricaded, and every house loop-holed. The Kaizerbagh was so strengthened as to form a kind of citadel, and the place was alive with its 50,000 mutinous sepoy, besides a population in arms of one kind or other of double that number.

Brigadier Franks, who had marched from Benares with a column, by way of Sultanpore, having been joined by the Nepaulese contingent under General Jung Bahadoor, reached Lucknow on the 5th March; and on the 6th a division, under command of Sir James Outram, crossed the Goomptee, opposite the Dalkoosha park, and moved round towards the old Presidency, driving in the enemy's posts. Sir James Outram, from his position on the opposite bank of the river, was enabled to enfilade, and take in reverse a great portion of the great canal embankment, and effectually to shell the enemy within his works.

The enemy's most advanced position was La Martinière, a large public building surrounded on three sides by high walls and ruined houses, and its front covered by the river.

The plan of attack having been arranged,

the 42d Highlanders were ordered to storm the Martiniere, which they did in gallant style on the 9th. Four companies, under Major E. R. Priestley, advanced in extended order, the remaining five advanced in line under Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron. The Highlanders went steadily on until within two hundred yards of the place, when, giving three cheers, they rushed on in double time, the pipers playing "The Campbells are coming." The enemy became so alarmed, that they bolted from their trenches without waiting to fire more than their first round. Thus, the first position in Lucknow was gained without the loss of a single man.

Till the flying enemy, having been joined by reinforcements at their second line of intrenchment, summoned fresh courage, and showed battle to the four skirmishing companies who had followed up; a very smart affair ensued, in which the regiment suffered several calamities. The enemy from behind their works were enabled to do this without themselves being seen.

The five companies under Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron were ordered to take position in an old village to the right of La Martiniere about 300 yards, in passing to which they were exposed to a heavy fire upon the great parapet of the canal; but on reaching the village it was observed that the parapet near the river was undefended, having at that end been enfiladed by General Outram's guns. The 42d, with the 4th Punjaub rifles, under Major Wyld, making steps in the face of the parapet with bayonets, &c., scrambled up, and taking ground to the left, cleared the line of work as far nearly as Bank's bungalow. Reinforcements were brought up, and the position was held for the night. Early next morning, the several companies of the regiment were collected together, and the order was given to occupy Bank's bungalow and the houses and gardens adjacent. These points were also carried with little opposition, the enemy nowhere attempting to stand, but keeping up a constant fire of all kind of missiles from the tops of houses, loop-holes, and other points.

The regiment was now close under the Begum Kootee, an extensive mass of solid buildings, comprising several courts, a mosque, bazaar,

&c. This place was strongly fortified, and became an important post. Two 68-pound naval guns were at once brought up and commenced breaching; within Bank's bungalow were placed 16 mortars and cohorns, from which shells were pitched at the Kootee that day, and all night, until the following day about 2 o'clock (March 11th), when the 93d Highlanders stormed the breach, and carried the place in gallant style. Upwards of 500 corpses told the slaughter which took place within those princely courts. During the attack, the 42d grenadier and light companies were ordered to protect the left flank of the 93d, in doing which several casualties took place, caused by the fire of the enemy from a loop-holed gateway near which the light company had to pass. After occupying Bank's bungalow, two companies of the 42d were sent under Major Priestley to clear and occupy some ruined houses on the left front. This party, having advanced rather farther than this point, got hotly engaged with the enemy, but held their original ground.

A large section of the city being now in possession of the British, operations were commenced against the Kaizer Bagh, from the direction of the Begum Kootee, as well as from Sir James Outram's side. He took the Mess-house by storm, and other outworks in that direction, and on the morning of the 14th got into this great palace. The place was now almost wholly in possession of the British forces; at no one point did the enemy attempt to make a stand, but fled in every direction.

By the 20th the rebels had been everywhere put down, and peace partially restored. On the 22d the 42d Royal Highlanders were moved to the Observatory Mess-house and old Presidency, where they remained doing duty until the 2d April. During this time the men suffered greatly from fever, brought on by hardship and exposure to the sun. They had now been a whole month constantly on duty, their uniform and accoutrements never off their backs; and the effluvium arising from the many putrid half-buried carcases in the city, especially about the Presidency, rendered the air very impure. Notwithstanding the hard work performed by the regiment at Lucknow only 5 rank and file were killed, and Lieu-

tenant F. E. H. Farquharson and 41 non-commissioned officers and privates wounded. Lieutenant Farquharson was awarded the Victoria Cross "for a distinguished act of bravery at Lucknow, 9th March 1858."

On the evening of the 2d April, the regiment marched to camp at the Dalkoosha, having been ordered to form part of the Rohilcund field force under Brigadier Walpole. On the morning of the 8th the regiment marched from camp, accompanied by the 79th and 93d Highlanders, to the Moosha Bagh, a short distance beyond which the brigade encamped; and having been joined by the remainder of the force and the new Brigadier, commenced a march through Oudh, keeping the line of the Ganges. Nothing of note occurred until the 15th. On reaching Rhoadamow, Nurpert Sing, a celebrated rebel chief, shut up in Fort Ruhya, refused to give his submission. The fort was situated in a dense jungle, which almost completely hid it from view. Four companies of the 42d, with the 4th Punjaub rifles, were sent forward in extended order, to cover the guns and reconnoitre, and were brought so much under the enemy's fire from the parapet and the tops of trees, that a great many casualties occurred in a very short time. Brigadier Adrian Hope and Lieutenants Douglas and Bramley here received their death wounds. After remaining in this exposed condition for six hours, and after losing so many men, the Brigadier withdrew his force about sunset, and encamped about two miles off. During the night, the rebel chief retired quietly with all his men and material. Besides the two officers above mentioned, 1 sergeant and 6 privates were killed, and 3 sergeants and 34 privates wounded. Quarter-Master Sergeant John Simpson, Lance-Corporal Alexander Thompson, and Private James Davis were awarded the Victoria Cross.

Nothing of importance occurred till the force reached Bareilly, when they came up with the enemy's outposts at daybreak on the 5th May. After a short cannonade for about half-an-hour, the enemy fell back from the bridge and nullah, and occupied the topes (clumps of trees) and ruined houses in the cantonments. In this position it was necessary to shell every tope and house before advancing, which caused considerable delay: all the time the sun was shining on

the troops with full force. About 10 A.M. the enemy made a bold attempt to turn the British left flank, and the 42d were ordered forward in support of the 4th Punjaub rifles, who had been sent to occupy the old cavalry lines, but were there surprised by the enemy in great numbers. Just as the 42d reached the old lines, they were met by the Punjabees in full flight, followed by a lot of Gazees carrying tulwars and shields. These rushed furiously on, and the men for a moment were undecided whether they should fire on them or not, their friends the Punjabees being mixed up with them when, as if by magic, the Commander-in-chief appeared behind the line, and his familiar voice, loud and clear, was heard calling out, "Fire away, men; shoot them down, every man jack of them!" Then the line opened fire upon them; but in the meantime, some of these Gazees had even reached the line, and cut at the men, wounding several. Four of them seized Colonel Cameron in rear of the line, and would have dragged him off his horse, when Colour-Sergeant Gardner stepped from the ranks and bayoneted them, the Colonel escaping with only a slight wound on his wrist. For this act of bravery Gardner was awarded the Victoria Cross. In this affair 1 private was killed, and 2 officers, 1 sergeant, and 12 privates wounded. No. 5 company 42d took possession of the fort which was abandoned, and a line of piquets of the 42d and 79th Highlanders was posted from the fort to the extreme right of the Commander-in-chief's camp. Next day the place was cleared of rebels.

The regiment was told off as a part of the Bareilly brigade, and on the 5th June detached a wing to Moorabad under command of Lieutenant Colonel Wilkinson. This wing marched to Badaon with a squadron of carbineers, and joined Brigadier Coke's force, but received orders to leave the carbineers with Brigadier Coke, and proceed to Moorabad. On this march the men suffered from exhaustion and the heat. Indeed, the men who were still under canvas now began to suffer very much from sun-stroke, fevers, diarrhoea, &c. Every exertion was made to get them into temporary barracks, but this was not effected until the middle of July, just in time to escape the rains.

Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Cameron died of fever on the 9th August, and Lieutenant Colonel F. G. Wilkinson succeeded to the command of the regiment.

The headquarters and left wing were ordered to Peeleebheet on the 14th October, where it remained encamped till the 24th November, when, in order the better to guard against the rebels crossing from Oudh into Rohilkund, Colonel Smyth, Bengal Artillery, in command of a small column, was ordered to take up a position on the banks of the Sarada, to watch the Ghauts. No. 6, Captain Lawson's company, joined Colonel Smyth's column. At the same time, Major M'Leod was ordered, with the troops under his command, viz., 4 companies 42d Royal Highlanders, 2 squadrons Punjaub cavalry, 1 company Kumaon levies, and 2 guns, to proceed to Madho-Tanda, being a central position whence support might be sent in any direction required. This force subsequently moved close to the Sarada, in consequence of the numerous reports of the approach of the enemy, but all remained quiet until the morning of the 15th January 1859. The enemy having been pursued in the Khyreegurh district by a force under command of Colonel Dennis, attempted to force his way into Rohilkund, with the view, as was supposed, of getting into Rampore. Early on the morning of the 15th the enemy, about 2000 strong, effected the passage of the Sarada, at Maylah Ghaut, about three miles above Colonel Smyth's camp, at daylight. The alarm having been given, the whole of the troops in camp moved out with all speed, and attacked the rebels in the dense jungle, close to the river. Ensign Coleridge, 42d, was detached in command of a piquet of 40 men of Captain Lawson's company, and 40 men Kumaon levies, and was so placed as to be cut off from the remainder of the force. The jungle was so dense, that the cavalry could not act; the Kumaon levies were all raw recruits, who were with difficulty kept to their posts, so the fighting fell almost wholly to the lot of the 37 men under command of Captain Lawson. The enemy, desperate, and emboldened by the appearance of so small a force before them, made repeated attempts to break through the thin line of skirmishers, but the latter nobly held their ground. Captain Lawson received

a gun-shot wound in his left knee, early in the day; Colour Sergeant Landles was shot and cut to pieces, two corporals—Ritchie and Thompson—were also killed, and several other casualties had greatly weakened them. The company now without either officers or non-commissioned officers, yet bravely held on their ground, and, cheered on by the old soldiers, kept the enemy at bay from sunrise to sunset. Privates Walter Cook and Duncan Miller, for their conspicuous bravery during this affair were awarded the Victoria Cross.

Major M'Leod's force was then at a place called Sunguree on the Sarada, 22 miles from Colonel Smyth's force. About 8 A.M. when the numbers and nature of the enemy's attack were discovered, a Sowar was despatched to Major M'Leod (in temporary command) for a reinforcement of two companies, and ordering the remainder of the force to proceed with all speed to Madho-Tanda to await the result of the battle. No. 7 and 8 companies were despatched from Sunguree about noon, but did not reach the scene of action till after 5 P.M. Their arrival turned the tide of battle altogether. Such of the enemy as could recrossed the river in the dark, and next morning nothing remained on the field, but the dead and dying, 2 small guns, and some cattle belonging to the rebels. Lord Clyde complimented the regiment very highly on this occasion, and in particular, spoke of Captain Lawson's company as a pattern of valour and discipline.

General Walpole having received intelligence about the 22d that a body of rebels were hovering about, under Goolah Sing, in the Khyrughur jungles, two companies of the 42d Royal Highlanders at Colonel Smyth's camp, a squadron of the Punjaub cavalry, a squadron of Crossman's Horse, and three companies of Ghoorkhas, under command of Colonel Wilkinson, were ordered to cross the river at the spot where the rebels came over, and march to Gulori, 40 miles in the interior, under the Nepaul hills. Gulori was reached in 4 days, but Goolah Sing had secured himself in a fort under Nepauleese protection. Colonel Dennis, with a force from Sultanpore had orders to march on a village 20 miles from Gulori, and also sweep the jungles and communicate with Colonel Wilkinson. As he never arrived, and the

jungles being free from rebels, the force recrossed the river and returned to camp.

The left wing of the 42d remained on the Sarda until the 14th of March, when it returned to Bareilly, and joined the right wing, which had returned from Mooradabad on the 18th February, having been relieved by a wing of the 82d regiment; but information having been received that the rebels were again appearing in force in the Khyreegurh districts, the right wing, under command of Lieutenant Colonel Priestley, was sent to the Sarda to join Colonel Smyth on the 13th March, where it remained until the 15th May 1859, when it returned to Bareilly, the weather being by this time very hot and the district perfectly quiet. About this time, Lieutenant-Colonel Wilkinson went on leave to England, and was appointed to a depot battalion, and on the 27th September Lieutenant-Colonel Priestley succeeded to the command of the regiment.

The regiment occupied the temporary barracks at the old Kutchery, Berkley's House, and the Jail, during the hot and rainy seasons. The men were remarkably healthy, and very few casualties occurred.

His Excellency, Sir Hugh Rose, Commander-in-chief in India having been invited on the 18th September, by Lieutenant-Colonel Priestley in the name of the officers and soldiers of the 42d Royal Highlanders, to present new colours to the regiment, arrived in Bareilly for that purpose on the 1st of January 1861. After the old colours had been lodged, and the new ones presented by His Excellency, and trooped with the usual ceremonies, Sir Hugh Rose addressed the regiment in the following speech:—

“ 42d Royal Highlanders,

“ I do not ask you to defend the colours I have presented to you this day. It would be superfluous: you have defended them for nearly 150 years with the best blood of Scotland.

“ I do not ask you to carry these colours to the front should you again be called into the field; you have borne them round the world with success. But I do ask the officers and soldiers of this gallant and devoted regiment not to forget, because they are of ancient date, but to treasure in their memories the recol-

lection of the brilliant deeds of arms of their forefathers and kinsmen, the scenes of which are inscribed on these colours. There is not a name on them which is not a study; there is not a name on them which is not connected with the most important events of the world's history, or with the pages of the military annals of England.

“ The soldiers of the 42d cannot have a better or more instructive history than their regimental records. They tell how, 100 years ago, the 42d won the honoured name of ‘Royal’ at Ticonderoga in America, losing, although one battalion, 647 killed and wounded. How the 42d gained the ‘Red Heckle’ in Flanders. How Abereromby and Moore in Egypt and in Spain, dying in the arms of victory, thanked, with parting breath, the 42d. Well might the heroes do so! The fields of honour on which they were expiring were strewn with the dead and wounded soldiers of the 42d.

“ The 42d enjoy the greatest distinction to which British regiments can aspire. They have been led and commanded by the great Master in War, the Duke of Wellington. Look at your colours: their badges will tell you how often—and this distinction is the more to be valued, because his Grace, so soldierlike and just was he, never would sanction a regiment's wearing a badge, if the battle in which they had been engaged, no matter how bravely they may have fought in it, was not only an important one, but a victory.

“ In the Crimea, in the late campaign in this country, the 42d again did excellent service under my very gallant and distinguished predecessor, Lord Clyde. The last entry in the regimental records shews that the spirit of the ‘Black Watch’ of 1729 was the same in 1859, when No. 6 company of the 42d, aided only by a company of the Kumaon levy, four guns, and a squadron of irregular cavalry, under Sir Robert Walpole, beat back, after several hours obstinate fighting, and with severe loss, 2000 rebels of all arms, and gained the day. Lord Clyde bestowed the highest praise on the company that a general can do,—His Lordship thanked them for their valour and their discipline.

“ I am sincerely obliged to Lieutenant-Colonel Priestley for having, on the part of the

42d Royal Highlanders, requested me to present them with their new colours. It is an honour and a favour which I highly prize, the more so, because I am of Highland origin, and have worn for many years the tartan of another regiment which does undying honour to Scotland—the 92d Highlanders.

“I have chosen this day—New Year’s day—for the presentation of colours, because on New Year’s day in 1785 the colours were given to the 42d under which they won their red plume. Besides, New Year’s day, all over the world, particularly in Scotland, is a happy day. Heaven grant that it may be a fortunate one for this regiment!”

On the 3d, after inspecting the regiment, His Excellency desired Lieutenant-Colonel Priestley to thank them for the admirable condition in which he found them, and for their regularity and good conduct. His Excellency further called several officers and soldiers to the front of the battalion and thanked them for their gallant conduct on various occasions, and No. 6 company for the valour and discipline evinced by them on the occasion alluded to in His Excellency’s speech.

On the 8th of March three companies were detached to Futteghur. On 23d March headquarters moved from Bareilly to Agra, where they arrived on the 8th of April, and were garrisoned along with the 107th regiment. On 27th July the regiment moved into camp, on account of cholera having broken out, and returned to barracks on 12th August, having lost from cholera 1 officer and 40 non-commissioned officers and men. After returning to barracks, the regiment was prostrated by fever and ague, so many as 450 men having been at one time unfit for duty out of seven companies.

On 12th September the regiment was delighted by having its old name reconferred upon it, as a distinguished mark of honour. A notification was received that on 8th July 1861 Her Majesty had been pleased graciously to authorise The Royal Highland Regiment to be distinguished, in addition to that title, by the name by which it was first known—“The Black Watch.”

In March 1862, Lieutenant-General, the Marquis of Tweeddale, was appointed Colonel

in place of the deceased Sir James Douglas. The Marquis, however, in September of the following year, removed to the 2d Lifeguards, and was succeeded by the regiment’s former commander, who led them up the slopes of Alma—Major-General Sir Duncan Cameron.

On 6th December 1863, the Black Watch marched by forced marches from Lahore to Rawal Pundee, on account of active operations having been commenced against some of the hill tribes. It arrived at the latter place on December 19. Affairs on the frontier having, however, assumed a favourable aspect, the regiment returned to Dugshai, which it reached on the 13th February 1864, but returned to Rawal Pundee, where on 14th December it was put into garrison with the 79th. It left the latter place in October 1865, and proceeded to Peshawur, where it was in garrison with the first battalion of the 19th regiment, and subsequently with the 77th. In 1867, while at Peshawur, cholera broke out in the cantonments, and on the 21st of May five companies, under Major Macpherson, were removed to camp; these were followed on the 25th by headquarters and the other five companies. From the 20th to the 31st May, 66 men, 1 woman, and 4 children died of cholera. On the 1st of June the regiment commenced its march to Cheroat, a mountain of the Kultoch range, where headquarters was established on the 15th. The health of the regiment was not, however, immediately restored, and the number of deaths at Cheroat were 1 officer, 15 non-commissioned officers and men, 2 women, and 1 child. The total deaths in the regiment, from 20th May to 17th October, including casualties at depot, were 2 officers, 86 non-commissioned officers and men, 5 women, and 9 children;—altogether 102, or nearly one-sixth of the whole regiment.

On 17th October was commenced the march towards Kurrachee, preparatory to embarkation for England. On January 17, 1868, the regiment embarked at Kurrachee for Bombay, and on the 21st was trans-shipped to the Indian troopship “Euphrates,” which landed it at Suez on 15th February. On the 18th it embarked at Alexandria on board the “Serapis,” which reached Portsmouth on the 4th of March, when the regiment immediately left by

sea for Scotland and landed at Burntisland on the 7th, headquarters and 1 company proceeding to Stirling Castle, 5 companies to Perth, and 4 to Dundee. Colonel Priestley came home with the regiment from India, and carried on his duties till the 24th of March, the day before his death. He was succeeded by Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel M'Leod, who joined the regiment in 1846. On 12th October headquarters moved by rail from Stirling to Edinburgh Castle, and the detachments from Perth and Dundee followed soon after. The reception accorded to Scotland's favourite and oldest regiment, on its arrival in Edinburgh, was as overwhelmingly enthusiastic as in the days of old, when the military spirit was in its glory. The reader will have an idea of the enthusiasm with which this regiment is still regarded, and will be so so long as its ranks are mainly recruited from Scotland, by the following account of its reception, for which we are indebted to the *Scotsman* newspaper of the day following the regiment's arrival:—"The train arrived at the station about 10 minutes past 1 P.M., but long before that hour large and anxious crowds had collected on the Waverley Bridge, in Princes Street Garden, on the Mound, the Calton Hill, the Castle, and every other point from which a view of the passing regiment could be obtained. The crowd collected on the Waverley Bridge above must have numbered several thousands. The scene altogether was very imposing and animated. Such a turn-out of spectators has not been witnessed on the occasion of the arrival of any regiment here since the 78th Highlanders came from India, nearly ten years ago. Immediately after the train entered the station, the bugle sounded, and the men were arranged in companies, under the command of their respective captains. The regiment was under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel J. C. M'Leod, assisted by Major Cluny M'Pherson, Major F. C. Scott, and Adjutant J. E. Christie, and was drawn up in 8 companies. On emerging from the station the band struck up 'Scotland yet,' and the appearance of the regiment was hailed with hearty cheers from the spectators. The crowd in Canal Street was so great that it was with some difficulty the soldiers managed to keep their ranks. Their

line of march lay along Princes Street, and every window and housetop from which a view of the gallant 42d could be obtained was crowded with spectators. The regiment proceeded by the Mound, Bank Street, and Lawnmarket, and was loudly cheered at every turn. On the Castle esplanade the crowd was, if possible, more dense than anywhere else. A large number of people had taken up their position on the top of the Reservoir, while every staircase from which a view could be obtained was thronged with anxious spectators. Large numbers had also gained admission to the Castle, and all the parapets and embrasures commanding a view of the route were crowded with people.

"On the regiment arriving at this point, loud cheers were raised by the immense crowd assembled on the esplanade, which were immediately taken up by those in the Castle, and enthusiastically continued. On arriving at the Castle gate, the band ceased playing, and the pipes struck up a merry tune. Even after the regiment had passed into the Castle, large numbers of people, including many relatives of the soldiers, continued to linger about the esplanade. It is now thirty-two years since the regiment was in Edinburgh, and certainly the reception which they received yesterday was a very enthusiastic one. Four companies came from Perth, and joined the headquarters at Stirling, and the whole regiment proceeded from thence to Edinburgh."

We cannot refrain here from quoting some verses of a short poem on the Black Watch, which appeared about this time, so happy and spirited that it deserves a more permanent resting-place than a newspaper.

THE BLACK WATCH.

A HISTORIC ODE, BY DUGALD DRU.

Written for Waterloo Day, 1868.

Hail, gallant regiment! Freiceadan Dubh!

Whenever Albion needs thine aid,

"Aye ready" for whatever foe,

Shall dare to meet "the black brigade!"

Witness disastrous Fontenoy,

When all seemed lost, who brought us through?

Who saved defeat? secured retreat?

And bore the brunt?—the "Forty-Two!"

So, at Corunna's grand retreat,

When, far outnumbered by the foe,

The patriot Moore made glorious halt,

Like setting sun in fiery glow.

Before us foam'd the rolling sea,
 Behind, the carrion eagles flew ;
 But Scotland's " Watch " proved Gallia's match,
 And won the game by " Forty-Two ! "

The last time France stood British fire
 " The Watch " gained glory at its cost ;
 At Quatre Bras and Hugomont,
 Three dreadful days they kept their post.
 Ten hundred there, who form'd in square,
 Before the close a handful grew ;
 The little phalanx never flinched,
 Till " Boney " ran from Waterloo !

The " Forty-Second " never dies—
 It hath a regimental soul ;
 Fond Scotia, weeping, filled the blanks
 Which Quatre Bras left in its roll.
 At Alma, at Sevastopol,
 At Lucknow, waved its bonnets blue !
 Its dark green tartan, who but knows ?
 What heart but warms to " Forty-Two ? "

But while we glory in the corps,
 We'll mind their martial brethren too ;
 The Ninety-Second, Seventy-Ninth,
 And Seventy-First—all Waterloo !
 The Seventy-Second, Seventy-Fourth—
 The Ninety-Third—all tried and true !
 The Seventy-Eight, real, " men of Ross ; "
 Come, count their honours, " Forty-Two ! "

Eight noble regiments of the Queen,
 God grant they long support her crown !
 " Shoulder to shoulder, " Highlandmen !
 United rivals in renown !
 We'll wreath the rose with heath that blows
 Where barley-rigs yield mountain dew ;
 And pledge the Celt, in trews or kilt,
 Whence Scotland drafts her " Forty-Two ! "

It is worthy of remark, that from the time that the regiment embarked at Leith for England in May 1803, until October 1868, a period of upwards of 65 years, it was quartered in Edinburgh only 15 months—6 months in 1816, and 9 months in 1836-7. At its last visit it remained only about a year, taking its departure on November 9, 1869, when it embarked at Granton in the troop-ship " Orontes," for Portsmouth, *en route* for the camp at Aldershot, where it arrived on the 12th. The enthusiasm of the inhabitants of Edinburgh appears to have been even far greater to the Black Watch on its departure than on its entry into the northern metropolis. During their residence in Edinburgh the Highlanders conducted themselves in such a manner as to win the favourable opinions of all classes of the community, and to keep up the ancient prestige and unbroken good name of the regiment. The following is the *Scotsman's* account of its departure :

" After a sojourn in Scotland of eighteen months, twelve of which have been passed in

Edinburgh, the 42d Royal Highlanders departed yesterday from the city, taking with them the best wishes of the inhabitants. Since the arrival of the 78th Highlanders, immediately after the close of the Indian mutiny, such a degree of excitement as was displayed yesterday has not been witnessed in connection with any military event in the metropolis. It was generally known that 9 A.M. had been fixed for the evacuation of the Castle by the Highlanders, and long before that hour the Lawnmarket and the esplanade were crowded with an eager and excited multitude. At 9 o'clock the crowd increased fourfold, by the thousands of work-people, who, set free at that time, determined to spend their breakfast-hour in witnessing the departure of the gallant 'Black Watch.' At half-past nine, the regiment, which had assembled in heavy marching order in the Castle Square, began to move off under the command of Colonel McLeod, the band playing 'Scotland Yet,' and afterwards 'Bonnets o' Blue.' As the waving plumes were seen slowly wending down the serpentine path which leads to the esplanade, an enthusiastic and prolonged cheer burst from the spectators. As soon as the regiment had passed the drawbridge, a rush was made by the onlookers to get clear of the Esplanade. The narrow opening leading to the Lawnmarket was speedily blocked, and the manner in which the living mass swayed to and fro was most alarming—the din created by the crowd completely drowning the music of the band. The pressure of the crowd was so great that for a time the ranks of the regiment were broken, and a word of praise is due to the Highlanders for their forbearance under the jostling which they received from their perhaps too demonstratively affectionate friends. The line of route taken was Lawnmarket, Bank Street, the Mound, Hanover Street, Pitt Street, Brandon Street, to Inverleith Row, and thence by the highway to Granton. The whole way to the port of embarkation the regiment had literally to force its passage through the dense masses which blocked the streets, and every now and again a parting cheer was raised by the spectators. The crowd, as has already been mentioned, was the largest that has been seen in Edinburgh for many years, and has been roughly estimated as numbering from fifty to sixty thousand persons.

During the march to Inverleith toll, the band played 'Scotland for Ever,' the 'Red, White, and Blue,' 'Home, sweet Home,' and 'Loudon's bonnie Woods and Braes.' Shortly after pressing through the toll, and when within a mile of Granton, the Highlanders were met by the 90th Regiment of Foot (Perthshire Volunteers), who were *en route* to Edinburgh to succeed the 'Black Watch' as the garrison of the Castle. According to military custom, the junior regiment drew up alongside the roadway, and presented arms to the Highlanders, who fixed bayonets and brought their rifles to the shoulder as they marched past. At this interesting ceremony the band of the Highlanders played 'Blue Bonnets over the Border,' while that of the 90th struck up the 'Gathering of the Grahams.' Granton was reached about 11 o'clock, and as the Highlanders marched along the pier, 'Auld Lang-syne' was appropriately played by the band. The slopes leading down to the harbour and the wharfs were thickly covered with spectators, who lustily cheered the Highlanders, and who showed the liveliest interest in the process of embarkation."

VIII.

1817—1873.

Account of Variations in Dress of the Black Watch—Regimental Pets—"Pincher"—"Donald the Deer"—"The Grenadiers' Cat"—Monument to Black Watch in Dunkeld Cathedral—Conclusion.

BEFORE concluding our history of this, the oldest Highland regiment, we shall present a brief account of the variations which have from time to time taken place in the dress of the regiment, and wind up with short biographies of the regimental pets. For our information on both these matters, as well as for the greater part of the modern history of the regiment, we must again express our large indebtedness to the manuscript memorials of Lieutenant-Colonel Wheatley.

It is a curious study to note the many alterations that have taken place in the uniform of officers and men since 1817. In 1817 the officers had a short-skirted coatee, elaborately covered with rich gold lace, about nine bars

on the breast over blue lappels, hooked in the centre. It was also thickly covered with lace on the collar, cuffs, and skirts. All ranks wore two heavy epaulets of rich bullion. The field officers only wore scarves, which were their distinguishing mark of rank. All the officers wore richly braided scarlet waistcoats, and frills plaited very small, the shirt collar well exposed above the black silk stock. Sky-blue cloth trousers, with a broad stripe of gold lace edged with scarlet was the usual parade uniform; and parade invariably took place morning and afternoon, every officer present, and in the above-mentioned uniform, and with feathered bonnet. The gold-laced trousers were abolished in 1823, and blue-gray substituted without lace, which was continued until 1829, when Sir Charles Gordon introduced the trews of regimental tartan, which were fringed round the bottom, and up the outer seams. The fringe system was continued for some years, when it was also done away with.

The undress in barracks was in general a light gray long frock coat; but leaving the barracks, the officers invariably appeared in the coatee and a tartan bonnet without feathers, with a short red heckle in front, confined by a gold ring about one-third up. This handy bonnet was also worn on the line of march with the coatee. It was replaced in 1824 by a tartan shako, with black silk cord ornaments and a heavy red ostrich plume, which again gave way to the regular forage cap in 1826, first introduced with a broad top, and stiff in appearance, with a small gold embroidered thistle in front. Before 1830, when the single-breasted blue frock-coat, without any shoulder ornaments, was introduced into the army, a richly braided blue frock-coat was worn; but it was optional. White Cashmere trousers, narrow at the ankles with a gold stripe edged with scarlet, silk socks, and long quartered shoes with buckles, was also permitted for the evening (about 1819-20).

Before the adoption of the tartan trousers, the officers' dress was a strange mixture of Highland and line. For instance, at the guard mounting parade in Dublin in 1819-20, could anything, in the way of dress, be more absurd in a Highland regiment than to see

the officers for the Castle guards in full Highland dress, and the five or six for other guards, the field officer, adjutant, quarter-master, and medical officer, in white Cashmere pantaloons, and short (under the knee) Hessian tassled boots, and that with a feathered bonnet? All officers for guard ought to have been in the full dress of the regiment, but it was put on by them with the greatest reluctance, and so seldom, that the officers could not dress themselves, and their remarks reached the barrack rooms, through their servants, which caused the dislike to the dress to descend to the men, and for years had the direct effect of causing the men to rail much against it. Since 1843, officers and men alike wear it on duty and on parade, which ought always to have been the case. In 1823-24 the officers all wore wings, rich and heavy, which were discontinued in 1830, by order, and epaulets, with bullion according to rank (for the first time) substituted; and it is a singular fact that the men were authorised to wear wings, by regulation, the same year; and still more singular, until the epaulets were abolished 25 years afterwards, the non-commissioned officers and men wore wings, and the officers epaulets. The laced lappels and braided waistcoats disappeared in 1830, when lace was generally done away with on the breast of the coat in the army. When the regiment returned from the Peninsula in 1814, from being so long in the field, the feathers had disappeared from the bonnet, and a little red feather on the front, the same as on a shako, had been adopted. When the bonnets were renewed, the rank and file were not allowed to have foxtails, under the impression that it caused an unsteady appearance in the ranks. Why not the officers and sergeants cause an unsteady appearance? Be that as it may, to the disgust of the men, and a source of amusement to all the other Highland regiments, was our "craw's wing," a wirework 8 inches above the cloth, covered with flats (almost free of anything like ostrich feathers) having a large unmeaning open gap at the right side, famous for catching the wind, which was ornamented with a large loose worsted tuft of white for the grenadiers, green for the light company, and red for the others. Yet this hideous thing was continued until the summer

of 1821, when most willingly the men paid about thirty shillings each to have the addition of "foxtails;" yet these were a draw back, as the tails were not to hang lower than the top of the dice of the tartan. The grand point was, however, gained in getting rid of the frightful "craw's wing," and by degrees the tails descended to a proper length. At this time there were a variety of heckles worn in the bonnet, another piece of bad taste—white for the grenadiers, green for the light company, the band white, and the drummers yellow, with each of them two inches of red at the top, and the other eight companies (called battalion companies) red. On going to Dublin in 1825, from Buttevant, the colonel of the regiment, Sir George Murray, was the commander of the forces, and at the first garrison parade, noticing the extraordinary variety of heckles, asked an explanation as to the reason of any heckle being worn in the regiment other than the red, it being "a special mark of distinction," and desired that all other colours should disappear. The next day every officer and man was in possession of a red heckle.

The white jacket was first worn with the kilt in 1821, which was considered at first to be very odd. Up to 1819, it was sometimes served out without sleeves; and when sleeves became general, the soldiers were charged 1s. 3d. for them, "for the colonel's credit." Until 1821 it was used as a waistcoat, or for barrack-room wear. It is still in use in the Guards and Highland regiments, notwithstanding its being a most useless article to the soldier. Instead of being used, it has to be carefully put up ready for the next parade. Moreover, why were the Guards and Highlanders left to suffer under it, when the reason for doing away with it in 1830 was—"It having been represented to the general commanding-in-chief, that the frequent use of dry pipe-clay, in the cleaning of the white jacket, is prejudicial to the health of the soldiers?" Surely the lungs of the Guards and Highlanders were as vulnerable as those of the rest of the army, and their health and lives equally precious. Many a time it was brought to notice; but "to be like the Guards" was sufficient to continue it. Yet there is no doubt the honour would be willingly dispensed with, and the getting rid

of it would be much to the men's comfort. Let us hope it will soon disappear, as well as the white coats of the band, still in use for all the army in 1873.

Until about 1840, never more than 4 yards of tartan were put into the kilt, and until lately, it never exceeded $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5. The plaid up to 1830 contained about $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards, for no use or purpose but to be pushed up under the waist of the coat, taking from the figure of the man.

Until 1822, to have trousers was optional, even on guard at night. Many men were without them, and cloth of all colours, and fustian, was to be seen. From soon after the return of the regiment to Edinburgh after Waterloo, long-quartered shoes and buckles were worn on all occasions. The shoes were deserving of the name given to them—"toe cases." To such a ridiculous extent was the use of shoes and buckles carried, that after a marching order parade, the spats had to be taken off, and buckles put on before being permitted to leave the barracks. The red and white hose cloth up to 1819 was of a warm, woolly, genial stuff; but, for appearance, a hard cold thin article was encouraged, and soon became so general, that it was finally adopted, and the warm articles put out of use. At this time the regiment was in Richmond Barracks, Dublin (1819-20), and, consequently had to go to the Royal Barracks for guard mounting, and often from a mile or two farther to the guard, in the shoe already described. In rainy weather, it was quite a common occurrence to see men reach the guard almost shoeless, with the hose entirely spoiled, and no change for twenty-four hours; yet, bad as this was, it had its consolation, that "it was better than breeches and leggings," the guard and review dress for the infantry at this time. Had gaiters been taken into use, even in winter, and the strong shoe, it would have added much to the comfort of the men. The hose being made out of the piece, with coarse seams, were also badly adapted for the march, and not a man in twenty had half hose and socks. The soldier in general is thoughtless, and at this time no consideration for his comfort was taken by those whose duty it was to do so, either in eating or clothing. As a proof of it, we have seen

that no breakfast mess was established until 1819.

It was at Gibraltar, in the beginning of 1826, that the gaiters were taken into daily wear and for guard; and the frill, the pest of the men (because of the care that had to be taken of it), and the soldiers' wives who did the washing. There were individuals who rejoiced in these frills, and to excel, paid from 2s. 6d. to 4s. for them. White leather pipeplayed gloves were also part of the soldier's dress at all parades, and "gloves off" became a regular word of command before "the manual and platoon." In short, what with shoes and buckles, frills, a stock up to the ears, about six yards of garters on each leg, muskets with clear locks (burnished in many cases), and well bees-waxed stocks and barrels, they were a most singularly equipped set of soldiers. Yet such was the force of habit, and what the eye had been accustomed to, when the frills and buckles disappeared, many (officers) considered it as an unwarrantable innovation; but not so the soldiers, who derived more comfort from the change than can well be imagined.

In 1820, shoulder tufts, about four inches, were substituted for the smaller ones hitherto worn by the battalion companies. The following year they became a little longer. In 1824, though still short of a regular wing, a shell was added, but without lace, stiffened with pasteboard. In 1827 a little lace was added, and in 1830 the ambition of having wings was consummated, as it became regulation for the non-commissioned officers and men of Highland regiments to wear wings, although, as already mentioned, the officers continued to wear epaulets.

Patent leather chin straps were first used in 1822. Before that a few only had narrow tape, which was not always approved of, it resting upon the whim of the officers or sergeant-major.

Until about 1840, the lace on the coats of both cavalry and infantry was of great variety, a few corps having it all white, but, in general with a "worm" of one or two colours of from one-fifth to one-third of the breadth of the lace. The 42d wore white lace, with a red "worm" three-fourths of the white on one side of the red, and one-fourth on the other. The 73d

had the same lace, continued from the time it was the 2d battalion of the regiment.

The breast, cuffs, collars, and skirts were covered with lace, the cause of much dry pipe-claying. Some corps had it with square bars, others in "frogs." The 42d had the latter. The abolishing (about 1830) of the silver-lace worn by the sergeants was regretted by many because it was an old-established custom, since 1769, and also as it added much to the appearance of the sergeants' uniform; but when it came to be worn at a cost of from six to seven pounds for lace and fringe, it was, without doubt, a hardship, and Sir Charles Gordon did well in abolishing it.¹

All the staff-sergeants wore the turned-back blue lappels, barred with square lace, and hooked in the middle, which was particularly handsome, and much admired. They ceased to wear the silver at the same time as the others, more to their regret, as a coat served many of them for years. The sergeant-major and quarter-sergeant only continued it, being furnished to them, with handsome bullion wings, along with their clothing.

The only changes of late years have been the Highland jacket and dark hose, both for the better, and the bonnet much reduced in size, also a decided improvement, all introduced after the Crimean war. The kilt is also more ample, and better made, adding to the better figure and appearance of the men, who are in all better dressed at present (1873) than at any previous period. May they always continue to be the pattern, as they ought to be, to all the Highland regiments, and that not only in dress, but also in all the qualities of good soldiers.

Out of the many pets of the regiment, we present our readers with the lives of these three, as being on the whole most worthy of

¹ We omitted to notice the death of this excellent officer in the proper place. It occurred while the regiment was at Vido in 1835. Sir Charles had gone on leave to Switzerland, with unaccountable reluctance it is said, though he was in apparently perfect health, and died at Geneva, after a short illness, on 30th September. His loss was deeply lamented by all ranks. The announcement of his unexpected death cast a gloom over the regiment, which was long felt. His gentlemanly bearing and kindly disposition made him universally loved and respected both by officers and men. The regiment was fortunate in his successor—Major William Middleton, who had served in the corps from 1803.

record,—the dog "Pincher," "Donald" the Deer, and the "Grenadiers' Cat."

"Pincher" was a small smooth-skinned terrier that attached himself to the regiment on the march in Ireland, at some stage near to Naas, its destination on coming home after the Peninsular war in 1814. Pincher was truly a regimental dog. If he had any partiality, it was slightly towards the light company. He marched to Kilkenny with the regiment, back from Naas, remained with it during the winter, and embarked for Flanders in the spring; went into action with it at Quatre Bras, and was wounded somewhat severely in the neck and shoulder, but, like a good soldier, would not quit the field. He was again in action at Waterloo, accompanied his regiment to Paris, and, amidst armies of all nations, Pincher never lost himself, came home, kept to his post, and went over to his native country in 1817. Late in that year, or early in 1818, he went with some men going on furlough to Scotland, who were landed at Irvine. Poor Pincher ran after some rabbits in an open warren, and was shot by a keeper, to the general grief of the regiment, when the intelligence reached it, which was not until one of the men returned from Scotland to join. In the meantime, Pincher had hardly been missed. There was some wonder at Armagh, and remarks made that Pincher was long on his rounds, but no anxiety regarding him, because it was well known, that from the time of his joining the regiment in 1814, it mattered not how many detachments were out from headquarters, in turn he visited them all; and it was often a matter of wonder how he arrived, and by what instinct he found them out. Poor Pincher was a good and faithful soldier's dog, and, like many a good soldier, died an inglorious death. His memory was respected while his generation existed in the regiment.

"Donald" the Deer was with the depot which awaited the regiment when it went into Edinburgh Castle in September 1836 after landing at Granton from Corfu. He was a youth at the time, and not so formidable as to cause his antlers to be cut, which had to be done afterwards. He marched the three days to Glasgow in June 1837. He was some-

what mischievous that year, sometimes stopping the way when he chose to make his lair, or with the meddlers and intruders on the Green when the regiment was out at exercise. But it was in Dublin, in the summer of 1838, that Donald came out. Without any training, he took his place at the head of the regiment alongside of the sergeant-major. Whether marching to and from the Phoenix Park for exercise, marching out in winter, or at guard mounting on the day the 42d furnished the band and staff, Donald was never absent. He accompanied the regiment to all garrison field-days, went to feed until the time came for going home, was often a mile from them, but always at his post when the time came. With one exception, about the third-field day, the 79th were there for the first time, and Donald trotted up to them when marching off. He somehow discovered his mistake, and became uneasy and bumptious, and on reaching Island Bridge, when the 79th had to turn off to Richmond Barracks, declined to accompany his new friends any farther. Colonel Ferguson desired half a dozen men to hand over their muskets to their comrades, and to drive Donald towards the Royal Barracks. He went willingly, and happened to rejoin his own corps at the Park gate, evidently delighted. He never committed a similar mistake. When the regiment had the duty, he invariably went with the guard to the Castle; and whether going or coming, the crowd was always dense, although a daily occurrence, but Donald made his way, and kept it clear too, and the roughs knew better than to attempt to annoy him. Indeed, he has been known to single out an individual who did so, and give chase after him through the crowd. There was never any concern about him, as he could well defend himself. The Greys were in the Royal Barracks with the 42d, and permitted Donald to make his bed, even by tossing down their litter, fed him with oats daily, &c. But early in 1839 the Greys left, and the Bays' succeeded them. It was very soon evident that Donald and the new comers did not understand each other. The Bays would not allow him to make his bed, nor did they give oats, and Donald declared war against all Bays, when and wherever they came near him, till at last

a Bay man could hardly venture to cross the Royal square, without looking out that Donald was out of the way. It gave rise to a clever sketch made on the wall of the officers' room at the Bank guard of the "Stag at Bay," where Donald was represented as having one of them up against a wall. In May 1839, he made nine days' march to Limerick, although very footsore and out of temper, and woe to the ostlers in the hotel-yard who interfered with him after a day's march. Donald had another failing, which his countrymen are accused of, which was a great liking for whisky or sherry. He suffered after a debauch, and it was forbidden to indulge Donald in his liking in that way. At Limerick, as soon as the officers' dinner pipe went, he made his way to the mess-room windows, which were on the ground floor, to look for sherry, until a high fine had to be made on any one who gave it to him. Donald afterwards marched to Templemore, and finally to Cork. He had by this time become so formidable in his temper, particularly to strangers, that it was clear he could not be taken on board a ship to Corfu, even if the captain of the troopship would permit it; and, to the regret of all, it was decided that Donald must be transferred to strangers. Colonel Johnstone arranged with Lord Bandon, who promised that Donald should have the run of his fine park at Bandon Castle while he lived, and it was Donald's own fault that it was not so. It was really an effecting sight to see poor Donald thrown over and tied with ropes by those he loved so well, and put into a cart to be carried off. His cries were pitiful, and he actually shed tears, and so did some of his friends, for Donald was a universal favourite. Thus the regiment parted with dear old Donald, and nothing more was heard of him for many years.

In 1862, nearly 22 years afterwards, Lieutenant-Colonel Wheatley being appointed to the Cork district, soon after arriving at Cork, took steps to ascertain the subsequent history of Donald. The reply was, "That from the day he was set at liberty in the park, he declined having any intercourse with either man or beast. That summer and winter he kept in out-of-the-way places to which no one could approach; and that there had been so

many complaints against him, that about the end of two years his lordship reluctantly sanctioned his being shot." Poor Donald! the regiment and its ways was the only home he ever knew, and his happiness left him when separated from it. So has it been with many others besides Donald.

The "Grenadier's Cat" was picked up by the company in one of the encampments in Bulgaria, probably in Gevrecklar, and was embarked at Varna for the Crimea. Having seen it at the bivouac at Lake Touzla, Lieutenant-Colonel Wheatley was induced, after the action at Alma had commenced, to ask what had become of poor puss, when one of No. 1 company called, "It is here, sir," and opening his haversack, the animal looked out quite contented. It was shut up again, and on making inquiry next morning, it was found that "Bell" had escaped both death and wounds, and was amongst them in the bivouac, well taken care of in so far as having an ample share of the rations. It appears that the man who carried the cat and took care of it, was exempted by the company from fatigue duties, or his turn of carrying the cooking-kettles, &c. Like all the pets, it did not come to a peaceful end. It finally became an inmate of the regimental hospital, being the only quiet place to be found for it, got worried, and died at Balaclava. Such was the end of Bulgarian "Bell," the only instance, probably, of a cat going into action.

On 2d April 1872 took place one of the most interesting events in connection with the history of the Black Watch, viz., the unveiling in Dunkeld Cathedral of a magnificent monument (a plate of which we give) to the memory of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the regiment, who fell in war from the creation of the regiment to the close of the Indian mutiny. The monument, which had been in preparation for several years, was subscribed for by the officers of the regiment, and was executed by Mr John Steell, R.S.A., the celebrated Scottish sculptor. It is placed in the vestibule of the cathedral, at the east end of the choir, and is the largest and one of the finest mural monuments ever erected in Scotland.

The monument, as we have indicated, is a mural one, having for its principal feature a

beautiful piece of sculpture in *alto relievo*. As originally designed by the artist, this composition was on a comparatively small scale. When, however, the sketch came to be submitted to the officers of the regiment, they were so much pleased with the idea embodied in it that they resolved to have the figures executed of life size, and increased their contributions accordingly. Standing out against a large pointed panel of white marble, the sculptured group, which is worked out in the same material as the background, represents an officer of the 42d visiting a battle-field at the close of an engagement to look for some missing comrade. The point of time selected is the moment in which the searcher, having just discovered the body of his friend, stands with uncovered head, paying mute homage to departed valour. The central figure of the composition is admirably modelled, the expression of the soldier's countenance being in fine keeping with the calm and subdued tone which pervades the whole work. On the left, beneath the remains of a shattered gun-carriage, lies the body of a young ensign, his hand still grasping the flag he had stoutly defended, and his face wearing a peaceful expression, as befitted a man who had died at his post. Other accessories combine with those just mentioned to suggest the grim realities of war; but the artist has so toned his composition that the mind is insensibly led to dwell on that other aspect of the battlefield in which it speaks of danger braved and duty nobly done. A slab underneath the sculpture bears the following inscription:—

IN MEMORY OF
THE OFFICERS, NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS,
AND
PRIVATE SOLDIERS
OF THE
42d ROYAL HIGHLANDERS—THE BLACK WATCH—
WHO FELL IN WAR
FROM
THE CREATION OF THE REGIMENT
TO
THE CLOSE OF THE INDIAN MUTINY,
1859.
THE TEN INDEPENDENT COMPANIES OF THE FFEACADAN
DUBH, OR BLACK WATCH, WERE FORMED INTO A
REGIMENT ON THE 25TH OCTOBER 1739, AND THE
FIRST MUSTER TOOK PLACE IN MAY 1740,
IN A FIELD BETWEEN TAYBRIDGE
AND ABERFELDY.

Here, 'mong the hills that nursed each hardy Gael,
Our votive marble tells the soldier's tale;
Art's magic power each perished friend recalls,
And heroes haunt these old Cathedral walls.

Erected by the Officers of the Corps.
1872.

On either side of the above inscription are recorded the names of the hard-fought fields in which the regiment gained its enviable reputation. How many memories are recalled as one reads the long roll of historic battle-grounds—"Fontenoy, Flanders, Ticonderoga, Martinique, Guadaloupe, Havannah, Egypt, Corunna, Fuentes D'Onor, Pyrenees, Nivelles, Nive, Orthes, Toulouse, Peninsula, Waterloo, Alma, Sebastopol, Lucknow!" The selection of a site for the monument was determined by considerations connected with the history of the regiment. The gallant 42d having been originally drawn chiefly from Perthshire, it was felt to be appropriate that the memorial intended to commemorate its fallen heroes should be erected in that county; and all will concur in the propriety of the arrangement by which a shrine has been found for it within the venerable Cathedral of Dunkeld.

For the following account of the ceremony we are indebted to the *Scotsman* of 3d April 1872:—

A detachment of the 42d, under the command of Major Macpherson, had been sent down from Devonport to perform the ceremony of handing over the monument to the custody of the Duke of Athole, and also to place over it the colours under which the regiment had fought on many a bloody field. In the vestibule of the cathedral were the Duke and Duchess of Athole, the Duchess Dowager of Athole, and many other distinguished persons.

Upon entering the vestibule, Major Macpherson, younger of Cluny, placed the old colours of the regiment over the monument. He then requested the Duchess-Dowager to unveil the monument; which having been done,

Major Macpherson said—May it please your Grace, ladies, and gentlemen—We, a detachment of the 42d Royal Highlanders, have come here to deposit the old colours of the regiment in Dunkeld Cathedral—a place which has been selected by the regiment as the most fitting receptacle for the colours of the 42d—a regiment which has been essentially connected with Perthshire. In the name of the officers of the regiment, I have to express to his Grace the Duke of Athole our kindest thanks for the great interest he has taken in this memorial,

which I have had the too great honour to ask the Duchess-Dowager to unveil; and if I may be allowed, I would express to your Grace the kindest thanks of the regiment for the great interest the late Duke of Athole took in this monument.

The Duke of Athole then said—You have this day paid a great compliment to the county of Perth, and to this district in particular. By the placing of this beautiful monument in our cathedral you have enhanced its value, and by placing over it your time and battle-worn colours. I can assure you we shall value the possession of this monument excessively, and do our utmost to preserve it from all harm. I trust that the cloud which is now hanging over the connection between the 42d and Perthshire will yet be dispelled, and that the old ties may not be broken, and that we may yet see the 'Freiceadan Dubh' localised in Perth.² I need not allude to the services of the 42d—they are far too well known to require comment on my part. One of the earliest colonels of the regiment was one of my own family—Lord John Murray; and at different times a great many men from Athole have served in your ranks. Members of almost every large family in Athole have at one time or other been officers in the corps. Many relatives and friends of my own have likewise served with the regiment. His Grace concluded by asking Major Macpherson to convey to the officers of the 42d the thanks of the county of Perth for the honour they had done to the county.

At the close of the proceedings a salute of 21 guns was fired from a battery placed on Stanley Hill.

After the ceremony the Duchess-Dowager entertained a select party at her residence to lunch. The detachment of the 42d and the Athole Highlanders at the same time partook of dinner in the Servants' Hall. When the dinner had been concluded, the Duchess-Dowager, the Duke and Duchess of Athole, and party, entered the Servants' Hall, where the Dowager-Duchess proposed the health of the 42d, a detachment of which regiment had come such a long dis-

² Alluding to the Brigade Centre for the 42d and 79th being told off for Dundee, which was subsequently altered to Perth.

tance in order to place their beautiful colours in the Cathedral of Dunkeld. Her Grace having made a touching allusion to the various battles in which the colours had been borne, remarked that there was no better place where the regiment could lodge them than the old historical cathedral of the city where the corps was chiefly raised. The colours had been given in charge to the Athole Highlanders, and she was sure that they would be as proud to look upon them hanging on the walls of the Cathedral as the 42nd themselves would be to see them in the midst of battle, and she might assure the detachment that the utmost care would be taken of them.

Major Macpherson returned thanks on behalf of the officers and men of the 42nd. He stated that the officers had taken a vote as to where the colours should be lodged, and the majority were in favour of having them placed over this monument in Dunkeld Cathedral, on the banks of the Tay, where the regiment was originally formed. He begged, on behalf of the officers and men, to thank Her Grace for the exceedingly kind reception which had been accorded to them during their stay in Dunkeld, and concluded by calling upon the men to drink to the health of the Duchess-Dowager of Athole. The original colours of the 42nd are in the Tower of London.

The colours placed in Dunkeld Cathedral were carried through the Crimean campaign and the Indian Mutiny.

In the autumnal manœuvres of 1871, the Black Watch, as might be surmised, performed their part brilliantly, and to the satisfaction and gratification of all present, the foreign officers especially awarding them the palm as models in every respect of what soldiers ought to be; indeed, their praises were in the mouths of all.

In September 1871, the regiment went to Devonport; and in February 1873, in accordance with the scheme for the establishment of military centres, they were allocated to Perth in conjunction with the 79th.

IX.

1873-1881.

The Ashantee Campaign—Occupation of Cyprus.

Not many months elapsed from the time of their allocation to Perth before the Black Watch were again called upon to engage in actual service. On the Gold Coast of Africa, mischief had been brewing for many years, and during the course of 1873 the conduct of Coffee Calcallee, king of the barbarous country of Ashantee, had been such that unless a decisive blow were immediately struck, Britain would be compelled to resign possession of her territory in that part of the African coast. With the Dutch possessions on the Gold Coast, ceded in 1872, English territory extended for many miles east and west of Cape Coast Castle, the seat of government. The Ashantee territory extends northwards from the Gold Coast to a distance of about 300 miles, its middle being traversed by the river Prah, which flows in the upper part of its course from east to west, but turns at Prah-su towards the south, and reaches the sea at Chamah, to the west of Cape Coast Castle. The capital of the Ashantee territory is Coomassie, about 100 miles directly north from Cape Coast Castle, and about half that distance north of Prah-su. The population of Coomassie at the commencement of the campaign was probably between 20,000 and 30,000. Here the despotic King of Ashantee lived in great state, and in the indulgence of the superstitious and terribly cruel practices known as the Ashantee "Customs."

The measures hitherto taken to keep the Ashantees in their place had been so inadequate, that their kings had become intolerably bold and confident, and had indeed acquired an utter contempt of the British power on the Gold Coast. King Coffee Calcallee resolved, about the end of 1872, to strike such a blow as would utterly stamp out the British rule on that coast, and in January 1873 an army of 60,000 warriors—and the Ashantees, though cruel, are brave and warlike—was in full march upon Cape Coast Castle. The whole force at the disposal of Colonel Harley, in whom

the administration was vested, was about 1000 men, mainly West India troops and Houssa police, with some marines. It was estimated that a contingent of about 60,000 would be raised from the friendly tribes, but this number figured only on paper. By April the Ashantees were within a few miles of Cape Coast Castle, and things were getting desperate, when, in the beginning of June, a small force of marines, under Lt.-Col. Festing, arrived from England. With this and other small reinforcements, the English managed to keep the barbarians at bay until the arrival, on October 2d, with his staff, of Major-General Sir Garnet J. Wolseley, who had been selected to command a force which was being organised in England to sweep back the threatened horde. His arrival inspired the troops with confidence, and by the end of November, after much hard preliminary work, the Ashantee force was in full retreat on Coomassie, and in another month General Wolseley, with his staff and 500 sailors and marines, was at Prah-su.

Meantime the small force which had been organising in England was on its way to the scene of operations. The 42nd was the principal regiment of the line, as a large part of the 23rd Welsh Fusileers had to re-embark, owing to the desertion of some thousands of native carriers who had been engaged to carry the necessary baggage. The Black Watch, accompanied by a considerable number of volunteers from the 79th, left Portsmouth on the 4th of December 1873, and disembarked on the 3d and 4th of January 1874. Besides the 23rd, 42nd, and 2d battalion Rifle Brigade, there were detachments of Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers, and Royal Marines, which, with the force already on the ground, formed the army with which Sir Garnet Wolseley was to pierce into the very heart of the Ashantee kingdom, through a country of marshes and matted forests, the growth of centuries, and forming an almost impenetrable ambush for the enemy. As Lord Derby remarked, this was to be "an engineers' and doctors' war." The engineers worked admirably in the construction of roads, bridges, telegraphs, and

camp; and it became simply a question whether the British soldiers would be able to hold out against the pestiferous climate long enough to enable them to reach Coomassie and return to the Gold Coast ere the heavy rains set in in the end of February. Happily the energy, skill, and knowledge of General Wolseley were quite equal to the emergency; and backed by an able and determined staff and his small force of brave and willing soldiers, he accomplished his mission with complete success.

The difficulty in procuring native carriers caused some delay after the landing of the force at Mansu, some distance to the north of Cape Coast Castle,—which delay, a 42nd officer said with truth, "did more harm to our men than all the hard work in Ashantee." To Europeans idleness in such a climate is utterly prostrating. In the dearth of carriers, the 42nd men themselves, greatly to their honour, volunteered to act as porters. On the 23d of January General Wolseley with the advanced guard had crossed the Adansi Hills, and fixed his headquarters at Fomannah, the palace of the Adansi king. On the 26th Colonel M'Leod of the 42nd, who commanded the advanced guard, took Borborassie. After this service the 23rd Fusileers, 42nd, Rifle Brigade, the 2nd West India Regiment, and the Naval Brigade, which by this time had reached Prah-su, were brought forward, resting on Insarf. They encamped on the night of the 30th about that place, and about two miles north of it, towards the enemy's main position at Amoaf. The advanced guard, under Colonel M'Leod, was at Quarman, within a mile or two of the enemy's position.

The entire country hereabout is one dense mass of brush, penetrated by a few narrow lanes, "where the ground, hollowed by rains, is so uneven and steep at the sides as to give scanty footing. A passenger," to quote the *London News'* narrative, "between the two walls of foliage, may wander for hours before he finds that he has mistaken his path. To cross the country from one narrow clearing to another, axes or knives must be used at every step. There is no looking over the hedge in

this oppressive and bewildering maze. Such was the battlefield of January 31st. The enemy's army was never seen, but its numbers are reported by Ashantees to have been 15,000 or 20,000. Its chief commander was Amanquatia, the Ashantee general. The Ashantees were generally armed with muskets, firing slugs; but some had rifles. As they were entirely concealed in the bush, while our countrymen stood in the lane or in the newly-cut spaces, precision of aim was no advantage to our side."

The main body of the enemy was encamped on the hill rising towards the town of Amoaful; but thousands of them also must have been skulking in the bush through which the small British force had to march before reaching the encampment. At early dawn on the 31st the British force moved upon the village of Egginassie, where the first shots were fired from an Ashantee ambush. The force was carefully arranged to suit the nature of the ground, with a front column, a left column, a right column, and a rear column, all so disposed that when they closed up they would form a square, the columns taking in spaces to the right and left of the central line of advance, so as to prevent any attack on the advancing front centre.

The front column was commanded by Brigadier-General Sir Archibald Alison, Bart., C.B. It consisted of the 42nd, under Major Baird, Major Duncan Macpherson, and Major Scott, a detachment of the 23rd Fusiliers, Captain Rait's Artillery, manned by Houssas, and a detachment of the Royal Engineers. The left column was commanded by Brigadier-Colonel M'Leod of the 42nd, and the right column by Lt.-Col. Evelyn Wood, 90th Light Infantry; part of the right column consisted of miscellaneous native African levies, under Captain Furze of the 42nd. The paths through the jungle were cut for each column of troops by large parties of native labourers.

Thus clearing their way through the jungle, and often scarcely able to obtain foothold from the slippery state of the marshy ground, the force advanced against the enemy. When the front of the small force had got a few hundred yards beyond the village of Eggin-

assie, it was assailed by a tremendous fire of musketry from an unseen foe, very trying to the nerves even of an experienced and well-trained soldier. By this time five companies of the 42nd were in skirmishing order. The slugs were dropping thick and fast; had they been bullets, scarcely a man of the Black Watch would have lived to tell the tale. As it was, there were few of the officers who did not receive a scratch, and nearly 100 of the men were wounded. Major Macpherson was shot in the leg, but limped on with a stick, and kept the command for some time, when he was compelled to give it up to Major Scott. It was at this critical moment that Capt. Rait's gun—there was no room for two—came into action at 50 yards from the enemy, on the direct line of advance. It soon forced the enemy to clear the road. In a moment they gave way upon their own left, and, pressed by the 42nd, began to yield ground.

This manœuvre was repeated, until Sir Archibald Alison, seeing that the moment had come, and observing the high spirits of the men, ordered the pipers to play and the regiment to charge. Forward they sprang, with a ringing cheer, straight at the concealed foe, who, immediately giving way, scrambled pell mell down the hill and up to the village of Amoaful on the opposite side. By half-past eleven the village was in the hands of the British force. It was not, however, till after two that the fighting was over, as the flank parties, commanded by the Colonel of the 42nd, had much more trouble and numerous casualties in fighting and clearing their way through the bush. Of the 42nd Bt.-Major Baird was severely wounded, from which he died at Sierra Leone on the 6th of March. Major Macpherson, Captains Creagh and Whitehead, Lts. Berwick, Stevenson, Cumberland, and Mowbray, and 104 men wounded.

On Feb. 1st, the day after this signal victory, the adjacent village of Becqueh was captured and destroyed by Col. M'Leod, with the naval brigade and several detachments, supported by portions of the 42nd and 23rd. On the 2d, the army was at Agemanu, six

miles beyond Amoaful, every inch of the ground between the two places being disputed by the enemy. On this day Lt. Wauchope of the 42nd was slightly wounded. On the 3d, Sir Garnet moved by the westerly road, branching off to the left from Agemanu, through Adwabin and Detchiasa to the river Dah or Ordah, the enemy again opposing the advance and hanging round the flanks of the force. King Coffee Calcallee had tried to stop the advance of the British by offering to pay an indemnity, but in vain, as no reliance whatever could be put in any of his promises; the King therefore resolved to dispute the passage of the river. The battle of Ordah-su, as it is called, was fought on Feb. 4th, and lasted seven hours. The troops reached the Dah on the evening of the 3d. The engineers worked through the night at the bridge, and in the morning the advanced guard, the Rifle Brigade, and some native troops under Col. M'Leod, crossed over. Sir Garnet Wolseley, in his despatch dated Coomassie, Feb. 5th, thus describes the subsequent action:—

“The advanced guard, under the command of Col. M'Leod, 42nd Highlanders, was brought to a standstill shortly after the advance began; and a general action soon developed itself, lasting for more than six hours. The enemy did not, however, fight with the same courage as at Amoaful; for although their resistance was most determined, their fire was wild, and they did not generally attack us at such close quarters as in the former action.

“The village of Ordah-su having been carried by the Rifle Brigade at nine o'clock, I massed all my force there, having previously passed all the reserve ammunition, field hospitals, and supplies through the troops, who held the road between the river and the village, a distance of about a mile. The enemy then attacked the village with large numbers from all sides, and for some hours

we could make no progress, but steadily held our ground. The 42nd Highlanders being then sent to the front, advanced with pipes playing, and carried the enemy's position to the north of the village in the most gallant style; Captain Rait's artillery doing most effective service in covering the attack, which was led by Col. M'Leod.

“After some further fighting on the front line, a panic seems to have seized the enemy, who fled along the road to Coomassie in com-



Sir John M'Leod, K.C.B.
From a Photograph.

plete rout. Although the columns they had detailed to assault our flanks and rear continued for some time afterwards to make partial attacks upon the village, we followed close upon the enemy's heels into Coomassie. The town was still occupied by large numbers of armed men, who did not attempt to resist. The King had fled no one knew whither. Our troops had undergone a most fatiguing day's work, no water fit for drinking having been obtained during the action or the subsequent advance, and the previous

night's rest having been broken by a tornado, which drenched our bivouac. It was nearly six o'clock when the troops formed up in the main street of Coomassie, and gave three cheers for the Queen."

Mr H. M. Stanley, the well-known correspondent of the *New York Herald*, in describing the advance on Coomassie, wrote as follows of the bravery of the Black Watch:—

"The conduct of the 42nd Highlanders on many fields has been considerably belauded, but mere laudation is not enough for the gallantry which has distinguished this regiment when in action. Its bearing has been beyond praise as a model regiment, exceedingly disciplined, and individually nothing could surpass the standing and gallantry which distinguished each member of the 42nd or the Black Watch. They proceeded along the well-ambushed road as if on parade, by twos. 'The forty-second will fire by companies, front rank to the right, rear rank to the left,' shouted Col. M'Leod. 'A company, front rank fire! rear rank fire!' and so on; and thus vomiting out twoscore of bullets to the right and twoscore to the left, the companies volleyed and thundered as they marched past the ambuscades, the bagpipes playing, the cheers rising from the throats of the lusty Scots, until the forest rang again with discordant medley of musketry, bagpipe music, and vocal sounds. It was the audacious spirit and true military bearing on the part of the Highlanders, as they moved down the road toward Coomassie, which challenged admiration this day. Very many were borne back frightfully disfigured and seriously wounded, but the regiment never halted nor wavered; on it went, until the Ashantees, perceiving it useless to fight against men who would advance heedless of ambuscades, rose from their coverts, and fled panic-stricken towards Coomassie, being perforated by balls whenever they showed themselves to the hawk-eyed Scots. Indeed, I only wish I had enough time given me to frame in fit words the unqualified admiration which the conduct of the 42nd kindled in all who saw or heard of it. One man exhibited himself eminently brave among brave men. His name was

Thomas Adams. It is said that he led the way to Coomassie, and kept himself about ten yards ahead of his regiment, the target for many hundred guns; but that, despite the annoying noise of iron and leaden slugs, the man bounded on the road like a well-trained hound on a hot scent. This example, together with the cool, calm commands of Col. M'Leod, had a marvellous effect upon the Highland battalion."

In the action on the 4th, Capt. Moore and Lts. Grogan and Wauchope of the 42nd were wounded, the latter severely this time; 14 men were also wounded.

Thus, in the space of about a month, by the decision and energy of the leader of the expedition, and the willingness of his officers and troops, was the great object of the campaign accomplished in the most masterly manner, and the Ashantees humbled as they had never been before, and taught a lesson they are not likely soon to forget. As during the 5th there seemed no hope of the treacherous king coming to terms, and as it was absolutely necessary for the health of the troops that the return march should be immediately commenced, Sir Garnet resolved to destroy Coomassie, and set out at once. Having, therefore, sent off all the wounded, he issued orders for an advance on the morning of the 6th. Early on that morning the homeward movements commenced, headed by the naval brigade, and covered by a rear guard of the 42nd, which did not retire till the town had been set on fire in every quarter, and the mines which had been placed under the palace fired. A tornado had raged during the previous night, but the destruction of the town by fire was complete.

Thus the campaign was virtually at an end, and Gen. Wolseley made all possible haste to bring his little army back to Cape Coast Castle, which, notwithstanding the swollen state of the rivers, he accomplished by February 19th. While on his way back, Gen. Wolseley received the unqualified submission of the humbled king. No time was lost in getting the troops out of the influence of the deadly climate. Without delay, therefore, the embarkation took place. The 42nd em-

barked in the "Nebraska" on the 23d, and sailed on the 27th in the "Sarmatian," arriving at Portsmouth on March 23d. Here the troops, who had all suffered more or less from the effects of the climate, were received with the greatest enthusiasm.

Among the officers specially mentioned by Sir Garnet Wolseley for having performed prominent services during the campaign were Col. M'Leod, C.B., who was afterwards made a K.C.B.; Majors Macpherson and Scott; Capts. Farquharson, V.C., Furze, and Kidston; and Lt. Wauchope. The special thanks of Parliament were awarded to the troops, and honours were showered upon the Commander by the Queen and country. Majors Macpherson and Scott were made Lieutenant-Colonels and C.B., and had the brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel conferred on them. Captains Bayly, Farquharson, V.C. (who died shortly afterwards), and Furze were made Bt.-Majors. The Victoria Cross was conferred on Sergt. Samuel M'Gaw. The non-commissioned officers and men selected to have medals "for distinguished conduct in the field" at the hand of the Sovereign—and had them presented by Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle on the 16th of May 1874, in presence of Colonel Sir John M'Leod, K.C.B., commanding the regiment, were—Wm. Street, sergt.-instructor of musketry; Sergt. Henry Barton; Privates John White, George Ritchie, George Cameron, and William Bell; Piper James Wetherspoon; Privates Henry Jones, Wm. Nichol, and Thomas Adams. Also, Sergeant-Major Barclay was awarded the medal for "meritorious services" for distinguished conduct during the campaign.

The regiment remained at Portsmouth until Nov. 15th, when it embarked for Malta under the command of Colonel Sir John M'Leod. Its strength on embarkation was 26 officers, 43 sergeants, 21 drummers and pipers, and 630 rank and file. It arrived at Malta, after calling at Queenstown, on the 27th, and, after being a few days under canvas, went into Isola barracks, the same that was occupied by the regiment in 1832, and again in 1844.

The preparation and distribution of the Ashantee medals was not completed until 1875, when the following Regimental Order was issued:—

"MALTA, 24th May 1875.

"Sir John M'Leod believes the Ashantee War medals now received in full and issued to the regiment, will be worn with satisfaction by the men. He thinks, though the expedition for which it is granted was only a little war, that the medal may take its place, not unworthily, beside the other decorations on the breast. Though little, the war had a magnitude and audacity about it to awaken the interest of the civilised world, and to exhibit in a marked degree those same qualities latent in you which sustained the corps of old in the Savannah, in Flanders, and in other unhealthy places, where, be it remembered, they were not cared for as you were on the Gold Coast by a beneficent Government. Men who can act as you acted—and the bush has terrors of its own—altogether, as though the honour of the regiment was committed to each individual member of it, have given evidence of a standard of character blending a perfect obedience with a just self-reliance. There is no page in your regiment's annals brighter than that which tells of your encounter with your savage foe in the murky bottoms at Amoaful; of the valour and discipline which carried you into the gaping chasm of the forest at Ordah-su; through the fœtid Soubang swamp, headed by Colour-Sergeant Barton, who, though wounded at Amoaful, continued working hard, hardly missing a shot, never halting until you had set your foot in the market-place of Coomassie. And on this day it is fitting to remember the distinguished conduct of Privates Alexander Hodge and John Arthur carrying Major Baird, more desperately wounded than themselves, to a place of safety; and the noble heroism of Private W. Thompson, one of the party, sacrificing himself rather than see his captain fall into the hands of the enemy; how Sergeant M'Gaw won the Victoria Cross; the sustained gallantry throughout of Privates Thomas Adams and George Ritchie; the cheerful disregard of personal danger of Sergeant-Instructor of Musketry Street, though badly wounded in the thigh; of Quartermaster-Sergeant Patterson running the gantlet of fire upon the road for a hammock to carry the dangerously wounded Sergeant-Major to the rear, assisted by the Paymaster-Sergeant Bateman; of Pioneer-Sergeant Gairns' look of scorn, when, disabled in the right arm, he was advised to fall to the rear! How was the flame of battle to be fed if he were at the rear and not there to serve out the ammunition? How Sergeant Butters, shot through the leg at Amoaful, marched with his company till again struck down in the gloomy Pass of Ordah-su; of Sergeant Graham Gillies, and Privates Jones and John Grant of B Company, and Private W. Nichol, always to the front; how wounded Piper Wetherspoon, taking the rifle and place of dead Corporal Samuel, fought till overpowered with wounds; of Sergeant Milne and Private Hector White, and gallant Privates W. Bell, Imray, and M'Phail fighting with remarkable bravery. But the space I would allow myself is more than filled; and I have before me Sergeant John Simpson, Colour-Sergeant Farquharson, Privates Calderwood, W. Armstrong, J. Miller, Peter Jeffrey, Colour-Sergeant Cooper, and Piper Honeyman, 'tangled in the bush,' and lost to his company; Surgeon-Major Clutterbuck, your old doctor, using few hammocks, how he marched all the way, his own recipe for surmounting all difficul-

ties, defended successfully his helpless wounded on the road side with his revolver; and Hospital Orderly M'Cudden—the hammock men hesitating to follow the regiment into the dread Pass of Ordah-su—encouragingly he threw aside his sword and revolver, placed himself at their head, led thus into Coomassie; and Quartermaster Forbes—unsurpassed—how, in the hottest of the fray, you had your ammunition always handy; your ration—sometimes more—ready. The first to swim the Ordah on your return, few will forget the hot tea he welcomed you with to your bivouac on that wet dreary night. Private Johnston, the last to pass over, how he lost his clothes in the dark, and was sandwiched by the doctor between two hammocks, faring not so badly; and others unmentioned, generous men, and remembered. Scattered as you are at present over Cottonera, I regret I have been unable with my own hand, and the fever on me, to give to each of you his well-earned medal. But I address you, on this the Queen's birthday, that you may be sure your good conduct is not forgotten. Wear the medal, with its ribbon yellow and black, significant colours to you. If any man ever makes away with it for unworthy ends, it will be a double disgrace to him."

In 1876 Her Majesty directed the word "Ashantee" to be added to the honorary distinctions on the colours of the regiment.

The regiment remained intact at Malta with little incident save an occasional change of quarters until January 9th, 1878, when the right half Battalion was ordered to the adjacent island of Gozo, consequent on the anticipated arrival of the Indian Expeditionary Force, as well as the impending increase to the garrison of troops from England, rendered necessary through the strained aspect of affairs between England and Russia, this being the first time the island had been occupied by troops for many years. Shortly after, on February 5th, Headquarters and the left half Battalion moved to Fort Manoel from Pembroke Camp. In September of the previous year Colonel M'Leod had retired, and Colonel Macpherson was now in command.

From April 1st, 1878, the establishment of the regiment was increased to 1103 of all ranks, preparatory to orders received on July 9th for the regiment to hold itself in readiness to embark for service. This service, as it ultimately proved, was to form part of the Expeditionary Force to occupy the island of Cyprus. The force, consisting of 10,000 men, including the Indian Contingent, sailed from Malta on the 18th and following days. The 42nd, along with half a Battalion of the 101st Regiment, embarked

on board H.M.S. "Himalaya," which also conveyed General Sir Garnet Wolseley, G.C.B., &c., Commanding Force and Staff.

The "Himalaya" arrived at Larnaca on the 22d, and the regiment disembarked on the 23d, and marched to Chifflick Pasha Camp, about 7 miles distant, there to be encamped. On landing, news was received of the sudden death of Sergeant M'Gaw, V.C., who had accompanied an advance detachment on the previous day.

It soon became evident that Chifflick Pasha was far from being a healthy part of the island, and by August 17th the whole regiment had been removed to Kyrenia with the exception of two companies who were to proceed to Paphos on August 20th.

Whilst stationed at Kyrenia the men had the unpleasant duty of guarding two or three hundred Turkish convicts, who were confined in the old Fort of Kyrenia. The regiment was now reduced to an establishment of 693 of all ranks, and was engaged in building huts, which were only just completed when, on November 9th, orders were received for the regiment to be held in readiness for another move—to Gibraltar.

The camps at Kyrenia and Paphos were accordingly brought together to Larnaca by H.M.S. "Humber," whence they embarked on board H.M.S. "Jumna," and by the 27th, after only a few hours' stoppage at Malta, Gibraltar was safely reached.

On June 10th, the "Himalaya" arrived with the 79th on board, who landed on the 12th, so that there were at one time no fewer than four Highland regiments on the Rock—the 42nd, 71st, 79th, 93rd.

On account of the health of the men the regiment was now ordered for Home Service, and on the 14th embarked on board H.M.S. "Himalaya," anchoring off Cowes early in the morning of the 19th. Here they took up the quarters vacated by the 56th, the establishment of the regiment being reduced by 4 officers and 120 privates.

The most noteworthy of the official inspections at this time was that by the Queen (August 13th), who expressed her great satisfaction at the general appearance of

the regiment after their return from foreign service.

The regiment was removed to Aldershot on 21st June, and, on the formation of the Army Corps for the Summer Drills, was brigaded with the 1st Battalion Grenadier Guards and 2d Battalion Scots Guards, under the command of Colonel Gipps, Scots Guards, forming 1st Brigade, 1st Division. Colonel Macpherson, C.B., having been appointed to command the 2d Brigade, 1st Division, the command of the regiment devolved on Major R. K. Bayly. The Army Corps marched from Aldershot to Ascot on July 13th, and on the following day to Windsor Great Park, where it was reviewed by Her Majesty the Queen. The march back to Ascot commenced at 5 P.M., and was performed in splendid order during a terrific storm of thunder and rain, camp being reached about 9.20 P.M.

On the occasion of the inspection by Major-General Spurgin, C.B., C.S.I., on 1st and 2d September, H.R.H. the Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief wrote from the War Office expressing his satisfaction at the favourable character of the report.

The long absence of the regiment from their native land was now at last to come to an end. On April 1st, 1881, the establishment was raised to 1047 of all ranks, and on the 6th inst. orders were received for an immediate removal to Edinburgh for the purpose of recruiting.

At 8 A.M. on May 24th they sailed on board the s.s. "Holland" from Portsmouth for Granton. After experiencing much difficulty in passing up the Forth owing to the dense fog, and at one time having narrowly escaped grounding, the vessel arrived safely at Granton on the 26th.

Disembarking at 6 P.M., the regiment met with a most enthusiastic reception, the streets and windows being thronged with spectators, many of whom had waited patiently from an early hour in the morning, as the "Holland" had been expected about 7 A.M. The Castle was reached at 7.30 P.M., when quarters were taken up after an absence from Edinburgh of twelve years.

On the 1st July, by Royal Warrant, regiments lost their numerical titles, and the 42nd, or Royal Highland Regiment, "The Black Watch," became The Black Watch (Royal Highlanders). The 73rd Perthshire regiment, which had originally been the 2d Battalion of the regiment, now again became 2d Battalion.

During the great Volunteer Review of 1881 the Black Watch were on the ground, and on that occasion Her Majesty visited the Castle, her last visit there having been made in 1842.

X.

1882-1886.

The Egyptian Campaign.

WITH the exception of movements of minor importance, the regiment remained in Edinburgh without incident until the 21st July 1882, when the battalion received orders to be held in immediate readiness for active service in the field, the destination being Egypt.

For long, affairs in that country had been in a most unsatisfactory state. The authority of the Khedive was being virtually set aside by the military party, led by Arabi Pasha, who, under pretence of patriotic motives, was trying to gratify his own ambition, and threatening to throw the country into a state of complete anarchy. The continuance of good government being of the utmost importance to England in view of monetary and other highly important considerations, interference was deemed necessary. It would be out of place here to enter into the details of political action at this time—suffice it to say that, after various diplomatic proceedings which have now become matter of history, a British fleet was despatched to Alexandria to enforce the Khedive's authority, and that, on the continued defiance of Arabi and his army, aggravated by a relentless massacre of Europeans, the campaign known as the Egyptian War was opened on July 11th, 1882, with the bombardment of the city by the fleet. Among the troops subsequently despatched

to follow up this action was the 42nd, whose part in the campaign will now be traced.

The strength of the regiment was as follows: Officers 31, warrant officers 1, sergeants 48, drummers 21, rank and file 701; total of all ranks, 802, which was made up partly by the reserves of 1881 and 1882, who contributed 188 men—the remainder of the battalion and reserves going to the 2nd battalion with Captains Moubray and Munroe. The regiment marched out of Edinburgh on the evening of the 7th of August, and proceeded by train to the Albert Docks, Woolwich, where it embarked on the s.s. "Nepaul" on the morning of the 8th of August, after having been inspected by His Royal Highness the Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief. The officers were as follows, viz.:—Colonel Duncan Macpherson, C.B., commanding; Lieut.-Col. W. Green, Major R. K. Bayly, Major A. F. Kidston, Major Walker Aitken, Major J. S. Walker, Captain R. C. Coveny, Captain G. M. Fox, Captain C. J. Eden, Captain A. G. Wauchope, C.M.G., Captain N. W. P. Brophy, Lieut. Edward Lee, Adjutant; Lieut. H. F. Elliot, Lieut. Lord A. Kennedy, Lieut. E. P. Campbell, Lieut. A. G. Duff, Lieut. Norman McLeod, Lieut. T. F. A. Kennedy (regimental transport officer), Lieut. F. L. Speid, Lieut. J. A. Park, Lieut. G. S. A. Harvey, Lieut. J. N. E. F. Livingston, 2d battalion; Lieut. J. G. Maxwell, Lieut. T. J. Graham Stirling, Lieut. James Home, Lieut. C. P. Livingstone, Lieut. K. M. N. Cox, Lieut. J. G. McNeill, Quartermaster John Forbes, Surgeon-Major C. T. Pollock, A.M.D.; Paymaster W. R. Thornhill (Captain), A.P.D.

The regiment sailed from Gravesend on the morning of the 9th inst., and on the 20th of August 1882 arrived in Alexandria harbour, where it disembarked, proceeding by train to Ramleh, and there joining the Highland Brigade under Major-General Sir Archibald Alison, K.C.B. This now consisted of the 1st battalion Black Watch, 2d battalion Highland Light Infantry, 1st Gordon Highlanders, and Cameron Highlanders—Lieut.-General Hamley commanding the whole division. At Ramleh it remained under canvas until the 30th August, when the

Highland Brigade was re-embarked—the 1st battalion Black Watch on board the s.s. "Nepaul,"—and proceeded to Port Said and through the Canal to Ismailia, which was reached on the evening of the 1st September. This movement was rendered necessary by the operations for the capture of Cairo, for the success of which it was important to obtain possession of Zagazig—some 45 miles west of Ismailia—which is the key of the railway system in Egypt, and also commands the great fresh water canal supplying all the stations along the railway from Suez to Zagazig and along the southern portion of the Suez Canal. Arabi Pasha, recognising the importance of the position, and having adopted Todleben's principle of advancing his works against the attacking forces, had pushed forward from Zagazig to Tel-el-Kebir (the great mound), 15 miles to the east, and there formed a strong, fortified camp, consisting of a line of solid intrenchments bound together with wattles, extending about 3½ miles from flank to flank, with, at intervals, bastions mounting guns. The parapet was 4 feet high, and in front was a ditch 6 feet wide and 4 deep, while some of the interior defences had ditches 10 feet deep. Behind this, on the south, another line of works turned off almost at right angles, extending backwards towards Arabi's camp.

The capture of this formidable position was the first important step in the campaign, and the part taken therein by the 42nd and the other regiments forming the Highland Brigade is now our immediate concern. Lieut.-General Sir Garnet Wolseley, the Commander-in-Chief of the expedition, having disguised his real plans by a concentration of his forces at Alexandria for a pretended attack on the forts at Aboukir, which were held in Arabi's interest, suddenly and rapidly changed his base of operations to Ismailia, near the middle of the Suez Canal; and by the time the Highland Brigade—after waiting eight days at Ismailia for the arrival of stores, &c.—landed on the evening of the 9th September, part of the British forces were firmly established—though not without some stubborn



The Black Watch charging the Intrenchments at Tel-el-Kebir.

fighting, both at El Magfa and at Kassassin itself—at Kassassin lock on the fresh water canal, about 21 miles west of Ismailia; and here the forces were concentrated for the advance on the lines of Tel-el-Kebir.

But little rest was granted to the Highlanders, as time was of the utmost importance. On the night of their landing they pushed across the desert to El Magfa, and, hard work as it was, “but very few fell out, and a little tea on arriving at the camping ground made the men comfortable, as they felt so done up that none cared to touch the biscuit, of which every one carried two days’ supply, but gladly lying down, with their haversacks for pillows, they turned their faces to the stars, and slept the sleep of the weary. After a short early march on the 10th (to Tel-Mahuta), they rested through the heat of the day, improvising shelter from the sun by hanging blankets across their rifles and bayonets, setting out again in the evening, and reaching Kassassin the following day.”

On the evening of the 12th September, the tents of the Kassassin camp were struck at nightfall, and the attacking forces moved forward into the desert, to bivouac for a short time, and then to start at such an hour as would bring them to the enemy’s lines at the proper time for attack—namely about daybreak. The Highland Brigade, 3000 strong, formed the left hand front portion of the attacking force, and was so placed as to be about 1000 yards in advance of the right hand portion. The formation was in column of half-battalions in double companies, with the Black Watch on the right; and the march began with distances of 40 to 50 yards between half-battalions, and of 150 to 200 yards between regiments; “but,” says Lieut-General Sir E. B. Hamley, “as it was most desirable that the men should march at ease, these intervals almost disappeared, and the brigade presented practically the appearance of two almost continuous lines, one about 50 yards behind the other, and occupying a front of about half a mile.” At half-past one A.M. the bivouac was broken up, and, almost immediately after, the advance began—all that was known of the enemy’s works being that they

were about five miles distant, and that they would be reached just at dawn. The Highland Brigade moved parallel to the railway and fresh water canal, and at a distance from them of about 2000 yards, and was guided in its westward march by Lieutenant Wyatt-Rawson, R.N., who rode opposite the centre of the brigade, and kept his course by the stars. Only one brief incident marked the march, when, on a short halt being called, the right and left wings advanced after the centre stopped, and, swinging round, “absolutely faced each other at a distance of some fifty yards.” Had either mistaken the other for a body of Egyptians, the result might have been serious; but the error was at once discovered and rectified. About a quarter before five on the morning of the 13th, just as signs of daybreak began to appear, a few scattered shots, the sound of a bugle in front, and a dark line looming above the sandhills, showed that the time had come. The order was at once given, “Fix bayonets!” and just as this was done the whole line of intrenchment in front was lit up by a blaze of rifle-fire. The order was to attack with the bayonet without firing, and “at the magic word ‘Charge!’ the whole brigade sprang to its feet and rushed straight at the blazing line.” The distance to be traversed was only some 150 yards, but in that short space nearly 200 men fell. The point attacked by the Highlanders was almost in the centre of the enemy’s line, and, occupying the highest ground, was, with the bastions on either side, the key to the whole position. Bearing the entire brunt of the earlier portion of the assault—for it attacked just before daybreak, while the right-hand portion of the attacking force was still over 1200 yards distant—and exposed to a heavy fire from almost overwhelming masses of Arabi’s troops, the brigade suffered a momentary check; but General Hamley met this by pushing forward some small bodies he had kept in reserve at the ditch, and on the arrival of the 60th and 46th regiments—which formed the reserve behind the Highland Brigade—he advanced with the whole body against the lines of intrenchment

already mentioned as leading back towards Arabi's camp. "Up the bank," says one of the Black Watch, "we went, and it was full of men, and they turned on us like rats in a trap; but the infantry did not stand long. However, honour to whom honour is due—the artillerymen stood to their guns like men, and we had to bayonet them. As soon as that job was done, I saw two regiments of cavalry forming up on the right. 'Prepare for cavalry' was given, and in less time than it takes to write this we formed in a square, and were waiting for them; but when they saw this they wheeled to the right-about and off; they would not face a square of Scottish steel." The fighting was indeed over, and all that remained for the Highlanders to do was to occupy Arabi's camp and capture the railway station. They "had done their work; they had secured a number of trains, the engines only escaping; had captured the immense commissariat stores and thousands of camels; and by seven o'clock had sat down comfortably to breakfast on the scene of the victory." The assault began at five minutes to five, the station was captured at half-past six, and at seven the whole brigade was again in order. "Thus," says General Hamley, "in that interval of time, the Highland Brigade had broken, under a tremendous fire, into the middle of the enemy's intrenchments; had maintained itself there in an arduous and dubious conflict for twenty minutes; had then captured two miles of works and batteries, piercing the enemy's centre, and loosening their whole system of defence; and had finished by taking the camp and the railway trains, and again assembling ready for any further enterprise. No doubt these troops were somewhat elated—perhaps even fancied that they had done something worthy of particular note and remembrance. And, in fact, the Scottish people may be satisfied with the bearing of those who represented them in the land of the Pharaohs."

The total loss of the second division was 258 killed and wounded—a large number as compared with the casualties among the other troops engaged. The losses of the Black Watch were:—

Killed—Lieut. T. J. Graham Stirling, Lieut. J. G. M'Neill, Sergeant-Major J. M'Neil. Died of wounds—Lieut. J. A. Park; 5 privates killed. Wounded—3 captains, 3 lieutenants, 4 sergeants, 33 rank and file. Lieut. Park survived his wound some three days.

On the afternoon of the same day the regiment proceeded by train to within a few miles of Zagazig, reaching that place on the morning of the 14th September, and Belbeis, an important junction on the edge of the Desert, that same evening. There the regiment remained without tents until the 23d September, when it proceeded by train to Camp Ghezireh near Cairo, and was again quartered with the Highland Brigade.

A gracious message was sent by the Queen congratulating the army on its victory, and at the same time the Commander-in-Chief in Egypt published a General Order congratulating the army on its success against the enemy all through the campaign; . . .

"and finally on the 13th September at Tel-el-Kebir, when after an arduous night-march it inflicted upon him an overwhelming defeat, taking his strongly entrenched position at the point of the bayonet, and capturing all his guns, about 60 in number. In recapitulating the events which marked this short and decisive campaign, the General Commanding-in-Chief feels proud to place upon record the fact that these brilliant achievements are to be ascribed to the high military courage and noble devotion to duty which have animated all ranks under his command, called upon to show discipline under exceptional privations, to give proof of fortitude in extreme toil, and to show contempt of danger in battle.

"The general officers, officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of the army have responded with zealous alacrity, adding another chapter to the long roll of British victories.

"This order to be read at the head of every regiment on three successive parades."

On the 30th of September the regiment took part in a great review of the British army quartered in Cairo, when the army corps marched past before H.H. the Khedive of Egypt, and the Black Watch had the honour of receiving the second cheer of the day, the first having been given to the Naval Brigade.

On the 6th of October, Lieut.-General Sir E. Hamley bade farewell to the Highland Brigade in the following words, which were, by his order, read at a parade of each regiment:—"Lieut.-General Sir E. Hamley wishes to assure the Highland Brigade that there is no point in his military life to which

he will look back with so much satisfaction and pride, as to the day when he had the good fortune to be the leader of the 2d division at the battle of Tel-el-Kebir."

Except the sending of a company for three days to Tel-el-Kebir to bury the dead, and the reception of a draft from Cyprus, consisting of 4 sergeants, 5 corporals, 2 drummers, and 140 privates—under Captain Moubray, with Lieuts. Silver and Moulton-Barrett of the 2d battalion—nothing of importance occurred till the 21st October, when Sir Archibald Alison paraded the Highland Brigade, and after addressing them on parade, issued the following Brigade Morning Order:—

"Major-General Sir A. Alison cannot quit the Highland Brigade without expressing his sincere thanks to the officers commanding regiments for the assistance and support which he has uniformly received from them, and to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men for the admirable conduct in quarters, and their brilliant gallantry in the field, during the brief but stirring period of his command. The campaign which has just closed is one which will not soon be forgotten in the annals of European war, and the Highland Brigade was fortunate enough to be permitted to take a distinguished part in it. He does not think he will be accused of partiality when he says that the steadiness of the Brigade throughout the night march, and the determined courage shown in the storming of the works of Tel-el-Kebir, is not unworthy as a deed of arms of the descendants of that historical brigade which Sir Colin Campbell led up the slopes of Alma."

On the same day Major-General Graham assumed command of the Brigade.

For the campaign the following officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates were recommended for distinguished conduct in the field:—Colonel D. Macpherson, C.B., Lieut.-Colonel W. Green, Major R. Coveny, Captain G. Fox, Colour-Sergeant J. Young, Colour-Sergt. T. Watt, Private W. M'Donald; and the following officers received their promotion: Major R. Coveny to be Brevet Lieut.-Colonel, and Lieut. and Quartermaster Forbes to be Captain; and the following decorations were bestowed by H.H. the Khedive: Colonel Duncan Macpherson, C.B., the 3d class of the Medjidieh; Lieut.-Colonel W. Green, 4th class of Osmanlie; Lieut.-Col. R. K. Bayly, 4th class of Osmanlie; and Major A. F. Kidston, 4th class of Osmanlie.

On 21st November 1882, the regiment

broke up camp at Ghezireh and proceeded to take up its quarters at Kasr-el-Nil.

On 1st December, by Her Majesty's special command, the following General Order was published:—

"H.R.H. the Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief has received the Queen's command to convey to General Sir Garnet J. Wolseley, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., &c., and the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of all the branches of the Expeditionary Forces, Her Majesty's admiration of their conduct during the recent campaign, in which she has great satisfaction in feeling that her son, Major-General H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, took an active part.

"The troops of all ranks, in the face of obstacles of no ordinary character, have shown a marked devotion to duty. For a time without shelter, in the desert under a burning sun, in a climate proverbially adverse to Europeans, their courage and discipline were nobly maintained throughout; and to this, under brave and experienced leaders, may be attributed the success which has distinguished this campaign.

"The defeat of the enemy in every engagement, including the brilliant cavalry charge of Kassassin, culminated in the action of Tel-el-Kebir, in which, after an arduous night-march, his position was carried at the point of the bayonet, his guns were captured, and his whole army, notwithstanding his great numerical superiority, was completely dispersed."

On 12th December, Colonel Duncan Macpherson, C.B., whose term of command had expired, handed over the charge of the regiment to Lieut.-Col. W. Green. Colonel Macpherson, on leaving the regiment, stated in Regimental Orders

"that he could not leave the regiment without expressing his deep sorrow at relinquishing his position as commanding officer of a regiment any officer would be as proud as he is of having command. His greatest wish as a subaltern was that one day he might succeed to the command of the regiment with which he has been connected for years; and he is proud to say that his wish has been accomplished, having had the honour to command the regiment in two campaigns, the last of which has added another page to the glorious history of the Black Watch. To Lieut.-Col. Green, Lieut.-Col. Bayly, and the officers of the regiment generally, he begs to tender his best thanks for the cordial support he has received from them in maintaining discipline and the high character the regiment has always borne. To Lieut. Lee his special thanks are due for his unwearied zeal displayed in performing the arduous duties of adjutant. He also begs to tender his best thanks to Captain Forbes, quartermaster, whose excellent services deserve his highest commendation.

"To the late Sergt.-Major M'Neil, who fell at Tel-el-Kebir nobly doing his duty, his thanks would have been conveyed had he survived; to the present sergt.-major and non-commissioned officers he, in bidding them farewell, thanks them one and all for their uniform good behaviour and gallantry.

"To the rank and file he begs to say that he hopes they will continue to have the same *esprit de corps* which has earned the approbation of H.R.H. the

Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief, and of the various generals under whom they have served and carried the colours of the Black Watch to victory."

The Egyptian medals for the campaign of 1882 were presented to the men by the Lieut.-Colonel Commanding on 26th February; Lieut.-General Sir Archibald Alison, who had been requested to present them, being unable to undertake the duty. The following is an extract taken from his reply to Lieut.-Colonel Green:—

"There is no regiment in the army to which I would present medals with such sincere pleasure as the Black Watch. In two campaigns they have been in my brigade, and I have been with them in three actions. I am sorry to say, however, that my doctor gives me no hope of being able to name any time when I could do so."

The gratuity for the Egyptian campaign of 1882 was issued to the men on 22d March, sergeants receiving from £8 to £4, corporals from £3, privates from £2.

On 13th April, grey serge frocks became the marching and walking out dress of the battalion in Egypt; and on the 16th, F company, under Major Aitken, was sent on detachment duty to Ismailia, which place it left for Port Said on 15th May.

Except for a brief period, the Black Watch continued till the 14th February 1884 to form part of the Army of Occupation at Cairo, and shared in the praises bestowed on it by both H.E. the Earl of Dufferin and Lieut.-General Sir A. Alison. The former, in a letter addressed to the Lieut.-General Commanding at Cairo, said:—

"Before quitting Egypt, there is one more duty I feel it incumbent upon me to perform, namely, to acquaint you with the pride and satisfaction with which I have observed the bearing of the officers and men of the British Army of Occupation in Cairo during the last six months. Their sobriety and unobtrusive and orderly behaviour, and the good-humoured and friendly manner in which they treat the natives, has done more than anything else to convince the Egyptian people of the amicable feelings with which we were actuated towards them. If it were not too presumptuous a request, I should be very much obliged if you would make known to the officers and men under your distinguished command the deep sense of obligation which I feel toward them."

Lieut.-General Sir A. Alison, K.C.B., relinquished the command of the troops in Egypt on 13th May, and published the following Order:—

"The Lieut.-General Commanding cannot quit Egypt without tendering his best thanks to the Generals commanding brigades, to the officers of the staff and departments, to the officers commanding regiments and corps, and to all the officers serving under their orders, for the ready support he has uniformly received from them; to the non-commissioned officers and men for their admirable conduct during this, the first period of the occupation, a conduct which has called forth from Lord Dufferin those graceful and generous words of commendation which have appeared in a recent General Order.

"The Lieut.-General feels proud at having had under him such a body of officers and men, and he will ever look upon his command in Egypt as one of the happiest periods of his life.

"In handing over the command to his successor the Lieut.-General hopes that the same good conduct and kindly feeling towards the natives which have distinguished our Army of Occupation will continue undiminished. He wishes all health and happiness to the troops to whom he now bids farewell."

But few incidents of importance marked the period of the stay at Cairo. On the 18th May the regiment had to mourn the loss of Captain and Adjutant E. Lee, who died of typhoid fever. On the 24th of May, on the occasion of the review in Mehemet Ali Square in honour of Her Majesty's birthday, the Royal Highlanders trooped the Queen's colour, and in the following terms the Major-General Commanding, Sir Gerald Graham, V.C., K.C.B., expressed by letter to the commanding officer his satisfaction at the way in which the ceremony had been performed by the Battalion.

"The steadiness of the Battalion throughout was all that could be desired, and reflects great credit on all ranks."

On the 29th May Lieut.-General Stephenson, C.B.,—who had assumed command of the troops in Egypt on his arrival at Cairo on the 26th,—inspected the Battalion on its private parade, and on the following day expressed to the commanding officer his approval of the smart and clean appearance of the regiment on parade, and the cleanliness and order of the barrack-rooms generally.

Cholera having broken out at Cairo on the 15th July, the whole regiment was moved to Suez on the 20th, except G company under Captain Eden, which went to a cholera camp at Heluan on the 23d, leaving at Cairo one sergeant and eight rank and file. At Suez the regiment formed a cholera camp, in which it remained till the 16th August, when it proceeded to Geneffe by half Bat-

talions, and remained in camp there until 3d September, thereafter returning to its quarters in Kasr-el-Nil, Cairo, where it was rejoined by F and G companies under Major Aitken and Captain Eden from Port Said and Heluan respectively.

On the 7th January the Annual Inspection of the regiment by Major-General Sir Gerald Graham, V.C., K.C.B., commanding the Brigade, took place; and on the 13th February, by Local General Orders of that date, the regiment was ordered to hold itself in immediate readiness to proceed to Suakim as part of a field force under Major-General Sir Gerald Graham, V.C., K.C.B., which was to operate in the Eastern Soudan, such an expedition being deemed necessary for the relief of a number of Egyptian garrisons beset by Soudanese tribes who had rebelled against the Egyptian Government.

On 14th February the regiment paraded at 6 A.M. in marching order, all present, and proceeded to Suez, where it embarked on board H.M.S. "Orontes" for Suakim. On arriving off that port, orders were given to proceed on shipboard to Trinkitat, which was reached on the 19th, the disembarkation taking place on the 21st, late in the evening. The regimental transport, under Lieut. T. F. Kennedy, which had been sent from Suez in the s.s. "Næra," was delayed by that vessel running aground 20 miles off Suakim, but, after transference to H.M.S. "Hecla," reached Trinkitat in safety on the 27th.

On the 29th February, at about 8.30 A.M., the Force proceeded to the relief of Tokar in the following order of march, which was also to be that of battle:—

ORDER OF MARCH.—*1st Brigade*, under Major-General Sir R. Buller, V.C., C.B., K.C.M.G.

The 1st Gordon Highlanders, when halted, in line; when advancing, in column of companies.

The 2d Battalion Royal Irish Fusileers, forming the right face of the square at a distance of twenty-five yards from the right of the Gordon Highlanders, in open column of companies.

The 3d Battalion King's Royal Rifles, in

open column of companies, in rear of the right of the Gordon Highlanders, twenty-five paces to the left of the Royal Irish Fusileers.

2d Brigade, under Major-General J. Davis.

The 1st Battalion York and Lancaster Regiment forming left face of the square on the left flank of the Gordon Highlanders, at twenty-five yards interval, in open column of companies.

The Royal Marines, in open column of companies, twenty-five yards to the right of the York and Lancaster Regiment.

The 1st Battalion The Black Watch in line, when halted forming rear face, and twenty-five yards to the rear of the right and left faces of the square; on the march advancing in line.

The Naval Brigade in two detachments of three guns each; the right detachment on the right of the Gordon Highlanders, the left detachment on the left of the Gordon Highlanders.

The Royal Artillery, in two half-batteries. Three guns in rear of the King's Royal Rifles; four guns in rear of the Royal Marines.

The Royal Engineers detachment in rear of the Gordon Highlanders.

The Cavalry Brigade, under Colonel H. Stewart, C.B., in rear, and placed so as to avoid masking the infantry fire, with the exception of two squadrons covering the advance of the Force.

At 11 A.M. the enemy were observed drawn up in position, covering the wells of El Teb, and parallel to the line of advance on Tokar, and about 11.15 A.M. their guns opened on the British square, which was in the act of marching past the enemy's left flank at some six or seven hundred yards' distance, with the object of turning his position. Though this fire rapidly took effect, the march was continued in silence until the square was opposite the enemy's left flank, on which the attack was to be delivered, the original left side of the square being now the front. The British guns then opened, and about 11.45 A.M. the two-gun battery on which the enemy's left rested was captured. A further change of direction converted the original rear of the square into its front, and thus the Black

Watch and the York and Lancaster Regiment bore the brunt of the Arab charges. To the former fell the main attack on the right and centre of the enemy's position, just where his chief strength lay, for it was protected by skilfully-constructed rifle-pits, defended by resolute men, ready to die rather than give way.

The struggle was a fierce one, nor were the pits carried until all their gallant defenders had been shot down. Many brave deeds were done, and for one such act of cool and daring courage, Lieut. Norman M'Leod was recommended by the Commanding Officer for the Victoria Cross. That night the regiment, with the rest of the force, bivouacked on the field of battle.

The casualties were: Killed or died of wounds—4 privates. Wounded—4 sergeants, 1 corporal, 17 privates, Lieut. N. M'Leod, Lieut. Wolrige Gordon.

On the following day the force proceeded to Tokar, six companies of the regiment remaining in garrison at El Teb under Lieut.-Col. Green. The remainder, under Lieut.-Col. Bayly, accompanied the force, and before they marched off the Major-General Commanding addressed these two companies, speaking in the highest terms of approbation of the gallant conduct of the regiment when in action on the previous day.

On the 2d March the detachment under Lieut.-Colonel Bayly returned to Headquarters, and on the 4th, the regiment returned to its camp at Trinkitat. On the 6th it embarked on the s.s. "Teddington," and returned to Suakim, which was reached on the 7th, and there the regiment remained till the 10th, when, new operations having become necessary, it marched to Baker's Zareba, and was joined there by the rest of the expeditionary force on the 11th.

On 12th March, about 1 p.m., the whole force, with the exception of one company 1st Battalion Black Watch, under Major Kidston, which remained to guard the post, marched some six miles inland, encamping that evening at No. 2 Zareba, in close proximity to the enemy, who, during the night, opened an irritating fire on the square,

and kept it up, with little intermission, until daylight. This fire, though excessively annoying, was not replied to, and did very little harm.

The force to be engaged in the coming battle of Tamaai was the same as that which fought at El Teb; but on this occasion each brigade was to form a separate square, and these were to advance in *échelon*, with an interval of 300 yards—the 2d Brigade leading; and Major-General Sir Gerald Graham, Commanding the Forces, accompanied the leading square. Part of the front and the left side of the square was formed by the Black Watch; the rest of the front and the right side by the York and Lancaster Regiment; and the rear by the Royal Marines. The Naval Brigade, with their Gatling and Gardner guns, occupied the centre of the front.

Immediately after the advance commenced, the enemy opened a well-sustained fire from a ravine about 900 yards in front, and the mounted infantry, who had been covering the front, retired. When about 150 yards from the ravine, Major-General Sir Gerald Graham, who was in the 2d Brigade square, and riding alongside the officer commanding the Black Watch, ordered him to charge, an order which was promptly obeyed. The enemy at once disappeared from the front, and when within a few paces of the ravine, Lieut.-Col. Green halted the battalion, wheeled the companies on the left flank into line, and had the whole regiment carefully dressed, there being no enemy before them to prevent this. The officers were then ordered to the front to keep down unnecessary fire.

When the order was given to the officer commanding the Black Watch to charge, no such order was conveyed to the other officers commanding corps forming the square, and the result was, that when the Black Watch charged, the York and Lancaster Regiment of their own accord, and without orders, hurried their pace to keep up, which, as a matter of course, they were imperfectly able to do. The consequence was, that when the square halted, there were gaps in front. The enemy, keen to remark

a blunder, saw their chance, and attacked where the gaps were to be seen. So soon as the attack had been developed, D Company (Captain Stephenson) of the Black Watch was brought up at right angles to the front face, and thence opened a very effective fire on the enemy, until the Naval Brigade were able to bring their Gatlings and Gardners into action, when the company was brought back into its place in the square. The morning being dull, the smoke of the machine guns hung about so heavily that it was impossible to see across the square what was going on. Presently a shout was heard, and it was observed that the enemy had broken into the square, and were rushing in great numbers to attack the Black Watch in rear. The commanding officer had hardly time to turn the battalion about, when a desperate struggle commenced. Nothing could have exceeded the bravery and cool discipline of all ranks, and although many were young soldiers, with their rifles loaded, they obeyed orders, and fought only with the bayonet, readily realising how dangerous it would be for their comrades, and the men of the York and Lancaster Regiment, many of whom had been forced back fighting, if they fired.

The four companies of the regiment forming part of the original front face of the square were now compelled to retire. Attacked on all sides, they got into clusters contesting every inch of ground, and supported to some extent by the three companies on the left side, who, in retiring to their left rear, were able to show a better front; and thus gradually the regiment was able to reform. The Gatlings, however, had for the moment to be left in the hands of the enemy, but the sailors manning them had, before retiring, rendered them useless. The 1st Brigade, however, moved up steadily, and as soon as protected by its fire, Davis's Brigade rallied, and, advancing again in good order, the guns were in a very few minutes recaptured. The loss of officers and non-commissioned officers was, however, heavy. "When a square is pierced," says a military critic, "though only in one place, the usual result is hopeless confusion and disaster. Not

a man of the square can fire a shot against the enemy rampaging within, without running the risk of shooting a comrade; and it is in the highest degree creditable to the troops composing the broken square [at Tamaai], as it would have been to the hardiest of veterans in a like case, that they were able to rally so soon from the helpless and confused mass to which for some doubtful minutes they were reduced." The struggle was hard while it lasted, but "at length the terrible fire of the breechloaders prevailed over valour as brilliant and heroic as was ever witnessed," and the enemy were compelled slowly and unwillingly to give way. The 1st Brigade advanced across the ravine to the village of Tamaai, which was burnt, thereafter returning to the wells; and about 4 P.M. the whole force retired to the zareba which they had left in the morning, where the dead were buried in the dark.

The casualties in the battle were as follows: Killed—Major Walker Aitken, 8 sergeants, 1 drummer, 50 privates. Wounded—Lieut.-Col. W. Green, Captain N. W. Brophy, Lieut. D. A. M'Leod, 1 sergeant, 3 corporals, 22 privates.

The regiment returned to Suakim on the 14th March, and remained there encamped in its old lines until 24th March. On 13th March the following telegram from Her Majesty to the Major-General Commanding was published:—"Congratulate you on success to-day, and express warm thanks to all engaged, as well as deep sorrow at loss, and much anxiety for wounded;" while on the same date the Adjutant-General, Lord Wolseley, telegraphed:—"Well done, old comrades of the Black Watch."

At about 1 P.M. on 25th March the whole force marched out of Suakim by the Sincat road to a zareba which had been constructed 10 miles out by the 1st Gordon Highlanders. There it encamped for the night, and on the following morning Major-General Sir R. Buller proceeded to the front with the 1st Brigade, the Black Watch and 3rd King's Royal Rifles joining at dusk at a newly-constructed zareba some five miles off.

At daylight on 27th March the force advanced—three companies of the 3rd King's Royal Rifles being left in the zareba—with

the object of reaching the wells of Tamaniéb, and also of feeling for the enemy. The wells were occupied without any casualties, and the village of Tamaniéb, consisting of about 300 huts, was burned, the whole force returning thereafter to the zareba, and on the morning of the 28th to Suakim, where the regiment remained until 1st April, when it embarked on board H.M.S. "Orontes" for Suez. The regiment disembarked on 7th April 1884, and arriving at Cairo on the same day, returned to its old quarters at Kasr-el-Nil.

The names of the officers who took part in the campaign in the Eastern Soudan, 1884, are:—Lieut.-Col. W. Green, Commanding (wounded); Lieut.-Col. R. K. Bayly, Major A. F. Kidston, Major W. Aitken (killed); Major R. C. Coveny, Bt.-Lieut.-Colonel; Major C. J. Eden, Captain A. G. Wauchope, C.M.G., served on staff (wounded); Captain N. W. P. Brophy (wounded); Captain A. Scott Stevenson (joined at Suakim, 7th April 1884), Captain H. F. Elliot, Lieut. Lord A. Kennedy, Lieut. A. G. Duff (Adjutant), Lieut. N. M'Leod, Lieut. T. F. A. Kennedy, Lieut. F. L. Speid, Lieut. J. Home, Lieut. C. P. Livingstone (with mounted infantry), Lieut. A. C. Bald, Lieut. N. Cuthbertson, Lieut. D. A. M'Leod, Lieut. A. G. Ferrier-Kerr, Lieut. W. G. Wolrige-Gordon, Lieut. J. Macrae (joined at Suakim, 12th March 1884), Quartermaster C. Sinclair.

Those mentioned in despatches—Lieut.-Col. Green decorated with C.B., Major Kidston promoted Bt.-Lieut.-Col., Major Eden promoted Bt.-Lieut.-Col., Major Wauchope promoted Bt.-Lieut.-Col., Major Aitken would have been promoted, Captain Brophy promoted to Brevet-Major, Sergeant Sutherland, distinguished-conduct medal; Sergeant Davidson, distinguished-conduct medal; Private Shires, distinguished-conduct medal; Drummer Mumford, distinguished-conduct medal; Private Edwards, Victoria Cross.

The following Order was issued by Lieut.-General Stephenson, C.B., on the return of the troops:—

"The operations of the Expeditionary Force being now brought to a close, the Lieut.-General Commanding, in welcoming the troops on their return to quarters, congratulates officers and men of all ranks

upon the brilliant successes which, under their brilliant commander, they have obtained during the late campaign. He thanks them, not only for the good name which will attach to the Army of Occupation in Egypt through their gallant conduct, but also for the additional lustre which they have shed upon the whole British Army."

On 26th May 1884 a telegram from the Secretary of State for War was published, notifying that the Egyptian medal, with a clasp bearing the word "Suakim," was to be given to the troops who took part in the recent operations near that place. Those who had the medal were to receive the clasp. A gratuity of £2 per man was also to be given. Sergeants, £4; corporals, £3.

On 4th July, the following extract from General Order 99 of 1884 was published for general information:—

"I. The Queen has been graciously pleased to signify her pleasure that the Egyptian medal (pattern of 1882) be granted to those of Her Majesty's forces engaged in the recent operations in the neighbourhood of Suakim, under the command of Major-General Sir Gerald Graham, K.C.B., V.C., who have not previously received it, and a clasp inscribed to those who have. II. Her Majesty has further approved of a clasp being issued to all those who were actually present at either or both of the actions on 29th February and 13th March. This clasp will be inscribed 'El Teb—Tamaai' for those who were in both actions, and 'El Teb' or 'Tamaai' for those who were in one or other, but not in both."

The regiment was inspected by Major-General Davis, C.B., on 26th August, and on 16th September by General Lord Wolseley, G.C.B., who, after the inspection, addressed the battalion as follows:—

"Black Watch,—I am very glad of this chance of again meeting you. I have often been with you before, in Ashantee, in Cyprus, and in the Egyptian campaign; and, as I say, I am proud and glad to be once more associated with you. During the late campaign in the Eastern Soudan you were opposed to a most brave and determined enemy. You will believe me when I tell you that the people at home, and not only your own countrymen, were proud of the gallant way in which you upheld the honour of your splendid and historic regiment; and there was no one in all England, I can assure you, thought more of you than I did. Colonel Bayly, officers, and men, I am proud of the highly-efficient state in which you have turned out this morning. It reflects the highest credit on all of you.

"In the coming campaign I do not think there will be much fighting, but there will be very hard work, and I shall want you to show that you can work hard as well as fight. If there is any fighting to be done, I know that I have only to call on the Black Watch, and you will behave as you have always done."

The "coming campaign" referred to was the expedition up the Nile for the relief of

General Gordon and the garrison at Khar-toum, and on the evening of the 23d September the regiment proceeded by rail to Assiout, there to embark for conveyance to Assouan in two steamers and four barges. The strength was:—20 officers, 1 warrant officer, 39 sergeants, 14 drummers, 624 rank and file. The officers were:—Col. and Lieut.-Col. W. Green, Lieut.-Col. R. K. Bayly, Major and Brevet-Lieut.-Col. A. F. Kidston, Major and Brevet-Lieut.-Col.

Mounted Infantry), Lieut. A. C. Bald, Lieut. D. A. McLeod, Lieut. T. Souter, Lieut. A. G. Ferrier-Kerr, Lieut. W. G. Wolrige-Gordon, Lieut. J. Macrae, Lieut. G. H. Galbraith, Lieut. H. Rose, Lieut. D. L. Wilson, Quartermaster C. Sinclair, Paymaster W. R. Thornhill (Major), Chaplain Rev. J. M. Taggart.

On 5th October 1884 the regiment arrived at Assouan, and disembarked on the following morning, but, owing to two cases of smallpox among the men, had to march two miles down the river, and to encamp in a palm grove on the banks of the Nile, where it remained in quarantine until the 12th November, when the real forward movement for the relief of General Gordon commenced as far as the Black Watch were concerned.

When Lord Wolseley determined to advance to the relief of Khar-toum and General Gordon in whale-boats along the Nile, the British soldier—"capable of going anywhere and doing anything"—had for the nonce to convert himself into a boatman; and that he had much to learn in this capacity may be gathered from one of the jokes familiar to the expeditionary force, to the effect that the man at the helm, on receiving the order "Put your helm down," immediately proceeded to place the tiller in the bottom of the boat, and to await further orders! The boats provided were about 30 feet long,



Brigadier-General W. Green, C.B.

From a Photograph.

R. C. Coveny, Major and Brevet-Lieut.-Col. C. J. Eden, Major and Brevet-Lieut.-Col. A. G. Wauchope, C.M.G.; Captain and Brevet-Major N. W. P. Brophy, Captain W. H. H. Moubray, Captain H. F. Elliot, Lieut. Lord A. Kennedy, Lieut. A. G. Duff (Adjutant), Lieut. T. F. A. Kennedy, Lieut. F. L. Speid, Lieut. G. Silver, 2d battalion; Lieut. P. J. C. Livingstone, Lieut. St G. E. W. Burton, 2d battalion; Lieut. T. M. M. Berkeley, 2d battalion; Lieut. J. H. Home, Lieut. C. P. Livingstone (with

7 feet beam, and with a draught of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. As the boats were destined each to be self-supporting, they had, when finally loaded, provisions, ammunition, and ordnance and commissariat stores for 14 men for one hundred days, these not to be touched until the river column should concentrate at Hamdab. Extra rations for immediate consumption were also carried, these being replenished from the different commissariat stations then in course of formation along the line of the river to Hamdab. Consequently, it was not unusual

for the whale-boats to be carrying practically 120 days' rations and other stores, with reserve ammunition, for 14 men, with a crew of about eight men in each boat; and this obtained as far as Korti, about 600 miles away, where the last redistribution of crews and lading of the boats was destined to take place. Each boat was also accompanied by a Canadian voyageur as pilot.

For easy reference the river may be divided into the following sections :

1st Section, Cairo to Assiout, . . .	229 miles.
2d ,, Assiout to Assouan, here 1st Cataract, . . .	325 ,,
3d ,, Assouan to Wady Halfa, here 2d Cataract, . . .	233 ,,
4th ,, Wady Halfa Sarras to Sarkametto, . . .	93 ,,
5th ,, Sarkametto to Abu-Fatmeh, . . .	127 ,,
6th ,, Abu-Fatmeh to New Dongola, . . .	60 ,,
7th ,, New Dongola to Korti, . . .	112 ,,
8th ,, Korti to Hamdab, . . .	33 ,,
9th ,, Hamdab to Huella, . . .	105 ,,

From Cairo to Wady Halfa there was but little difficulty, the journey being made partly by rail and partly by sailing diabehas, the last company leaving Assouan on the 22d November. At Wady Halfa, or rather at Sarras—17 miles to the southward—the real difficulties were, however, to commence, and here the regiment embarked in the 84 whale-boats provided for them.

As the Nile between Sarras and Sarkametto rushes through the gates of Semneh, the cataracts of Wady Attireh, Ambigol, Tanjour, Ockma, Akashch, and Dal, it had always been reported by travellers, as well as by natives, as in most parts impracticable for boats even at high Nile. It may be imagined that with a falling river the dangers and difficulties were increased, for boats were continually striking sunk rocks and springing leaks, which necessitated their being hauled up on the river bank, unloaded of their tons of stores, and then repaired by the soldiers themselves, for there was no one else to do it. In this section, too, the boats generally had to be tracked over the swift water, which was very painful for the men, the constant hauling causing bad sores on their hands; and yet this difficult and very trying time saw the regiment in

splendid health and spirits, a circumstance greatly due to the quantity and excellent quality of the rations served out then, as indeed all through the expedition. As for clothes the trews were worn out in a fortnight, and there was no possibility of their being replaced. The men therefore rowed in grey suits, reserving the kilts and red serges.

The reach of the river between Sarkametto and Abu-Fatmeh was easier, but yet the difficulties at the cataracts of Amara, Shaban, and Hannek will not soon be forgotten by those who had to encounter them. From Abu-Fatmeh to New Dongola sailing and rowing combined was more or less the order of the day, comparatively little tracking being required; and the progress made was rapid, several companies having completed in this stretch over thirty miles a day, and this against a swift and constant current, which, with the squally nature of the wind, made the navigation difficult and dangerous; and yet it was not until Dongola had been passed, on the reach from that place to Korti, that the first fatal accident took place, when Major Brophy was drowned through the swamping of his boat when under sail.

In the first week of January 1885 the leading companies of the regiment arrived at Korti, and on 13th January the headquarters rowed into Hamdab with 54 boats. By the 20th the whole regiment was once more together at the latter place, forming—with the South Staffordshire, the 2d Battalion of the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry, the 1st Battalion of the Gordon Highlanders, one squadron of the 19th Hussars, an Egyptian Battery of six 7-pounders, an Egyptian Camel Corps, and a section of Engineers and Bluejackets—the Nile River Column, under Major-General Earle, and intended to advance on Khartoum by Berber.

On the 24th January the column advanced from Hamdab, and on the 25th the right half battalion was on the further side of the Edermih Cataract, the left getting through on the following day. This cataract appeared to the force as difficult a one as any yet surmounted.

On the 27th the Kab-el-Abd Cataract was passed, but the river seemed to be getting worse and worse, and it was only by the daring skill of the Canadian voyageurs and the constant toil of the whole force, that the boats were got over this cataract, as well as those of Rahami and Gamra, which latter place is about seven miles distant from Birti. At Gamra the regiment bivouacked on 3d February.

It was at first believed that the enemy would make a stand at Birti, but on that place being reached on the 4th February it was found to be deserted. The advance continued on the 5th, and on that evening the 1st South Staffordshire and the Black Watch bivouacked at Castle Camp, some seven miles further on, where the men were employed in destroying the wells of the country, as a punishment to the Arabs of the Monassir district, who were known to have been concerned in the murder of Colonel Stewart. At Castle Camp the two advanced regiments, the South Staffordshire and the Black Watch, remained for three days, no forward movement taking place until 10 A.M. on the 8th February, when this force advanced to Dulka Island, which it reached on the evening of 9th February, with the exception of G company of the regiment, left at Castle Camp with the Duke of Cornwall's Regiment, the Gordon Highlanders being still at Birti.

It was evident on the evening of the 9th that the enemy was in force some 2000 yards in front, occupying a high rocky ridge near the river, but at right angles to it, and completely commanding the entrance of the Shokook Pass, through which defile the boats had to go. There was nothing for it, therefore, but to drive the Arabs from their strong position, and, if possible, give them a lesson which would at least rid the army of their presence during its advance through the Shokook Pass. The necessary preparations were soon made, and the kilts and red serges taken out of the boats, for it had been decided before that red was to be the fighting dress of the River Column.

The night passed without any unusual incident, and at 6.45 A.M. on the 10th the force,

consisting of six companies of the South Staffordshire, six companies of the 1st Black Watch, the squadron of the 19th Hussars, and the native Camel Corps, marched out of camp, which was left in charge of Lieut.-Colonel Eden, and one company of the Highlanders, with the section of Royal Engineers and Bluejackets, who guarded the boats and baggage.

Two companies of the South Staffordshire, with two guns, under Lieut.-Colonel Alleyne, R.A., with orders to hold the enemy in front if possible, had preceded the main body under the Major-General Commanding, which was to turn the enemy's position, and get into his rear.

About 8.45 A.M. the outer flank of the enemy was reached without a shot being fired, and the column then changed direction, so that soon it was marching back towards the river, the force being thus placed between the Arabs and their line of retreat, their only chance of flight being now across the river to their left.

On Colonel Alleyne's guns opening fire at 9.15 the Arabs immediately began to reply hotly and with good aim, but happily, a rocky ledge, to which the column advanced, screened and protected it from the fire.

The enemy were seen at this time in large numbers escaping across the river, but the standards flying defiantly on the rocky ridge and koppies, or hillocks, overhanging the Nile itself, where the broken ground had been strengthened by loop-holed walls, told that there the Dervishes were determined to stand out to the bitter end.

The British line, which was by this time completely in the rear of the enemy, with the flank resting on the Nile, now advanced, and Major-General Earle, finding that it was impossible to dislodge the Arabs by musketry fire alone, "gave orders for the Black Watch to carry the position with the bayonet. The regiment responded gallantly to the order. The pipers struck up, and with a cheer the Black Watch moved forward, with a steadiness and valour which the enemy was unable to resist, and which called forth the admiration of the General. From the loop-holed

walls the rifle puffs shot out continuously; but without a check the Black Watch advanced, scaled the rocks, and at the point of the bayonet drove the enemy from their shelter." Meanwhile the cavalry had captured the enemy's camp, and the South Staffordshire Regiment having gallantly stormed the last remaining portion of the ridge, the battle of Kirbekan was won. General Earle was unfortunately killed on the very summit, just at the close of the general assault, and the Black Watch lost Lieut.-Colonel Coveny and 5 men killed, Lieut.-Colonel Wauchope and 21 non-commissioned officers and men wounded. At sunset the bodies of General Earle, Colonel Eyre, and Colonel Coveny were buried side by side in deep graves, the men by the river bank where they had fallen.

The command now devolved on Major-General H. Brackenbury, C.B.; and on the morning of 11th February the advance was resumed, the troops beginning to pass through the troublesome rapid close to the Island of Dulka, and then for seven miles through the Shokook Pass, with its great black rocks frowning on the river. At the end of the pass the two very difficult cataracts of Uss and Sherrari were encountered; but in spite of all difficulties, the boats with sick and wounded arrived on 18th February at Salamat, the headquarters of Sulieman Wad Gamir, the chief of the Monassirs, and the individual responsible for the cruel murder of Colonel Stewart while descending the Nile from Khartoum.

The Gordon Highlanders having again joined the force, it was now once more complete; and opposite to Hebbeh the whole column crossed from the left to the right bank of the Nile—an operation which was completed by the 21st, with the loss of only three camels and one donkey.

Everywhere about Hebbeh, which was the scene of Colonel Stewart's murder—his wrecked steamer still lying here—the wells and all the property that could be got at were destroyed by order of the General Commanding.

Thence to the next station, El Kab, the
II.

current was very swift; but so well did the men row that no tracking was required, and the distance, some seven miles, was done by the 215 boats of the force in wonderfully quick time, and so was the journey of the following day—some ten miles over swift water—to Huella, which was reached by an early hour in the afternoon of 23d February.

This was destined to be the furthest point to which the expedition was to penetrate. On 25th January 1885 Khartoum had fallen; on 13th February Sir Redvers Buller, with the Desert Column, had evacuated Gubat, and therefore the reason for the occupation of Berber by the River Column had practically ceased, and in consequence of this the Commander-in-Chief had sent a message to the Nile Column ordering it to return. This messenger arrived at Huella on the morning of 24th February, when the message of Lord Wolseley was read to the troops:

"Please express to the troops Lord Wolseley's high appreciation of their gallant conduct in action, and of the military spirit they have displayed in overcoming the great difficulties presented by the river. Having punished the Monassir people for Colonel Stewart's murder, it is not intended to undertake any further military operations until after the approaching hot season."

All was over, and by noon the River Column had commenced its backward journey. That evening and the following day the army rested at Hebbeh.

The men had become experienced hands in taking the heavily-laden boats up the cataracts, but the taking of them down the swift and broken waters was altogether a new experience. It was evident the dangers had increased tenfold. The force had, however, some 85 Canadians, and in the next few days they proved to be worth their weight in gold; indeed at all the most difficult cataracts the boats were taken in charge by the Canadians—as a rule, one steering, another in the bow paddling. By this means the boats' crews rowing felt that they were being guided at the most dangerous places by tried and skilled men in whom they placed the utmost reliance. So through the several cataracts they rowed with all their might and main, and thus averted the great danger of losing steerage way in rushing water.

The rapid of Uss was passed on the 27th, and the Shokook Pass on the 28th February, every preparation having been made in case of an attack, but the enemy in no way molested the army. Evidently the lesson of Kirbekan was still fresh in their minds. A determined resistance by a few men against the retreating boats as they moved through the Shokook might have had serious results.

On 2d March Birti was reached, and there the column rested all night before resuming the return journey through the Rahami Cataract—a triumph of skill over a difficulty that to any one unaccustomed to such work would have seemed insuperable. General Brackenbury, in his book, thus describes it :

“ Boat after boat came down at lightning speed, the men giving way with all their power so as to give steering power, the bowman standing cool and collected watching the water, and only using the oar should the steersman seem to need help, the steersman bringing round the boat with marvellous judgment at the right moment. Now and then an error of half a second brought a boat on to the edge of the left hand rock, and she rose and fell like a horse jumping a fence. But in the day’s work only one boat of the Gordons and one of the Staffords were wrecked.”

At Kab-el-Abd there was also difficulty :

“ It was a long straight run of a mile and a half or more (distances are hard to measure when flying like an express train) of water broken and rough, studded with rocks, both seen and unseen, a dangerous rapid to the unskilled or careless, yet safe to the trained eye and skilled hand. As my boat shot down we passed the Adjutant of the Gordons with his boat stuck fast in the very centre of the boiling rapid, a useful beacon to the following boats. His was not the only boat that struck, four others of the same Battalion were on the rocks. Three were repaired, but two of the five sank and were abandoned. The Quartermaster was thrown into the water and lost all his kit. The Adjutant had a narrow escape for his life. Thrown into the water, as his boat sank, his head had struck a sharp rock, and he was severely cut. The Black Watch had also to abandon a boat that struck on a rock near Kaboor.”

On the 4th of March, to quote again from General Brackenbury :—

“ The remaining boats passed through the fourth cataract with a loss of three boats wrecked, and, alas ! with the first fatal accident in all our downward journey.

“ The course to be steered through the cataract was a very tortuous one. The boats had to go from midstream over close to the right bank, and there pass between a rock and the shore, turning again to the left into midstream.

“ Officers and a voyageur were stationed with their boats on the rocky islands to show the direction to be taken, but unfortunately a boat struck across the stream in the narrow channel near the right bank, blocking it.

“ Instead of the remaining boats being turned into the bank to wait till the channel was clear, they were by some error directed off into midstream, and the greater part of the boats of three Battalions shot over a fall of about three feet like a Thames weir in flood. That only one accident occurred is marvellous.

“ One boat of the South Staffordshire having safely shot the weir, struck a rock and upset. Unfortunately she had in her two wounded men, both of whom with a sergeant were drowned.”

Half of the Black Watch, which regiment had from Salamat downwards formed the rear guard, still performed the same duty on this night at the bottom of the cataract, while the remainder of the force encamped opposite Hamdab, having thus descended in nine days what it had taken thirty-one days to ascend. On the morning of the 5th the force moved to Abu-Dom, and that night the whole column, with the exception of a few of the Mounted Corps, was on the left bank of the Nile, and on the following day, for the first and last time, was viewed and inspected on parade by Major-General H. Brackenbury, who afterwards spoke of them as “ two thousand of the finest fighting men that it was ever man’s lot to command.”

During the ascent of the river from Hamdab to Huella six boats had been wrecked and one man drowned; on the return journey two boats were wrecked and one man drowned. Seven men were killed or died of wounds.

On 7th February Major-General Brackenbury, with the other regiments that had formed the River Column, left Abu-Dom, leaving there in garrison under Colonel Butler, C.B., the 1st Battalion of the Black Watch, one troop of Hussars, the Egyptian Camel Corps with six 7-pounder guns, a section of Engineers, the Naval Brigade with one Gatling gun, and one hundred transport camels.

The following River Column After-order was published in Regimental Orders on 7th March 1885.

“ The Brigadier-General Commanding has received General Wolseley’s instructions to publish the following Special General Order to the soldiers and sailors of the Nile Expeditionary Force :—

“ The Queen, who has watched with deepest interest the doings of her sailors and soldiers, has desired me to express to you her admiration for your courage and your self-devotion.

"To have commanded such men is to me a source of the highest pride; no greater honour can be in store than that to which I looked forward of leading you, please God, into Khartoum, before the year is out. Your noble efforts to save General Gordon have been unsuccessful, but through no fault of yours; both on the river and in the desert you have borne hardship and privation without a murmur.

"In action you have been uniformly victorious, all that men could do to save a comrade you have done, but Khartoum fell through treachery two days before the advanced troops reached it. A period of comparative inaction may now be expected; this army was not constituted with a view to undertaking the siege of Khartoum, and for the moment we must content ourselves with preparations for the autumn advance. You will, I know, face the heat of the summer, and the necessary though less exciting work which has now to be done with the same courage and endurance you have shown hitherto. I thank you heartily for all you have done in the past. I can wish nothing better, I can ask nothing more of you in the future than the same uncomplaining devotion to duty which has characterised your conduct during the recent operation.

"(Signed) WOLSELEY, General."

Merawi was by far the most advanced position now occupied by the British Army, —the next held by our troops being Tanni, some 45 miles down the river—and commanded the road to Berber, the telegraph, and the fertile track of country along both banks of the Nile to Korti, a district where the people had all along been friendly to us, and therefore particularly obnoxious to the enemy. It was therefore also the post of danger, for at any moment an army of dervishes marching from Mettameh to Korti, —at which latter place there was nothing to stop them but a small force of Bashi Bazouks under Captain Baker, Royal Navy,—had it in their power to completely sever the Brigade under Colonel Butler, from the remainder of the army.

During the next two months, therefore, the regiment was for ever on the alert both by night and by day, in the most trying part of the Soudan, at a place where a year before it would have been held by all authorities as out of the question for European troops to remain in the hot season, especially with a meagre supply of tentage, and none of the comforts generally considered to be essential for the preservation of the health of British troops in a climate such as this. The devotion to duty and the discipline of all ranks remained nevertheless perfect.

The men were as soon as possible employed

in erecting huts, those in hospital being soon accommodated in that respect, and the work was rapidly carried on, as was testified to by General Wolseley himself after his inspection of the station, when he expressed his satisfaction with the work which had already been done, and addressed the regiment in most complimentary terms. By the 20th of May following, the whole regiment was hutted, with the exception of the officers and staff sergeants. During this period the health of the officers and men was excellent, though the heat in the day in the shade ranged from 115° to 119°, falling in the night and early morning often to 58°.

The strength of the station had been materially added to by the construction early in April of a small fort some 900 yards inland, and to the front of the old fort which had been erected by the Mudir's troops. This new work was by order of Colonel Butler christened Fort St Andrew in honour of the regiment, and during its excavation the remains of an ancient temple were discovered.

On 25th May orders were issued for the evacuation of the station, and on the following morning the forts were blown up, and the regiment once more took to its boats,—now reduced to 51 in number. That night the flotilla reached to within six miles of Korti, and on the 1st June camped at Abu-Fatmeh at 10 A.M., the right half-battalion starting the same afternoon, under Colonel Green, to shoot the Hannek Cataract (third cataract), reaching the bottom that evening. The left half-battalion under Lieut.-Col. Bayly did the same on the following morning. At the Shaban Cataract, on the 2d, whilst the right half-battalion was passing through that most dangerous water, one of the boats was upset exactly in midstream, having struck a rock on the brink of the rapid.

Three men were saved for the moment by jumping on to the rock. Of the ten men who clung to the boat, nine were rescued by Captain Moubray, who, with presence of mind, launched his boat most opportunely just as the struggling men were drowning; one, Private Williams, was drowned.

The men who were left in a most danger-

ous position on the rock were saved, after eight hours of ineffectual efforts, by Lieutenant Macrae and six men, who, in a boat, were lowered gradually down the rushing waters to within a few yards of their comrades, whom they succeeded in bringing into the boat by means of a life-belt and rope. That night the battalion encamped some nine miles from Kyber; and by the 7th inst. arrived at Sarkametto. Here the regiment disembarked, and on the 8th marched

met the regiment here, telegraphed home to the Commander-in-Chief:—

“Black Watch has arrived in splendid condition, and looking the picture of military efficiency.”

On the same morning Colonel Green received a letter from Lord Wolseley offering him the command of a Brigade at Assouan; and on his acceptance he was on the 4th July appointed a Brigadier-General on the Staff, and was succeeded in the command of the regiment by Lieut.-Colonel R. K. Bayly.

General Green's appointment was confirmed in the *London Gazette* on 10th July.

On 10th July the Lieut.-General Commanding in Egypt, Sir Frederick Stephenson, K.C.B., inspected the Battalion, and desired the following to be communicated to the regiment in Regimental Orders:—

“The Lieut.-General Commanding desires that the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men should know that he was much pleased at the smart, clean, and soldier-like appearance of the regiment at his inspection this morning. The Lieut.-General remarked on the steadiness of the men during inspection of the line.”

Major Barrow in command of the Mounted Infantry communicated with the Commanding Officer in regard to the conduct of the men of the regiment under his command during the late campaign, and in consequence there appeared in Regimental Orders on 18th July the following:—

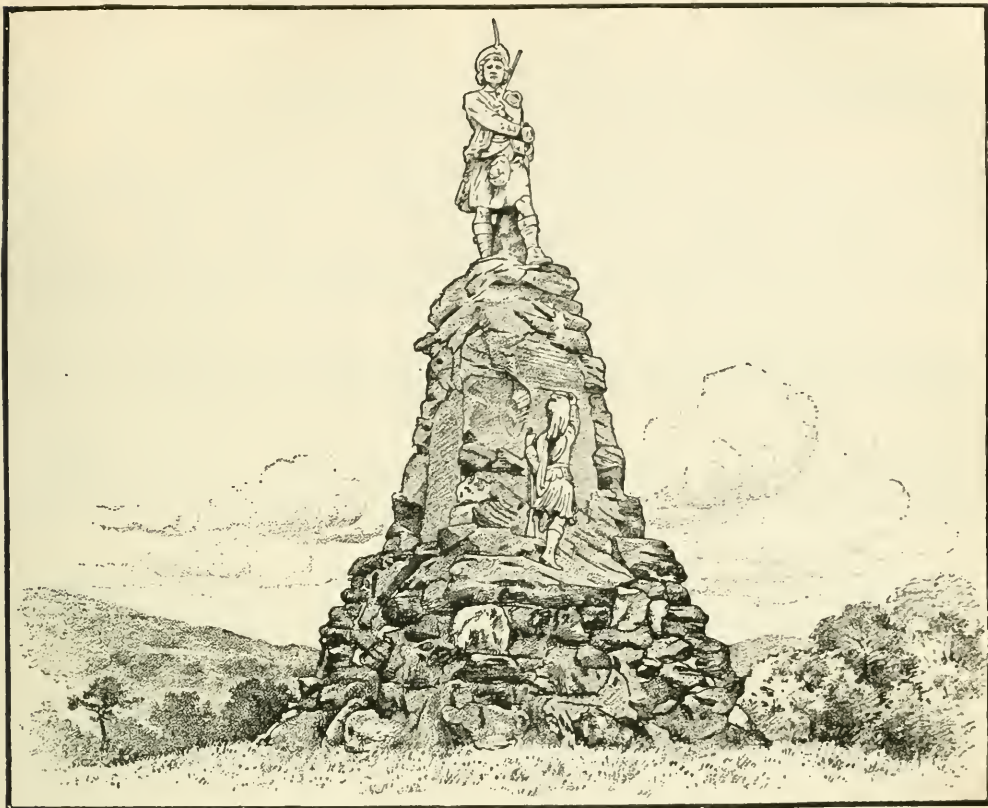
“The Commanding Officer has much pleasure in placing on record the very excellent report received by him from Major Barrow as to the conduct and discipline of the Mounted Infantry during the late operations, a report that reflects credit on the detachment and on the regiment.”

In the *London Gazette* of 26th August 1886, which published the despatch of General Lord Wolseley commanding Her Majesty's Forces in Egypt, reviewing the 1884 and 1885 campaign, the names of the following officers and non-com. officers of the regiment were given as deserving of special mention, viz.:—Colonel W. Green, C.B., Lieut.-Colonel Bayly, Captain A. S. Stevenson, Captain Lord A. Kennedy, Lieut.



Major Lord A. Kennedy.
From a Photograph.

across to the foot of the Great Dal Cataract, where they embarked in fresh whalers, proceeding to Akasheh that night. After an intensely hot march of 24 miles, the regiment took train for Wady Halfa, and reached Shellal on the afternoon of the 16th June. There the regiment disembarked, and proceeded by train to Assouan, whence they were conveyed by steamers and diabeahas to Assiout, and thereafter by train to Cairo, where they arrived on the morning of the 27th June. General Lord Wolseley, who



Monument at Aberfeldy to 42nd Highlanders.

Maxwell, Colour-Sergeant Tweedie, and Colour-Sergeant Connon. The same *Gazette* also announced the appointment of Lieut.-Colonel Bayly to a Companionship of the Bath; and the promotion of Captain Lord A. Kennedy to a Majority. Subsequently Lieut.-Colonel Bayly received also the Royal licence to accept and wear the 3d Class of the Medjidieh, and Major A. S. Stevenson was promoted to a Brevet Lieut.-Coloneley, while Colour-Sergeants D. Morrison, J. Tweedie, and Connon, Sergeant T. Watt, Private J. Henderson, and Private F. West received distinguished-conduct medals.

In consequence of the absence of crime in the regiment the Soudan gratuity for 1884 and 1885— Sergeants, £10; Corporals, £7, 10s.; Privates, £5—was paid direct to the men instead of being credited to their monthly accounts.

Major-General J. Davis, C.B., inspected the

regiment at Kasr-el-Nil on 14th January, 1886; and the medals for the late campaign, with clasps inscribed Nile and Kirbekan, were issued on 13th March.¹

In 1887 it was decided by the inhabitants of Perthshire to commemorate the connection of the regiment with the county by the erection, by public subscription, of a memorial near the spot where the regiment was embodied. The monument, designed by Mr. W. B. Rhind, Edinburgh, consists of a large rough cairn, surmounted by a statue 10 feet high, representing a Highlander in the original costume of the 42nd. Below, on the principal front, is a life-sized figure of a Highlander in the present dress of the regiment, inscribing on a tablet the distinctions borne on the colours. The ground is the gift of the Marquis of Breadalbane.

¹ A map illustrating the Egyptian and Soudan campaigns will be found on p. 653.

HIGHLAND PIBROCH :

Composed by one of the MacCrummens in the midst of the Battle of Inverlochy, 1427, wherein Donald Balloch of the Isles was victorious over the Royal Forces.

ARRANGED FOR THE BAGPIPES.

The main musical score consists of six staves of music. Each staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#), and a common time signature (C). The music is written in a style characteristic of bagpipe notation, featuring a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together in groups. There are several instances of triplets and sixteenth-note runs throughout the piece. The notation includes various ornaments and grace notes, typical of traditional Scottish bagpipe music.

VARIATION 1st.

Slow.

The variation section consists of seven staves of music. It begins with a treble clef, a key signature of two sharps, and a common time signature. The tempo is marked as 'Slow'. The notation is similar to the main piece but adapted for a slower performance, with more prominent note values and fewer rapid runs. It maintains the same melodic and rhythmic motifs as the original but at a reduced tempo.

VARIATION 2nd. *Slow and pointed.*

Two staves of musical notation for Variation 2nd. The music is written in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. The melody is characterized by slow, pointed notes with a dotted rhythm.

VARIATION 3rd. *A little lively.*

Three staves of musical notation for Variation 3rd. The music is written in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. The melody is more rhythmic and lively than the previous variation, featuring eighth and sixteenth notes.

DOUBLING OF VARIATION 3rd.

Three staves of musical notation for the doubling of Variation 3rd. This section repeats the melody of Variation 3rd but with a more complex rhythmic accompaniment, including many sixteenth notes and triplets.

VARIATION 4th. *Livelier.*

Four staves of musical notation for Variation 4th. The music is written in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. The melody is the liveliest of the variations, featuring a fast, rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth notes and triplets.

Doubling of VARIATION 4th.
Lively.

Trebling of VARIATION 4th.
Livelier still.

CREANLUIDH, or ROUND MOVEMENT.
Brisk.

Doubling of CREANLUIDH.
Very brisk.

Trebling of CREANLUIDII.

As lively as can be played distinctly.

The musical score consists of eight staves of music, each containing a treble variation of the piobaireachd. The notation is dense, featuring numerous beamed notes and rests, characteristic of a treble variation. The key signature is two sharps (F# and C#). The final staff concludes with the initials "D.C." (Da Capo).

The ground of this Piobaireachd may be played after the Doubling of each VARIATION.

NOTE.—This HIGHLAND PIBROCH was played by the 42nd Royal Highlanders while marching to Quatre Bras. See page 394.

LOUDON'S HIGHLANDERS.

1745—1748.

Raising of Regiment—Rebellion of 1745—Flanders—
Bergen-op-Zoom—Reduction of Regiment.

THE Lavery displayed by Lord John Murray's Highlanders at Fontenoy opened the eyes of Government to the importance of securing the military services of the clans. It was therefore determined to repair, in part, the loss sustained in that well-fought action, by raising a second regiment in the Highlands, and authority to that effect was granted to the Earl of Loudon. By the influence of the noblemen, chiefs, and gentlemen of the country, whose sons and connexions were to be appointed officers, a body of 1250 men was raised, of whom 750 assembled at Inverness, and the remainder at Perth. The whole were formed into a battalion of twelve companies, under the following officers, their commissions being dated June 8th 1745:—

Colonel.—John Campbell, Earl of Loudon, who died in 1782, a general in the army.

Lieutenant-Colonel.—John Campbell (afterwards Duke of Argyll), who died a field-marshal in 1806.

Captains.

John Murray (afterwards Duke of Athole), son of Lord George Murray.

Alexander Livingstone Campbell, son of Ardkinglass.

John Macleod, younger of Macleod.

Henry Munro, son of Colonel Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis.

Lord Charles Gordon, brother of the Duke of Gordon.

John Stewart, son of the Earl of Moray.

Alexander Mackay, son of Lord Reay

Ewen Macpherson of Clunie.

John Sutherland of Forse.

Colin Campbell of Ballimore, killed at Culloden.

Archibald Macnab, who died a lieutenant-general in 1791, son of the laird of Macnab.

Lieutenants.

Colin Campbell of Kilberrie.

Alexander Maclean.

John Campbell of Strachur, who died in 1806, a general in the army, and colonel of the 57th regiment.

Duncan Robertson of Drumachuine, afterwards of Strowan.

Patrick Campbell, son of Achallader.

Donald Macdonald.

James Macpherson of Killihuntly.

John Robertson or Reid, of Straloch, who died in 1806, at the age of eighty-five, a general in the army, and colonel of the 88th or Comaught Rangers.¹

Patrick Grant, younger of Rothiemurchus.

John Campbell of Ardsloginish.

Alexander Campbell, brother to Barcaldine.
Donald Macdonell of Lochgarry.
Colin Campbell of Glenure.

Ensigns.

James Stewart of Urrard.

John Martin of Inch.

George Munroe of Novar.

Malcolm Ross, younger of Pitcaulnic.

Hugh Mackay.

James Fraser.

David Spalding of Ashintully.

Archibald Campbell.

Donald Macneil.

Alexander MacLagan, son of the minister of Little Dunkeld.

Robert Bisset of Glenelbert, afterwards commissary-general of Great Britain.

John Grant, younger of Dalrachnie.

Before the regiment was disciplined, the rebellion broke out, and so rapid were the movements of the rebels, that the communication between the two divisions, at Perth and Inverness, was cut off. They were therefore obliged to act separately. The formation of the regiment at the time was considered a fortunate circumstance, as many of the men would certainly have joined in the insurrection; and indeed several of the officers and men went over to the rebels. Four companies were employed in the central and southern Highlands, whilst the rest were occupied in the northern Highlands, under Lord Loudon. Three companies under the Hon. Captains Stewart and Mackay, and Captain Munro of Fowlis, were, with all their officers, taken prisoners at the battle of Gladsmuir. Three other companies were also at the battle of Culloden, where Captain Campbell and six men were killed and two soldiers wounded.

On the 30th of May 1747, the regiment embarked at Burntisland for Flanders, but it did not join the Duke of Cumberland's army till after the battle of Lafeldt, on the 2d of July. Though disappointed of the opportunity which this battle would have given them of distinguishing themselves, another soon offered for the display of their gallantry. Marshal Saxe having determined to attack the strong fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom, with an army of 25,000 men under General Count Lowendahl, all the disposable forces in Brabant, including Loudon's Highlanders, were sent to defend the lines, which were strongly fortified. To relieve the garrison, consisting of six battalions, and to preserve a communication with the

¹ For details as to General Reid, see accounts of Clan Robertson and the 42d Regiment.

country, eighteen battalions occupied the lines. The fortress, which was considered impregnable, was defended by 250 pieces of cannon. The siege was carried on unremittingly from the 15th of July till the 17th of September, during which time many sorties were made. In the *Hague Gazette*, an account is given of one of these, which took place on the 25th of July, in which it is stated "that the Highlanders, who were posted in Fort Rouro, which covers the lines of Bergen-op-Zoom, made a sally, sword in hand, in which they were so successful as to destroy the enemy's grand battery, and to kill so many of their men, that Count Lowendahl beat a parley, in order to bury the dead. To this it was answered, that had he attacked the place agreeably to the rules of war, his demand would certainly have been granted; but as he had begun the siege like an incendiary, by setting fire to the city with red-hot balls, a resolution had been taken neither to ask or grant any suspension of arms."

Having made breaches in a ravelin and two bastions, the besiegers made an unexpected assault on the night of the 16th of September, and throwing themselves into the fosse, mounted the breaches, forced open a sally port, and, entering the place, ranged themselves along the ramparts, almost before the garrison had assembled. Cronstrun, the old governor, and many of his officers, were asleep, and so sudden and unexpected was the attack, that several of them flew to the ranks in their shirts. Though the possession of the ramparts sealed the fate of the town, the Scottish troops were not disposed to surrender it without a struggle. The French were opposed by two regiments of the Scotch brigade, in the pay of the States-general, who, by their firmness, checked the progress of the enemy, and enabled the governor and garrison to recover from their surprise. The Scotch assembled in the market-place, and attacked the French with such vigour that they drove them from street to street, till, fresh reinforcements pouring in, they were compelled to retreat in their turn,—disputing every inch as they retired, and fighting till two-thirds of their number fell on the spot, killed or severely wounded,—when the remainder brought off the old governor, and joined the troops in the lines.

The troops in the lines, most unaccountably, retreated immediately, and the enemy thus became masters of the whole navigation of the Scheldt. "Two battalions," says an account of the assault published in the *Hague Gazette*, "of the Scotch brigade have, as usual, done honour to their country,—which is all we have to comfort us for the loss of such brave men, who, from 1450, are now reduced to 330 men—and those have valiantly brought their colours with them, which the grenadiers twice recovered from the midst of the French at the point of the bayonet. The Swiss have also suffered, while others took a more *speedy way to escape danger*." In a history of this memorable siege the brave conduct of the Scotch is also thus noticed: "It appears that more than 300 of the Scotch brigade fought their way through the enemy, and that they have had 19 officers killed and 18 wounded. Lieutenants Francis and Allan Maclean of the brigade were taken prisoners, and carried before General Lowendahl, who thus addressed them: 'Gentlemen, consider yourselves on parole. If all had conducted themselves as you and your brave corps have done, I should not now be master of Bergen-op-Zoom.'"²

The loss of a fortress hitherto deemed impregnable was deeply felt by the allies. The eyes of all Europe had been fixed upon this important siege, and when the place fell strong suspicions were entertained of treachery in the garrison. Every thing had been done by the people of the United Provinces to enable the soldiers to hold out: they were allowed additional provisions of the best quality, and cordials were furnished for the sick and dying. Large sums of money were collected to be presented to the soldiers, if they made a brave defence; and £17,000 were collected in one

² Lieutenant Allan Maclean was son of Maclean of Torloisk. He left the Dutch and entered the British service. He was a captain in Montgomery's Highlanders in 1757; raised the 114th Highland regiment in 1759; and, in 1775, raised a battalion of the 84th, a Highland Emigrant regiment; and, by his unwearied zeal and abilities, was the principal cause of the defeat of the Americans at the attack on Quebec in 1775-6. Lieutenant Francis Maclean also entered the British service, and rose to the rank of Major-general. In the year 1777 he was appointed colonel of the 82d regiment, and, in 1779 commanded an expedition against Penobscot in Nova Scotia, in which he was completely successful.—*Stewart's Sketches*.

day in Amsterdam, to be applied in the same way, if the soldiers compelled the enemy to raise the siege. Every soldier who carried away a gabion from the enemy was paid a crown, and such was the activity of the Scotch, that some of them gained ten crowns a-day in this kind of service. Those who ventured to take the burning fuse out of the bombs of the enemy (and there were several who did so), received ten or twelve ducats. In this remarkable siege the French sustained an enormous loss, exceeding 22,000 men; that of the garrison did not exceed 4000.³

After the loss of Bergen-op-Zoom, Loudon's Highlanders joined the Duke of Cumberland's army, and at the peace of 1748 returned to Scotland, and was reduced at Perth in June of the same year.

MONTGOMERY'S HIGHLANDERS,

OR

SEVENTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT.

1757—1763.

Lord Chatham and the Highlanders—Raising of the Regiment—America—Fort du Quêne—Ticonderoga—Cherokees—Dominique—West Indies—Newfoundland—Fort Pitt.

WE have already quoted Lord Chatham's eloquent statement with regard to the Highland

³ The following anecdote of faithful attachment is told by Mrs Grant, in her *Superstitions of the Highlanders*. Captain Fraser of Culduthel, an officer of the Black Watch, was a volunteer at this celebrated siege, as was likewise his colonel, Lord John Murray. Captain Fraser was accompanied by his servant, who was also his foster-brother. A party from the lines was ordered to attack and destroy a battery raised by the enemy. Captain Fraser accompanied this party, directing his servant to remain in the garrison. "The night was pitch dark, and the party had such difficulty in proceeding that they were forced to halt for a short time. As they moved forward Captain Fraser felt his path impeded, and putting down his hand to discover the cause, he caught hold of a plaid, and seized the owner, who seemed to grovel on the ground. He held the caitiff with one hand, and drew his dirk with the other, when he heard the imploring voice of his foster-brother. 'What the devil brought you here?' 'Just love of you and care of your person.' 'Why so, when your love can do me no good; and why encumber yourself with a plaid?' 'Alas! how could I ever see my mother had you been killed or wounded, and I not been there to carry you to the surgeon, or to Christian burial? and how could I do either without any plaid to wrap you in?' Upon inquiry it was found that the poor man had crawled out on his knees and hands between the sentinels, then followed the party to some

Regiments, in his celebrated speech on the differences with America in 1766. The only way by which the Highlanders could be gained over was by adopting a liberal course of policy, the leading features of which should embrace the employment of the chiefs, or their connections, in the military service of the government. It was reserved to the sagacity of Chatham to trace to its source the cause of the disaffection of the Highlanders, and, by suggesting a remedy, to give to their military virtue a safe direction.

Acting upon the liberal plan he had devised, Lord Chatham (then Mr Pitt), in the year 1757 recommended to his Majesty George II. to employ the Highlanders in his service, as the best means of attaching them to his person. The king approved of the plan of the minister, and letters of service were immediately issued for raising several Highland regiments. This call to arms was responded to by the clans, and "battalions on battalions," to borrow the words of an anonymous author, "were raised in the remotest part of the Highlands, among those who a few years before were devoted to, and too long had followed the fate of the race of Stuarts. Frasers, Macdonalds, Camerons, Macleans, Macphersons, and others of disaffected names and clans, were enrolled; their chiefs or connections obtained commissions; the lower class, always ready to follow, with eagerness endeavoured who should be first listed."

This regiment was called Montgomerie's Highlanders, from the name of its colonel, the Hon. Archibald Montgomerie, son of the Earl of Eglinton, to whom, when major, letters of service were issued for recruiting it. Being popular among the Highlanders, Major Montgomerie soon raised the requisite body of men, who were formed into a regiment of thirteen companies of 105 rank and file each; making in all 1460 effective men, including 65 sergeants, and 30 pipers and drummers.

The colonel's commission was dated the 4th of January 1757. The commissions of the distance, till he thought they were approaching the place of assault, and then again crept in the same manner on the ground, beside his master, that he might be near him unobserved."

Captain Fraser was unfortunately killed a few days thereafter, by a random shot, while looking over the ramparts.

⁴ Vol. ii. p. 345.

other officers were dated each a day later than his senior in the same rank.

Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding.

The Hon. Archibald Montgomerie, afterwards Earl of Eglinton, died a general in the army, and colonel of the Scots Greys, in 1796.

Majors.

James Grant of Ballindalloch, died a general in the army in 1806.
Alexander Campbell.

Captains.

John Sinclair.
Hugh Mackenzie.
John Gordon.
Alexander Mackenzie, killed at St John's, 1761.
William Macdonald, killed at Fort du Quèsne, 1759.
George Munro, killed at Fort du Quèsne, 1759.
Robert Mackenzie.
Allan Maclean, from the Dutch brigade, colonel of the 84th Highland Emigrants; died Major-general, 1784.
James Robertson.
Allan Cameron.
Captain-lieutenant Alexander Mackintosh.

Lieutenants.

Charles Farquharson.
Alexander Mackenzie, killed at Fort du Quèsne, 1759.
Nichol Sutherland, died Lieutenant-colonel of the 47th regiment, 1780.
Donald Macdonald.
William Mackenzie, killed at Fort du Quèsne.
Robert Mackenzie, killed at Fort du Quèsne.
Henry Munro.
Archibald Robertson.
Duncan Bayne.
James Duff.
Colin Campbell, killed at Fort du Quèsne, 1759.
James Grant.
Alexander Macdonald.
Joseph Grant.
Robert Grant.
Cosmo Martin.
John Macnab.
Hugh Gordon, killed in Martinique, 1762.
Alexander Macdonald, killed at Fort du Quèsne.
Donald Campbell.
Hugh Montgomerie, late Earl of Eglinton.
James Maclean, killed in the West Indies, 1761.
Alexander Campbell.
John Campbell of Melford.
James Macpherson.
Archibald Macvicar, killed at the Havannah, 1762.

Ensigns.

Alexander Grant.	William Maclean.
William Haggart.	James Grant.
Lewis Houston.	John Macdonald.
Ronald Mackinnon.	Archibald Crawford.
George Munro.	James Bain.
Alexander Mackenzie.	Allan Stewart.
John Macleachlane.	

Chaplain.—Henry Munro.

Adjutant.—Donald Stewart.

Quarter-master.—Alex. Montgomerie.

Surgeon.—Allan Stewart.

The regiment embarked at Greenock for Halifax, and on the commencement of hostilities in 1758 was attached to the corps under Brigadier-general Forbes in the expedition

against Fort du Quèsne, one of the three great enterprises undertaken that year against the French possessions in North America. Although the point of attack was not so formidable, nor the number of the enemy so great, as in the cases of Ticonderoga and Crown Point; yet the great extent of country which the troops had to traverse covered with woods, morasses, and mountains, made the expedition as difficult as the other two. The army of General Forbes was 6238 men strong.

The brigadier reached Raystown, about 90 miles from the Fort, in September, having apparently stayed some time in Philadelphia.⁵ Having sent Colonel Boquet forward to Loyal Henning, 40 miles nearer, with 2000 men, this officer rashly despatched Major Grant of Montgomerie's with 400 Highlanders and 500 provincials to reconnoitre. When near the garrison Major Grant imprudently advanced with pipes playing and drums beating, as if entering a friendly town. The enemy instantly marched out, and a warm contest took place. Major Grant ordered his men to throw off their coats and advance sword in hand. The enemy fled on the first charge, and spread themselves among the woods; but being afterwards joined by a body of Indians, they rallied and surrounded the detachment on all sides. Protected by a thick foliage, they opened a destructive fire upon the British. Major Grant then endeavoured to force his way into the wood, but was taken in the attempt, on seeing which his troops dispersed. Only 150 of the Highlanders returned to Loyal Henning.

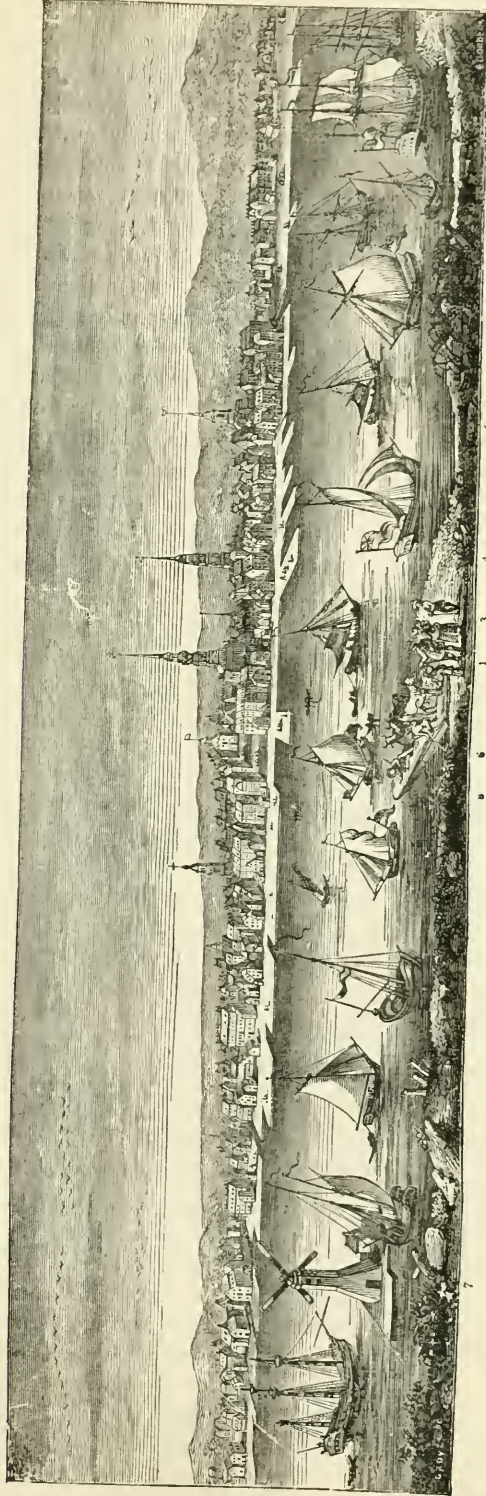
In this unfortunate affair 231 soldiers of the regiment were killed and wounded. The names of the officers killed on this occasion have already been mentioned; the following were wounded: viz. Captain Hugh Mackenzie; Lieutenants Alexander Macdonald, junior, Archibald Robertson, Henry Munro; and Ensigns John Macdonald and Alexander Grant. The enemy did not venture to oppose the main body, but retired from Fort du Quèsne on its approach, leaving their ammunition, stores, and provisions untouched. General Forbes took possession of the Fort on the 24th of November, and, in honour of Mr Pitt, gave it the name of Pittsburgh.

⁵ See vol. ii. p. 354, note.

VIEW OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA

AS IN 1753 A.D.,

TAKEN FROM THE JERSEY SIDE OF THE DELAWARE.



1. Christ Church.
2. State House

3. Academy.
4. Wesleyan Church.

5. Dutch Calvinist Church.
6. The Court House.

7. Corn Mill.
8. Quaker Meeting House.

From a rare print, the drawing of which was made under the direction of Nicholas Scull, Surveyor-General of Pennsylvania.

The regiment passed the winter of 1758 in Pittsburgh, and in May following they joined part of the army under General Amherst in his proceedings at Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and the Lakes,—a detail of which has been given in the history of the service of the 42d regiment.

In consequence of the renewed cruelties committed by the Cherokees, in the spring of 1760, the commander-in-chief detached Colonel Montgomery with 700 Highlanders of his own regiment, 400 of the Royals, and a body of provincials, to chastise these savages. The colonel arrived in the neighbourhood of the Indian town Little Keowee in the middle of June, having, on his route, detached the light companies of Royals and Highlanders to destroy the place. This service was performed with the loss of a few men killed and two officers of the Royals wounded. Finding, on reaching Estatoe, that the enemy had fled, Colonel Montgomery retired to Fort Prince George. The Cherokees still proving refractory, he paid a second visit to the middle settlement, where he met with some resistance. He had 2 officers and 20 men killed, and 26 officers and 68 men wounded.⁶ Of these, the Highlanders had 1 ser-

⁶ "Several soldiers of this and other regiments fell into the hands of the Indians, being taken in an ambush. Allan Macpherson, one of these soldiers, witnessing the miserable fate of several of his fellow-prisoners, who had been tortured to death by the Indians, and seeing them preparing to commence some operations upon himself, made signs that he had something to communicate. An interpreter was brought. Macpherson told them, that, provided his life was spared for a few minutes, he would communicate the secret of an extraordinary medicine, which, if applied to the skin, would cause it to resist the strongest blow of a tomahawk or sword; and that, if they would allow him to go to the woods with a guard to collect the proper plants for this medicine, he would prepare it, and allow the experiment to be tried on his own neck by the strongest and most expert warrior amongst them. This story easily gained upon the superstitious credulity of the Indians, and the request of the Highlander was instantly complied with. Being sent into the woods, he soon returned with such plants as he chose to pick up. Having boiled the herbs, he rubbed his neck with their juice, and laying his head upon a log of wood, desired the strongest man amongst them to strike at his neck with his tomahawk, when he would find he could not make the smallest impression. An Indian, levelling a blow with all his might, cut with such force, that the head flew off at the distance of several yards. The Indians were fixed in amazement at their own credulity, and the address with which the prisoner had escaped the lingering death prepared for him; but, instead of being enraged at this escape of their victim, they were so pleased with his ingenuity that they refrained from inflicting farther cruelties on the remaining prisoners."—Stewart's *Sketches*.

geant and 6 privates killed, and Captain Sutherland, Lieutenants Macmaster and Mackinnon, and Assistant-surgeon Monro, and 1 sergeant, 1 piper, and 24 rank and file wounded. The detachment took Fort Loudon, —a small fort on the confines of Virginia,—which was defended by 200 men.

The next service in which Montgomery's Highlanders were employed was in an expedition against Dominique, consisting of a small land force, which included six companies of Montgomery's Highlanders and four ships of war, under Colonel Lord Rollo and Commodore Sir James Douglas. The transports from New York were scattered in a gale of wind, when a small transport, with a company of the Highlanders on board, being attacked by a French privateer, was beaten off by the Highlanders, with the loss of Lieutenant Maclean and 6 men killed, and Captain Robertson and 11 men wounded. The expedition arrived off Dominique on the 6th of June 1761. The troops immediately landed, and marched with little opposition to the town of Roseau. Lord Rollo without delay attacked the entrenchments, and, though the enemy kept up a galling fire, they were driven, in succession, from all their works by the grenadiers, light infantry, and Highlanders. This service was executed with such vigour and rapidity that few of the British suffered. The governor and his staff being made prisoners, surrendered the island without further opposition.

In the following year Montgomery's Highlanders joined the expeditions against Martinique and the Havannah, of which an account will be found in the narrative of the service of the 42d regiment. In the enterprise against Martinique, Lieutenant Hugh Gordon and 4 rank and file were killed, and Captain Alexander Mackenzie, 1 sergeant, and 26 rank and file were wounded. Montgomery's Highlanders suffered still less in the conquest of the Havannah, Lieutenant Macvicar and 2 privates only having been killed, and 6 privates wounded. Lieutenants Grant and Macnab and 6 privates died of the fever. After this last enterprise Montgomery's Highlanders returned to New York, where they landed in the end of October.

Before the return of the six companies to

New York, the two companies that had been sent against the Indians in the autumn of 1761, had embarked with a small force, under Colonel Amherst, destined to retake St John's, Newfoundland, which was occupied by a French force. The British force, which consisted of the flank companies of the Royals, a detachment of the 45th, two companies of Fraser's and Montgomery's Highlanders, and a small party of provincials, landed on the 12th of September, seven miles to the northward of St John's. A mortar battery having been completed on the 17th, and ready to open on the garrison, the French commander surrendered by capitulation to an inferior force. Of Montgomery's Highlanders, Captain Mackenzie and 4 privates were killed, and 2 privates wounded.

After this service the two companies joined the regiment at New York, where they passed the ensuing winter. In the summer of 1763 a detachment accompanied the expedition sent to the relief of Fort Pitt under Colonel Bouquet, the details of which have been already given in the account of the 42d regiment. In this enterprise 1 drummer and 5 privates of Montgomery's Highlanders were killed, and Lieutenant Donald Campbell, and Volunteer John Peebles, 3 sergeants, and 7 privates were wounded.

After the termination of hostilities an offer was made to the officers and men either to settle in America or return to their own country. Those who remained obtained a grant of land in proportion to their rank. On the breaking out of the American war a number of these, as well as officers and men of the 78th regiment, joined the royal standard in 1775, and formed a corps along with the Highland Emigrants in the 84th regiment.

FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS,

OR

OLD SEVENTY-EIGHTH AND SEVENTY-FIRST REGIMENTS.

I.

78TH REGIMENT.

1757—1763.

Raising of the Regiment—Uniform—North America—Louisburg—Quebec—General Wolfe—Newfoundland—Reduction of the Regiment—Its descendants.

FOLLOWING up the liberal policy which Lord II.

Chatham had resolved to pursue in relation to the Highlanders, he prevailed upon George II. to appoint the Hon. Simon Fraser, son of the unfortunate Lord Lovat, and who had himself, when a youth, been forced into the rebellion by his father, Lieutenant-colonel commandant of a regiment to be raised among his own kinsmen and clan. Though not possessed of an inch of land, yet, such was the influence of clanship, that young Lovat in a few weeks raised a corps of 800 men, to whom were added upwards of 600 more by the gentlemen of the country and those who had obtained commission. The battalion was, in point of the number of companies and men, precisely the same as Montgomery's Highlanders.

The following is a list of the officers whose commissions were dated the 5th January 1757 :—

Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant.

The Hon. Simon Fraser, died a Lieutenant-general in 1782.

Majors.

James Clephane.

John Campbell of Dunoon, afterwards Lieutenant-colonel commandant of the Campbell Highlanders in Germany.

Captains.

John Macpherson, brother of Cluny.

John Campbell of Ballinore.

Simon Fraser of Inverallochy, killed on the heights of Abraham, 1759.

Donald Macdonald, brother to Clanranald, killed at Quebec in 1760.

John Macdonell of Lochgarry, afterwards colonel of the 76th, or Macdonald's regiment, died in 1789 colonel.

Alexander Cameron of Dungallon.

Thomas Ross of Culrossie, killed on the heights of Abraham, 1759.

Thomas Fraser of Strui.

Alexander Fraser of Culduthel.

Sir Henry Seton of Abercorn and Culbeg.

James Fraser of Belladrum.

Captain-lieutenant—Simon Fraser, died Lieutenant-general in 1812.

Lieutenants.

Alexander Macleod.

Hugh Cameron.

Ronald Macdonell, son of Keppoch.

Charles Macdonell from Glengarry, killed at St John's.

Roderick Maeneil of Barra, killed on the heights of Abraham, 1759.

William Macdonell.

Archibald Campbell, son of Glenlyon.

John Fraser of Balnain.

Hector Macdonald, brother to Boisdale, killed 1759.

Alkan Stewart, son of Innernaheil.

John Fraser.

Alexander Macdonald, son of Barisdale, killed on the heights of Abraham, 1759.

Alexander Fraser, killed at Louisburg.

Alexander Campbell of Aross.

John Douglas.

John Nairn.
 Arthur Rose of the family of Kilravock.
 Alexander Fraser.
 John Macdonell of Leeks, died in Berwick, 1818.
 Cosmo Gordon, killed at Quebec, 1760.
 David Baillie, killed at Louisburg.
 Charles Stewart, son of Colonel John Roy Stewart.
 Ewen Cameron, of the family of Glennevis.
 Allan Cameron.
 John Cuthbert, killed at Louisburg.
 Simon Fraser.
 Archibald Macallister, of the family of Loup.
 James Murray, killed at Louisburg.
 Alexander Fraser.
 Donald Cameron, son of Fassifern, died Lieutenant on half-pay, 1817.

Ensigns.

John Chisolm.
 Simon Fraser.
 Malcolm Fraser, afterwards captain 84th regiment.
 Hugh Fraser, afterwards captain 84th or Highland Emigrants.
 Robert Menzies.
 John Fraser of Errogie.
 James Mackenzie.
 Donald Macneil.
 Henry Munro.
 Alexander Gregorson, Ardtornish.
 James Henderson.
 John Campbell.

Chaplain.—Robert Macpherson.

Adjutant.—Hugh Fraser.

Quarter-master.—John Fraser.

Surgeon.—John Maclean.

The uniform of the regiment "was the full Highland dress with musket and broad-sword, to which many of the soldiers added the dirk at their own expense, and a purse of badger's or otter's skin. The bonnet was raised or cocked on one side, with a slight bend inclining down to the right ear, over which were suspended two or more black feathers. Eagle's or hawk's feathers were usually worn by the gentlemen, in the Highlands, while the bonnets of the common people were ornamented with a bunch of the distinguishing mark of the clan or district. The ostrich feather in the bonnets of the soldiers was a modern addition of that period, as the present load of plumage on the bonnet is a still more recent introduction, forming, however, in hot climates, an excellent defence against a vertical sun."⁷

The regiment embarked in company with Montgomery's Highlanders at Greenock, and landed at Halifax in June 1757. They were intended to be employed in an expedition against Louisburg, which, however, after the necessary preparations, was abandoned. About this time it was proposed to change the

⁷ Stewart's *Sketches*.

uniform of the regiment, as the Highland garb was judged unfit for the severe winters and the hot summers of North America; but the officers and soldiers having set themselves in opposition to the plan, and being warmly supported by Colonel Fraser, who represented to the commander-in-chief the bad consequences that might follow if it were persisted in, the plan was relinquished. "Thanks to our gracious chief," said a veteran of the regiment, "we were allowed to wear the garb of our fathers, and, in the course of six winters, showed the doctors that they did not understand our constitution; for, in the coldest winters, our men were more healthy than those regiments who wore breeches and warm clothing."

Amongst other enterprises projected for the campaign of 1758, the design of attacking Louisburg was renewed. Accordingly, on the 28th of May, a formidable armament sailed from Halifax, under the command of Admiral Boscawen and Major-general Amherst, and Brigadier-generals Wolfe, Laurence, Monckton, and Whitmore. This armament, consisting of 25 sail of the line, 18 frigates, and a number of bombs and fire-ships, with 13,000 troops including the 78th Highlanders, anchored, on the 2d of June, in Gabarus Bay, seven miles from Louisburg. In consequence of a heavy surf no boat could approach the shore, and it was not till the 8th of June that a landing could be effected. The garrison of Louisburg consisted of 2500 regulars 600 militia, and 400 Canadians and Indians. For more than seven miles along the beach a chain of posts had been established by the enemy, with entrenchments and batteries; and, to protect the harbour, there were six ships of the line and five frigates placed at its mouth, of which frigates three were sunk.

The disposition being made for landing, a detachment of several sloops, under convoy, passed the mouth of the harbour towards Lorembec, in order to draw the enemy's attention that way, whilst the landing should really be on the other side of the town. On the 8th of June, the troops being assembled in the boats before day-break in three divisions, several sloops and frigates, that were stationed along shore in the bay of Gabarus, began to

scour the beach with their shot. The division on the left, which was destined for the real attack, consisted of the grenadiers and light infantry of the army, and Fraser's Highlanders, and was commanded by Brigadier-general Wolfe. After the fire from the sloops and frigates had continued about a quarter of an hour, the boats containing this division were rowed towards the shore; and, at the same time, the other two divisions on the right and in the centre, commanded by Brigadiers-general Whitmore and Laurence, made a show of landing, in order to divide and distract the enemy. The landing-place was occupied by 2000 men entrenched behind a battery of eight pieces of cannon and ten swivels. The enemy reserved their fire till the boats were near the beach, when they opened a discharge of cannon and musketry which did considerable execution. A considerable surf aided the enemy's fire, and numbers of the men were drowned by the upsetting of the boats. Captain Baillie and Lieutenant Cuthbert of the Highlanders, Lieutenant Nicholson of Amherst's, and 38 men were killed; but, notwithstanding these disadvantages, General Wolfe pursued his point with admirable courage and deliberation: "and nothing could stop our troops, when headed by such a general. Some of the light infantry and Highlanders got first ashore, and drove all before them. The rest followed; and, being encouraged by the example of their heroic commander, soon pursued the enemy to the distance of two miles, where they were checked by a cannonading from the town."

The town of Louisburg was immediately invested; but the difficulty of landing stores and implements in boisterous weather, and the nature of the ground, which, being marshy, was unfit for the conveyance of heavy cannon, retarded the operations of the siege. The governor of Louisburg, having destroyed the grand battery which was detached from the body of the place, recalled his outposts, and prepared for a vigorous defence. He opened a fire against the besiegers and their work from the town, the island battery, and the ships in the harbour, but without much effect. Meanwhile General Wolfe, with a strong detachment, marched round the north-east part of the harbour to secure a point called the

Light-house Battery, from which the guns could play on the ships and on the batteries on the opposite side of the harbour. This service was performed on the 12th by General Wolfe with great ability, who, "with his Highlanders and flankers," took possession of this and all the other posts in that quarter with very trifling loss. On the 25th the inland battery immediately opposite was silenced from this post. The enemy however, kept up an incessant fire from their other batteries and the shipping in the harbour. On the 9th of July they made a sortie on Brigadier-general Lawrence's brigade, but were quickly repulsed. In this affair Captain, the Earl of Dundonald, was killed. On the 16th General Wolfe pushed forward some grenadiers and Highlanders, and took possession of the hills in front of the Light House battery, where a lodgement was made under a fire from the town and the ships. On the 21st one of the enemy's line-of-battle ships was set on fire by a bombshell and blew up, and the fire being communicated to two others, they were burned to the water's edge. The fate of the town was now nearly decided, the enemy's fire being almost totally silenced and their fortifications shattered to the ground. To reduce the place nothing now remained but to get possession of the harbour, by taking or burning the two ships of the line which remained. For this purpose, in the night between the 25th and 26th, the admiral sent a detachment of 600 men in the boats of the squadron, in two divisions, into the harbour, under the command of Captains Laforey and Balfour. This enterprise was gallantly executed, in the face of a terrible fire of cannon and musketry, the seamen boarding the enemy sword in hand. One of the ships was set on fire and destroyed, and the other towed off. The town surrendered on the 26th, and was taken possession of by Colonel Lord Rollo the following day; the garrison and seamen, amounting together to 5637 men, were made prisoners of war. Besides Captain Baillie and Lieutenant Cuthbert, the Highlanders lost Lieutenants Fraser and Murray, killed; Captain Donald M'Donald, Lieutenants Alexander Campbell (Barcaldine), and John M'Donald, wounded; and 67 rank and file killed and wounded.

In consequence of the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the several nations of Indians between the Apalachian mountains and the Lakes, the British government was enabled to carry into effect those operations which had been projected against the French settlements in Canada. The plan and partial progress of these combined operations have been already detailed in the service of the 42d regiment. The enterprise against Quebec, the most important by far of the three expeditions planned in 1759, falls now to be noticed from the share which Fraser's Highlanders had in it.

According to the plan fixed upon for the conquest of Canada, Major-general Wolfe, who had given promise of great military talents at Louisburg, was to proceed up the river St Lawrence and attack Quebec, whilst General Amherst, after reducing Ticonderoga and Crown Point, was to descend the St Lawrence and co-operate with General Wolfe in the conquest of Quebec. Though the enterprise against this place was the main undertaking, the force under General Wolfe did not exceed 7000 effective men, whilst that under General Amherst amounted to more than twice that number; but the commander-in-chief seems to have calculated upon a junction with General Wolfe in sufficient time for the siege of Quebec.

The forces under General Wolfe comprehended the following regiments,—15th, 28th, 35th, 43d, 47th, 48th, 58th, Fraser's Highlanders, the Rangers, and the grenadiers of Louisburg. The fleet, under the command of Admirals Saunders and Holmes, with the transports, proceeded up the St Lawrence, and reached the island of Orleans, a little below Quebec, in the end of June, where the troops were disembarked without opposition. The Marquis de Montcalm who commanded the French troops, which were greatly superior in number to the invaders, resolved rather to depend upon the natural strength of his position than his numbers, and took his measures accordingly. The city of Quebec was tolerably well fortified, defended by a numerous garrison, and abundantly supplied with provisions and ammunition. This able, and hitherto fortunate leader had reinforced the troops of the colony with five regular bat-

talions, formed of the best of the inhabitants, and he had, besides, completely disciplined all the Canadians of the neighbourhood capable of bearing arms, and several tribes of Indians. He had posted his army on a piece of ground along the shore of Beaufort, from the river St Charles to the falls of Montmorency,—a position rendered strong by precipices, woods, and rivers, and defended by intrenchments where the ground appeared the weakest. To undertake the siege of Quebec under the disadvantages which presented themselves, seemed a rash enterprise; but, although General Wolfe was completely aware of these difficulties, a thirst for glory, and the workings of a vigorous mind, which set every obstacle at defiance, impelled him to make the hazardous attempt. His maxim was, that "a brave and victorious army finds no difficulties;"⁸ and he was anxious to verify the truth of the adage in the present instance.

Having ascertained that, to reduce the place, it was necessary to erect batteries on the north of the St Lawrence, the British general endeavoured, by a series of manœuvres, to draw Montcalm from his position; but the French commander was too prudent to risk a battle. With the view of attacking the enemy's intrenchments, General Wolfe sent a small armament up the river above the city, and, having personally surveyed the banks on the side of the enemy from one of the ships, he resolved to cross the river Montmorency and make the attack. He therefore ordered six companies of grenadiers and part of the Royal Americans to cross the river and land near the mouth of the Montmorency, and at the same time directed the two brigades commanded by Generals Murray and Townshend to pass a ford higher up. Close to the water's edge there was a detached redoubt, which the grenadiers were ordered to attack, in the expectation that the enemy would descend from the hill in its defence, and thus bring on a general engagement. At all events the possession of this post was of importance, as from it the British commander could obtain a better view of the enemy's intrenchments than he had yet been able to accomplish. The grenadiers and Royal Americans were the first who landed. They

⁸ General Wolfe's Despatches.

had received orders to form in four distinct bodies, but not to begin the attack till the first brigade should have passed the ford, and be near enough to support them. No attention, however, was paid to these instructions. Before even the first brigade had crossed, the grenadiers, ere they were regularly formed, rushed forward with impetuosity and considerable confusion to attack the enemy's intrenchments. They were received with a well-directed fire, which effectually checked them and threw them into disorder. They endeavoured to form under the redoubt, but being unable to rally, they retreated and formed behind the first brigade, which had by this time landed, and was drawn up on the beach in good order. The plan of attack being thus totally disconcerted, General Wolfe repassed the river and returned to the isle of Orleans. In this unfortunate attempt the British lost 543 of all ranks killed, wounded, and missing. Of the Highlanders, up to the 2d of September, the loss was 18 rank and file killed, Colonel Fraser, Captains Macpherson and Simon Fraser, and Lieutenants Cameron of Gleneves, Ewen Macdonald, and H. Macdonald, and 85 rank and file, wounded. In the general orders which were issued the following morning, General Wolfe complained bitterly of the conduct of the grenadiers: "The check which the grenadiers met with yesterday will, it is hoped, be a lesson to them for the time to come. Such impetuous, irregular, and unsoldier-like proceedings, destroy all order, make it impossible for the commanders to form any disposition for attack, and put it out of the general's power to execute his plan. The grenadiers could not suppose that they alone could beat the French army; and therefore it was necessary that the corps under brigadiers Monckton and Townshend should have time to join, that the attack might be general. The very first fire of the enemy was sufficient to repulse men who had lost all sense of order and military discipline. Amherst's (15th regiment) and the Highlanders alone, by the soldier-like and cool manner they were formed in, would undoubtedly have beaten back the whole Canadian army if they had ventured to attack them."

General Wolfe now changed his plan of operations. Leaving his position at Mont-

morency, he re-embarked his troops and artillery, and landed at Point Levi, whence he passed up the river in transports; but finding no opportunity of annoying the enemy above the town, he resolved to convey his troops farther down, in boats, and land them by night within a league of Cape Diamond, with the view of ascending the heights of Abraham,—which rise abruptly, with steep ascent, from the banks of the river,—and thus gain possession of the ground on the back of the city, where the fortifications were less strong. A plan more replete with dangers and difficulties could scarcely have been devised; but, from the advanced period of the season, it was necessary either to abandon the enterprise altogether, or to make an attempt upon the city, whatever might be the result. The troops, notwithstanding the recent disaster, were in high spirits, and ready to follow their general wherever he might lead them. The commander, on the other hand, though afflicted with a severe dysentery and fever, which had debilitated his frame, resolved to avail himself of the readiness of his men, and to conduct the hazardous enterprise in which they were about to engage in person. In order to deceive the enemy, Admiral Holmes was directed to move farther up the river on the 12th of September, but to sail down in the night time, so as to protect the landing of the forces. These orders were punctually obeyed. About an hour after midnight of the same day four regiments, the light infantry, with the Highlanders and grenadiers, were embarked in flat-bottomed boats, under the command of Brigadiers Monckton and Murray. They were accompanied by General Wolfe, who was among the first that landed. The boats fell down with the tide, keeping close to the north shore in the best order; but, owing to the rapidity of the current, and the darkness of the night, most of the boats landed a little below the intended place of disembarkation.⁹ When the troops were landed the boats

⁹ "The French had posted sentries along shore to challenge boats and vessels, and give the alarm occasionally. The first boat that contained the English troops being questioned accordingly, a captain of Fraser's regiment, who had served in Holland, and who was perfectly well acquainted with the French language and customs, answered without hesitation to *Qui vive!*—which is their challenging word,—*la France*; nor was he at a loss to answer the second

were sent back for the other division, which was under the command of Brigadier-general Fownshend. The ascent to the heights was by a narrow path, that slanted up the precipice from the landing-place; this path the enemy had broken up, and rendered almost impassable, by cross ditches, and they had made an intrenchment at the top of the hill. Notwithstanding these difficulties, Colonel Howe, who was the first to land, ascended the woody precipices, with the light infantry and the Highlanders, and dislodged a captain's guard which defended the narrow path. They then mounted without further molestation, and General Wolfe, who was among the first to gain the summit of the hill, formed the troops on the heights as they arrived. In the ascent the precipice was found to be so steep and dangerous, that the troops were obliged to climb the rugged projections of the rocks, pulling themselves up by aid of the branches of the trees and shrubs growing on both sides of the path. Though much time was thus necessarily occupied in the ascent, yet such was the perseverance of the troops, that they all gained the summit in time to enable the general to form in order of battle before day-break. M. de Montcalm had now no means left of saving Quebec but by risking a battle, and he therefore determined to leave his stronghold and meet the British in the open field. Leaving his camp at Montmorency, he crossed the river St Charles, and, forming his line with great skill, advanced forward to attack his opponents. His right was composed of half the provincial troops, two battalions of regulars, and a body of Canadians and Indians; his centre, of a column of two battalions of Europeans, with

question, which was much more particular and difficult. When the sentinel demanded, *a quel regiment?* the captain replied, *de la reine*, which he knew, by accident, to be one of those that composed the body commanded by Bougainville. The soldier took it for granted this was the expected convoy (a convoy of provisions expected that night for the garrison of Quebec), and, saying *passé*, allowed all the boats to proceed without further question. In the same manner the other sentries were deceived; though one, more wary than the rest, came running down to the water's edge, and called, *Pour quoi est ce que vous ne parlez pas haut?* 'Why don't you speak with an audible voice?' To this interrogation, which implied doubt, the captain answered with admirable presence of mind, in a soft tone of voice, *Tais toi nous serons entendus!* 'hush! we shall be overheard and discovered.' Thus cautioned, the sentry retired without farther altercation."—*Smollett*.

two field-pieces; and his left of one battalion of regulars, and the remainder of the colonial troops. In his front, among brushwood and corn-fields, 1500 of his best marksmen were posted to gall the British as they approached. The British were drawn up in two lines: the first, consisting of the grenadiers, 15th, 28th, 35th Highlanders, and 58th; the 47th regiment formed the second line, or reserve. The Canadians and the Indians, who were posted among the brushwood, kept up an irregular galling fire, which proved fatal to many officers, who, from their dress, were singled out by these marksmen. The fire of this body was, in some measure, checked by the advanced posts of the British, who returned the fire; and a small gun, which was dragged up by the seamen from the landing-place, was brought forward, and did considerable execution. The French now advanced to the charge with great spirit, firing as they advanced; but, in consequence of orders they received, the British troops reserved their fire till the main body of the enemy had approached within forty yards of their line. When the enemy had come within that distance, the whole British line poured in a general and destructive discharge of musketry. Another discharge followed, which had such an effect upon the enemy, that they stopped short, and after making an ineffectual attempt upon the left of the British line, they began to give way. At this time General Wolfe, who had already received two wounds which he had concealed, was mortally wounded whilst advancing at the head of the grenadiers with fixed bayonets. At this instant every separate corps of the British army exerted itself, as if the contest were for its own peculiar honour. Whilst the right pressed on with their bayonets, Brigadier-general Murray briskly advanced with the troops under his command, and soon broke the centre of the enemy, "when the Highlanders, taking to their broad-swords fell in among them with irresistible impetuosity, and drove them back with great slaughter."¹ The action on the left of the British was not so warm. A smart contest, however, took place between part of the enemy's right and some light infantry, who had thrown themselves into houses, which they defended with great courage.

¹ General account of the battle.

During this attack, Colonel Howe, who had taken post with two companies behind a copse, frequently sallied out on the flanks of the enemy, whilst General Townshend advanced in platoons against their front. Observing the left and centre of the French giving way, this officer, on whom the command had just devolved in consequence of General Monckton, the second in command, having been dangerously wounded, hastened to the centre, and finding that the troops had got into disorder in the pursuit, formed them again in line. At this moment, Monsieur de Bougainville, who had marched from Cape Rouge as soon as he heard that the British troops had gained the heights, appeared in their rear at the head of 2000 fresh men. General Townshend immediately ordered two regiments, with two pieces of artillery, to advance against this body; but Bougainville retired on their approach. The wreck of the French army retreated to Quebec and Point Levi.

The loss sustained by the enemy was considerable. About 1000 were made prisoners, including a number of officers, and about 500 died on the field of battle. The death of their brave commander, Montcalm, who was mortally wounded almost at the same instant with General Wolfe, was a serious calamity to the French arms. When informed that his wound was mortal,—“So much the better,” said he, “I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec.” Before his death he wrote a letter to General Townshend, recommending the prisoners to the generous humanity of the British. The death of the two commanders-in-chief, and the disasters which befell Generals Monckton and Severergues, the two seconds in command, who were carried wounded from the field, are remarkable circumstances in the events of this day. This important victory was not gained without considerable loss on the part of the British, who, besides the commander-in-chief, had 8 officers and 48 men killed; and 43 officers and 435 men wounded. Of these, the Highlanders had Captain Thomas Ross of Culrossie, Lieutenant Roderick Maeneil of Barra, Alexander Macdonell, son of Barrisdale, 1 sergeant and 14 rank and file killed; and Captains John Macdonell of Lochgarry, Simon Fraser of Inverallochy; Lieutenants Macdonell, son

of Keppoch, Archibald Campbell, Alexander Campbell, son of Barcaldine, John Douglas, Alexander Fraser, senior; and Ensigns James Mackenzie, Malcolm Fraser, and Alexander Gregorson; 7 sergeants and 131 rank and file, wounded. The death of General Wolfe was a national loss. When the fatal ball pierced the breast of the young hero, he found himself unable to stand, and leaned upon the shoulder of a lieutenant who sat down on the ground. This officer, observing the French give way, exclaimed,—“They run! they run!” “Who run?” inquired the gallant Wolfe with great earnestness. When told that it was the French who were flying: “What,” said he, “do the cowards run already? Then I die happy!” and instantly expired.²

On the 18th of September the town surrendered, and a great part of the surrounding country being reduced, General Townshend embarked for England, leaving a garrison of 5000 effective men in Quebec, under the Hon. General James Murray. Apprehensive of a visit from a considerable French army stationed in Montreal and the neighbouring country, General Murray repaired the fortifications, and put the town in a proper posture of defence; but his troops suffered so much from the rigours of winter, and the want of vegetables and fresh provisions, that, before the end of April, 1760, the garrison was reduced, by death and disease, to about 3000 effective men. Such was the situation of affairs when the general received intelligence that General de Levi, who succeeded the Marquis de Montcalm, had reached Point au Tremble with a force of 10,000 French and Canadians, and 500 Indians. It was the intention of the French commander to cut off the posts which the British had established; but General Murray defeated this scheme, by ordering the bridges over the river Rouge to be broken down, and the landing-places at Sylleri and Foulon to be secured. Next day, the 27th of April, he marched in person with a strong detachment and two field-pieces, and took possession of an advantageous position, which he retained till the afternoon, when the outposts were withdrawn, after which he returned to Quebec with very little loss, although the enemy pressed closely on his rear.

² Smollett.

General Murray was now reduced to the necessity of withstanding a siege, or risking a battle. He chose the latter alternative, a resolution which was deemed by some military men as savouring more of youthful impatience and overstrained courage, than of judgment; but the dangers with which he was beset, in the midst of a hostile population, and the difficulties incident to a protracted siege, seem to afford some justification for that step. In pursuance of his resolution, the general marched out on the 28th of April, at half-past six o'clock in the morning, and formed his little army on the heights of Abraham. The right wing, commanded by Colonel Burton, consisted of the 15th, 48th, 58th, and second battalion of the 60th, or Royal Americans: the left under Colonel Simon Fraser, was formed of the 43d, 23d Welsh fusiliers, and the Highlanders. The 35th, and the third battalion of the 60th, constituted the reserve. The right was covered by Major Dalling's corps of light infantry; and the left by Captain Huzzen's company of rangers, and 100 volunteers, under the command of Captain Macdonald of Fraser's regiment. Observing the enemy in full march in one column, General Murray advanced quickly forward to meet them before they should form their line. His light infantry coming in contact with Levi's advance, drove them back on their main body; but pursuing too far, they were furiously attacked and repulsed in their turn. They fell back in such disorder on the line, as to impede their fire, and in passing round by the right flank to the rear, they suffered much from the fire of a party who were endeavouring to turn that flank. The enemy having made two desperate attempts to penetrate the right wing, the 35th regiment was called up from the reserve, to its support. Meanwhile the British left was struggling with the enemy, who succeeded so far, from their superior numbers, in their attempt to turn that flank, that they obtained possession of two redoubts, but were driven out from both by the Highlanders, sword in hand. By pushing forward fresh numbers, however, the enemy at last succeeded in forcing the left wing to retire, the right giving way about the same time. The French did not attempt to pursue, but allowed the British to retire quietly within the

walls of the city, and to carry away their wounded. The British had 6 officers, and 251 rank and file killed; and 82 officers, and 679 non-commissioned officers and privates, wounded. Among the killed, the Highlanders had Captain Donald Macdonald,³ Lieutenant Cosmo Gordon and 55 non-commissioned officers, pipers, and privates; their wounded were Colonel Fraser, Captains John Campbell of Dunoon, Alexander Fraser, Alexander Macleod, Charles Macdonell; Lieutenants Archibald Campbell, son of Glenlyon, Charles Stewart,⁴ Hector Macdonald, John Macbean, Alexander Fraser, senior, Alexander Campbell, John Nairn, Arthur Rose, Alexander Fraser, junior, Simon Fraser, senior, Archibald M'Alister, Alexander Fraser, John Chisholm, Simon Fraser, junior, Malcolm Fraser, and Donald M'Neil; Ensigns Henry Monro, Robert Menzies, Duncan Cameron (Fassiferu), William Robertson, Alexander

³ "Captain Macdonald was an accomplished high-spirited officer. He was a second son of Clanranald. He entered early in life into the French service, and following Prince Charles Edward to Scotland, in 1745, he was taken prisoner, and along with O'Neil, afterwards a lieutenant-general in the service of Spain, and commander of the expedition against Algiers in 1775, was confined in the castle of Edinburgh; but being liberated without trial, he returned to France, where he remained till 1756, when he came back to Scotland, and was appointed to a company in Fraser's Highlanders. On the expeditions against Louisburg and Quebec he was much in the confidence of Generals Amherst, Wolfe, and Murray, by whom he was employed on all duties where more than usual difficulty and danger was to be encountered, and where more than common talent, address, and spirited example were required. Of these several instances occurred at Louisburg and Quebec."—Stewart's *Sketches*.

⁴ "This officer engaged in the Rebellion of 1745, and was in Stewart of Appin's regiment, which had seventeen officers and gentlemen of the name of Stewart killed, and ten wounded, at Culloden. He was severely wounded on that occasion, as he was on this. As he lay in his quarters some days afterwards, speaking to some brother officers on the recent battles, he exclaimed, 'From April battles and Murray generals, good Lord, deliver me!' alluding to his wound at Culloden, where the vanquished blamed Lord George Murray, the commander-in-chief of the rebel army, for fighting on the best field in the country for regular troops, artillery, and cavalry; and likewise alluding to his present wound, and to General Murray's conduct in marching out of a garrison to attack an enemy, more than treble his numbers, in an open field, where their wholeness could be brought to act. One of those story retailers who are sometimes about headquarters, lost no time in communicating this disrespectful prayer of the rebellious clansman; General Murray, who was a man of humour and of a generous mind, called on the wounded officer the following morning, and heartily wished him better deliverance in the next battle, when he hoped to give him occasion to pray in a different manner."—Stewart's *Sketches*.

Gregorson, and Malcolm Fraser,⁵ and 129 non-commissioned officers and privates. The enemy lost twice the number of men.

Shortly after the British had retired, General Levi moved forward on Quebec, and having taken up a position close to it, opened a fire at five o'clock. He then proceeded to besiege the city in form, and General Murray made the necessary dispositions to defend the place. The siege was continued till the 10th of May, when it was suddenly raised; the enemy retreating with great precipitation, leaving all their artillery implements and stores behind. This unexpected event was occasioned by the destruction or capture of all the enemy's ships above Quebec, by an English squadron which had arrived in the river, and the advance of General Amherst on Montreal. General Murray left Quebec in pursuit of the enemy, but was unable to overtake them. The junction of General Murray with General Amherst, in the neighbourhood of Montreal, in the month of September, and the surrender of that last stronghold of the French in Canada, have been already mentioned in the history of the service of the 42d regiment.

Fraser's Highlanders were not called again into active service till the summer of 1762, when they were, on the expedition under Colonel William Amherst, sent to retake St John's, Newfoundland, a detailed account of which has been given in the notice of Montgomery's Highlanders. In this service Captain Macdonell of Fraser's regiment, was mortally wounded, 3 rank and file killed, and 7 wounded.

At the conclusion of the war, a number of the officers and men having expressed a desire to settle in North America, had their wishes granted, and an allowance of land given them. The rest returned to Scotland, and were discharged. When the war of the American revolution broke out, upwards of 300 of those men who had remained in the country, enlisted in the 84th regiment, in 1775, and formed

part of two fine battalions embodied under the name of the Royal Highland Emigrants.

Many of the hundreds of Frasers who now form so important a part of the population of Canada claim descent from these Fraser Highlanders who settled in America. Full details concerning the Canadian branch of the great clan Fraser have already been given at the conclusion of our history of that clan.

The loss of this regiment during four years' active service was—

In officers,	KILLED.
Non-commissioned officers and privates,	14
Total,	123
In officers,	WOUNDED.
Non-commissioned officers and privates,	46
Total,	400
Grand Total,	569

II.

OLD SEVENTY-FIRST REGIMENT.

1775—1783.

Raising of the Regiment—American Revolutionary War—Honourable place assigned to the regiment—Brooklyn—Various expeditions—Savannah—Boston Creek—Defence of Savannah—Stony Point and Verplanks—Camden—Catawba River—South Carolina—Guilford Court-house—York River—Reduction of Regiment.

THE American revolutionary war requiring extraordinary exertions on the part of the Government, it was resolved in 1775 to revive Fraser's Highlanders, by raising two battalions, under the auspices of Colonel Fraser, who, for his services, had been rewarded by King George III. with a grant of the family estates of Lovat, which had been forfeited in 1746. In his exertions to raise the battalions, Colonel Fraser was warmly assisted by his officers, of whom no less than six, besides himself, were chiefs of clans, and within a few months after the letters of service were issued, two battalions of 2340 Highlanders were raised, and assembled first at Stirling, and afterwards at Glasgow, in April 1776. The following were the names of the officers:—

FIRST BATTALION.

Colonel.—The Honourable Simon Fraser of Lovat, died in 1782, a lieutenant-general.

Lieutenant-Colonel.—Sir William Erskine of Torry, died in 1795, a lieutenant-general.

⁵ In a journal kept by this officer, lent to the editor by the Hon. John Fraser de Berry, "Chief of the Frasers of the Province of Quebec," Member of the Legislative Council of Canada, &c., it is stated that the 78th had about 400 men in the field on this occasion, half of whom had of their own accord left the hospital to take part in the fight.

Majors.

John Macdonell of Lochgarry, died in 1789, colonel.
Duncan Macpherson of Cluny, retired from the foot-
guards in 1791, died in 1820.

Captains.

Simon Fraser, died lieutenant-general in 1812.
Duncan Chisholm of Chisholm.
Colin Mackenzie, died general in 1818.
Francis Skelly, died in India, lieutenant-colonel of the
94th regiment.
Hamilton Maxwell, brother of Monreith, died in
India lieutenant-colonel of the 74th regiment, 1794.
John Campbell, son of Lord Stonefield, died lieu-
tenant-colonel of the 2d battalion of 42d regiment
at Madras, 1784.
Norman Macleod of Macleod, died lieutenant-general,
1796.
Sir James Baird of Saughtonhall.
Charles Cameron of Lochiel, died 1776.

Lieutenants.

Charles Campbell, son of Ardchattan,
killed at Catauba.
John Macdougall.
Colin Mackenzie.
John Nairne, son of Lord Nairne.
William Nairne, afterwards Lord Nairne.
Charles Gordon.
David Kinloch.
Thomas Tause, killed at Savannah.
William Sinclair.
Hugh Fraser.
Alexander Fraser.
Thomas Fraser, son of Leadlune.
Dougald Campbell, son of Craignish.
Robert Macdonald, son of Sanda.
Alexander Fraser.
Roderick Macleod.
John Ross.
Patrick Cumming.
Thomas Hamilton.

Ensigns.

Archibald Campbell.
Henry Macpherson.
John Grant.
Robert Campbell, son of Ederline.
Allan Malcolm.
John Murchison.
Angus Macdonell.
Peter Fraser.

Chaplain.—Hugh Blair, D.D., Professor of Rhetoric
in the University of Edinburgh.

Adjutant.—Donald Cameron.

Quarter-master.—David Campbell.

Surgeon.—William Fraser.

SECOND BATTALION.

Colonel.—Simon Fraser.

Lieutenant-Colonel.

Archibald Campbell, died lieutenant-general, 1792.

Majors.

Norman Lamont, son of the Laird of Lamont.
Robert Menzies, killed in Boston harbour, 1776.

Captains.

Angus Mackintosh of Kellachy, formerly Captain in
Keith's Highlanders, died in South Carolina, 1780.
Patrick Campbell, son of Glenure.
Andrew Lawrie.

Aneas Mackintosh of Mackintosh.

Charles Cameron, son of Fassfern, killed at
Savannah, 1779.

George Munro, son of Culcairn.

Boyd Porterfield.

Law Robert Campbell.

Lieutenants.

Robert Hutchison.
Alexander Sutherland.
Archibald Campbell.
Hugh Lamont.
Robert Duncanson.
George Stewart.
Charles Barrington Mackenzie.
James Christie.
James Fraser.
Dougald Campbell, son of Achnaba.
Lodovick Colquhoun, son of Luss.
John Mackenzie.
Hugh Campbell, son of Glenure.
John Campbell.
Arthur Forbes.
Patrick Campbell.
Archibald Maclean.
David Ross.
Thomas Fraser.
Archibald Balnevis, son of Edradour.
Robert Grant.
Thomas Fraser.

Ensigns.

William Gordon.
Charles Main.
Archibald Campbell.
Donald Cameron.
Smollett Campbell, son of Craignish.
Gilbert Waugh.
William Bain.
John Grant.

Chaplain.—Malcolm Nicholson.

Adjutant.—Archibald Campbell.

Quarter-master.—J. Ogilvie.

Surgeon.—Colin Chisholm, afterwards physician in
Bristol.

At the time when the regiment was mustered
in Glasgow, there were nearly 6000 Highlanders
in that city, of whom 3000 belonging to the
42d and 71st regiments were raised and brought
from the North in ten weeks. A finer and a
more healthy and robust body of men could
not have been anywhere selected; and their
conduct was so laudable and exemplary as to
gain the affections of the inhabitants, between
whom and the soldiers the greatest cordiality
prevailed. So great was the desire of the
Highlanders to enlist into this new regiment,
that before leaving Glasgow for embarkation,
it was found that more men had arrived than
were required, and it became necessary, there-
fore, to leave some of them behind; but unwilling
to remain, several of these stole on board
the transports, and were not discovered till
the fleet was at sea. There were others,

however, who did not evince the same ardour to accompany their countrymen. A body of 120 men had been raised on the forfeited estate of Captain Cameron of Lochiel, by the ancient tenants, with the view of securing him a company. Lochiel was at the time in London, and being indisposed, was unable to join the regiment. His men were exceedingly disappointed at not meeting their chief and captain at Glasgow, and when they received orders to embark, they hesitated, as they believed that some misfortune had befallen him; but General Fraser, with a persuasive eloquence, in which he was well skilled, removed their scruples; and as Captain Cameron of Fassifern, a friend and near relation of Lochiel, was appointed to the company, they cheerfully consented to embark.⁶ When Lochiel heard of the conduct of his men he hastened to Glasgow, though he had not recovered from the severe illness which had detained him in London; but the fatigue of the journey brought on a return of his complaint, to which he fell a victim in a few weeks. His death was greatly lamented, as he was universally respected.

Some time after the sailing of the fleet, it was scattered in a violent gale, and several of the ships were attacked singly by American privateers. One of these, with eight guns, attacked a transport with two six pounders only, having Captain (afterwards Sir Æneas) Macintosh and his company on board. Having spent all their ammunition, the transport bore down upon the privateer to board her; but the latter sheered off, and the transport proceeded on her voyage.

Another transport, having Colonel Archibald Campbell and Major Menzies on board, was not so fortunate. Ignorant of the evacuation of Boston by General Howe, they sailed into

⁶ "While General Fraser was speaking in Gaelic to the men, an old Highlander, who had accompanied his son to Glasgow, was leaning on his staff gazing at the general with great earnestness. When he had finished, the old man walked up to him, and with that easy familiar intercourse which in those days subsisted between the Highlanders and their superiors, shook him by the hand, exclaiming, 'Simon, you are a good soldier, and speak like a man; as long as you live, Simon of Lovat will never die;' alluding to the general's address and manner, which, as was said, resembled much that of his father, Lord Lovat, whom the old Highlanders knew perfectly. The late General Sir George Beckwith witnessed the above scene, and often spoke of it with much interest."—Stewart's *Sketches*.

Boston harbour, and were instantly attacked by three privateers full of men. The transport beat off her antagonists, but expended all her ammunition, and getting her rudder disabled by a shot, she grounded under a battery, and was forced to surrender. Major Menzies and seven men were killed, and Colonel Campbell and the rest were made prisoners. The death of Major Menzies was a great loss, as from his great military experience he was particularly well qualified to discipline the corps which had not yet undergone the process of drilling.

The regiment joined the army under General Howe in Staten island, and though totally undisciplined, the 71st was immediately put in front, the general judging well from the experience he had had of Fraser's Highlanders in the seven years' war, that their bravery, if engaged before being disciplined, would make up for their want of discipline. The regiment was divided, the grenadiers being placed in the battalion under the Hon. Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Stewart, and the other companies, which were formed into three small battalions, formed a brigade under Sir William Erskine.

The first affair in which they were engaged was the battle of Brooklyn, referred to in the notice of the 42d. In this action they fully justified the expectations of the commander. They displayed, in common with the other troops, great eagerness to push the enemy to extremities, and compel them to abandon the strong position they had taken up; but from a desire to save the lives of his troops, General Howe restrained their ardour by recalling the right wing, in which the grenadiers were, from the attack. The loss sustained on this occasion by the 71st was 3 rank and file killed, and 2 sergeants and 9 rank and file wounded.

The regiment passed the winter at Amboy. The next campaign was spent in skirmishes, in some of which the regiment was engaged. They were also employed in the expeditions against Willsborough and Westfield, at the commencement of the campaign of 1777. They afterwards embarked for the Chesapeake, and part of them were engaged in the battle of Brandywine. They embarked for New York in November, where they received an accession of 200 recruits from Scotland. Along with 100 more from the hospital, they were formed

into a corps under Captain Colin (afterwards General) Mackenzie. This small corps acted as light infantry, and formed part of an expedition sent up the New River to make a diversion in favour of General Burgoyne's movements. This corps led a successful assault on Fort Montgomery on the 6th of October, in which they displayed great courage. In the year 1778 the 71st regiment was employed in the Jerseys, under Lord Cornwallis, in which excursion an occasion occurred for distinguishing themselves.

On the 29th of November 1777, an expedition, of which the 71st formed a part, destined against Savannah, the capital of Georgia, sailed from Sandy Hook, and reached the river of that name about the end of December, under Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Campbell, who had been exchanged this year. The 1st battalion and the light infantry, having landed a little below the town, Captain Cameron, an "officer of high spirit and great promise," instantly pushed forward to attack the advanced post of the enemy, when he and three men were killed by a volley. The remainder advancing, charged the enemy and drove them back on the main body drawn up in line in an open plain behind the town. As soon as the disembarkation was finished, Colonel Campbell formed his army in line, and whilst he detached Sir James Baird with the light infantry, to get round the right flank of the enemy by a narrow path, he sent the corps, lately Captain Cameron's, to get round the left. The attention of the enemy being occupied by the army in front, they neglected to watch the motions of the flanking parties, who, on reaching their ground, made signals to the front to advance. These being instantly answered, the enemy now perceived they were nearly surrounded, and turning their backs fled in great disorder. They suffered severely from the light infantry, who closed in upon their flanks; they had 100 men killed, and 500 wounded or taken prisoners. The British had only 4 soldiers killed and 5 wounded. The town then surrendered, and the British took possession of all the shipping and stores and 45 pieces of cannon.

Colonel Campbell now advanced into the interior, and entered Augusta, a town 150 miles distant from Savannah, where he established

himself. Meanwhile General Prevost, having arrived at Savannah from Florida, assumed the command. Judging the ground occupied too extensive, he evacuated Augusta. The Americans, taking courage from this retrograde movement, assembled in considerable numbers, and harassed the rear of the British. The Loyalists in the interior were greatly dispirited, and, being left unprotected, suffered much from the disaffected. The winter was spent in making some inroads into the interior, to keep the Americans in check. About this time Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland succeeded to the command of the regiment, in consequence of the return of Colonel Campbell to England, on leave of absence.

The regiment remained almost inactive till the month of February 1779, when it was employed in an enterprise against Boston Creek, a strong position defended by upwards of 2000 men, besides 1000 occupied in detached stations. The front of this position was protected by a deep swamp, and the only approach in that way was by a narrow causeway; on each flank were thick woods nearly impenetrable, except by the drier parts of the swamps which intersected them; but the position was more open in the rear. To dislodge the enemy from this stronghold, which caused considerable annoyance, Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan Macpherson,⁷ with the first battalion of the 71st, was directed to march upon the front of the position; whilst Colonel Prevost, and Lieutenant-Colonels Maitland and Macdonald, with the 2d battalion, the light infantry, and a party of provincials, were ordered to attempt the rear by a circuitous route of many miles. These combined movements were executed with such precision, that, in ten minutes after Colonel Macpherson appeared at the head of the causeway in front, the fire of the body in the rear was heard. Sir James Baird, with the light infantry, rushing through the openings in the swamps on the left flank, the enemy were overpowered after a short resistance. In this affair the Highlanders had 3 soldiers killed, and 1 officer and 12 rank and file wounded.

⁷ This officer was called *Duncan of the Kiln*, from the circumstance of his being born in an old malt-kiln, which was fitted up as a temporary residence for his mother, after the destruction of his father's castle of Cluny, in 1745.

General Prevost next determined to dislodge a considerable force under General Lincoln, stationed on the South Carolina side of the river. With the troops lately so successful at Brien's Creek, he crossed the river ten miles below the enemy's position. Whilst the general advanced on their front, he ordered the 71st to attack their rear by a circuitous march of several miles. Guided by a party of Creek Indians, the Highlanders entered a woody swamp at eleven o'clock at night, in traversing which they were frequently up to the shoulders in the swamp. They cleared the woods at eight o'clock in the morning, with their ammunition destroyed. They were now within half a mile of the enemy's rear, and although General Prevost had not yet moved from his position, the Highlanders instantly attacked and drove the enemy from their position without sustaining any loss.

Emboldened by this partial success, the general made an attempt upon Charleston; but after summoning the town to surrender, he was induced, by the approach of the American general, Lincoln, with a large force, to desist, and determined to return to his former quarters in Georgia. As the Americans were in arms, and had possessed themselves of the principal pass on the route, he was forced to return by the sea-coast, a course very injurious to the troops, as they had to march through unfrequented woods, and salt water marshes and swamps, where they could not obtain fresh water. In this retreat, the British force was separated in consequence of Lieutenant-Colonel Prevost, the Quarter-master-general, who had gone with a party on a foraging excursion, having removed part of a bridge of boats leading to John's Island. The enemy, who had 5000 men in the neighbourhood, endeavoured to avail themselves of this circumstance, and pushed forward 2000 men with some artillery, to attack a battalion of the Highlanders and some Hessians under Colonel Maitland, who were placed in a redoubt at Stone Ferry, for the purpose of protecting the foraging party. Hearing of the advance of the enemy, Colonel Maitland sent out Captain Colin Campbell,⁸ with 4 officers and 56 men, to reconnoitre.

⁸ He was son of Campbell of Glendaruel, in Argyleshire.

Whilst this small party was standing on an open field, the enemy emerged from a thick wood. Regardless of the inequality of numbers, Captain Campbell attacked the enemy with great vivacity; and a desperate contest took place, in which all the Highlanders and officers, except 7 of the soldiers, fell. When Captain Campbell was struck, he desired such of his men as were able to retire to the redoubt; but they refused to obey, as they considered that if they left their officers behind in the field, they would bring a lasting disgrace on themselves. The enemy, unexpectedly, ceased firing, and the 7 men, availing themselves of the respite, retired, carrying their wounded officers along with them, followed by such of the soldiers as were able to walk. The enemy then advanced on the redoubt, and the Hessians having got into confusion, they forced an entrance; but they were driven out by the Highlanders, at the point of the bayonet. The enemy were preparing for another attack, but the second battalion of the Highlanders having come up, the Americans retired with considerable loss.

After this affair, General Prevost retired with the main body towards Savannah, leaving behind him 700 men under Colonel Maitland, who took up a position in the island of Port Royal. In the month of September 1779, the Count D'Estaing arrived on the coast of Georgia with a large fleet, with troops on board, for the purpose of retaking Savannah, then garrisoned by 1100 effective men, including one battalion of the 71st. The town, situated on a sandy plain, gently declining towards the south, had few natural or artificial means of defence, and as the force about to attack it was said to exceed 12,000 men, the British general had nothing to rely upon but the energy and firmness of his troops. The Count, on landing, made regular approaches, and summoned the town to surrender. In the absence of Colonel Maitland's detachment in Port Royal, time was of importance, and being demanded, was granted. Colonel Maitland, on hearing of the arrival of the enemy, instantly set out for Savannah; but finding the principal passes and fords in possession of the enemy, he made a wide circuit; and after a most tedious march through marshes and woods hitherto considered impassable, he

reached Savannah before General Prevost had returned a definitive answer to D'Estaing's summons.

Having thus accomplished his object, General Prevost made immediate preparations to defend the place to the last extremity, and being seconded by the zeal and abilities of Captain Moncrieff, the chief engineer, and the exertions of the officers and soldiers, assisted by the Negro population, the town was put in a good state of defence before the enemy had completed their approaches. During these operations, several sorties were made by the garrison. On the morning of the 24th of September, Major Colin Graham sallied out with the light company of the 16th and the Highlanders, and drove the enemy from their outworks, with the loss of 14 officers, and 145 men killed, wounded, and prisoners. In this affair, Lieutenant Henry Macpherson of the 71st and 3 privates were killed, and 15 wounded. In another sortie, Major Macarthur with the piquets of the Highlanders advanced with such caution, that, after a few rounds, the Americans and French, mistaking their object, fired on each other, and killed 50 men, during which encounter he retired without loss.

Having completed his arrangements, D'Estaing made an assault, on the 9th of October, before day-break, with all his forces. Owing to a thick fog, and the darkness of the morning, it was some time before the besieged could ascertain in what direction the principal attack was to be made. As soon as daylight appeared, the French and American forces were seen advancing in three columns, D'Estaing leading the right in person. By taking too large a circuit, the left column got entangled in a swamp, and being exposed to the guns of the garrison, fell into confusion, and was unable to advance. The heads of the right and centre columns suffered greatly, from a well-directed fire from the batteries; but they still persevered in advancing; the men in the rear supplying the place of those who fell in front. When the enemy reached the first redoubt, the contest became furious; many of them entered the ditch, and some of them even ascended and planted the colours on the parapet, where they were killed. The first man who mounted was stabbed by Captain Tawse of the 71st, who

commanded the redoubt, and the Captain himself was shot dead by the man who followed. The grenadiers of the 60th came up to the support of Captain Archibald Campbell, who had assumed the command of the redoubt, and the enemy's column, being attacked on both sides, was broken and driven back with precipitation.

In this enterprise the enemy are supposed to have lost 1500 men killed, wounded, and prisoners. The British had only 3 officers and 36 soldiers killed, and 2 officers and 60 men wounded. The Americans retired to South Carolina, and the French to their ships. The garrison before the siege was sickly, but during active operations, the disease was in a manner suspended, an affect which has been often observed in the army. After the cause of excitement was over, by the raising of the siege, the men relapsed, and one-fourth of them were sent to the hospital.⁹

The grenadiers of the 71st were not employed in Georgia, but were posted at Stony Point and Verplanks, in the state of New York, which places had been recently taken from the enemy. Wishing to make amends for allowing his post to be surprised by Major-General Sir Charles Grey, the American general, Wayne, was sent to retake the posts of Stony Point and Verplanks. Accordingly, with a body of troops, he proceeded at eight o'clock in the evening of the 15th of July 1779, and taking post in a hollow within two miles of the fort, advanced unperceived, about midnight, in two columns. One of these gained the summit, on which the fort stood, without being observed, and the garrison being surprised, surrendered after a short resistance, with the loss of 17 soldiers

⁹ One of the first who died was the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland, son of the Earl of Lauderdale. He was an able and an enterprising officer, and attracted the particular notice of General Washington, with whom he was personally acquainted. During some of the operations, which brought them into occasional collision, Colonel Maitland jocularly notified to the American general, that, to enable him to distinguish the Highlanders, so that he might do justice to their exploits, in annoying his posts, and obstructing his convoys and detachments, they would in future wear a red feather in their bonnets. Fraser's Highlanders accordingly put the red feather in their bonnets, which they wore till the conclusion of the war. This must not be confounded with the red feather of the 42d, the origin of which has been given in the history of that regiment.

killed, and 3 officers and 72 privates wounded. The piquet, which was commanded by Lieutenant Cumming of the 71st, resisted one of the columns till almost all the men composing it were killed or wounded. Lieutenant Cumming was among the latter.

After the surrender of Charleston on the 12th of May 1780, to the forces under Sir Henry Clinton, Lord Cornwallis was appointed to the command of the southern provinces. Having projected an excursion into the interior, he was joined by the 71st, which had remained at Savannah in quarters during the winter. In the beginning of June, the army, amounting to 2500, reached Cambden, and encamped in the neighbourhood, the general making that place his head quarters. The American general, Gates, having, in July, assembled a force of 7000 men, took up a position at Rugley's Mill, nearly twelve miles from Cambden. Determined to surprise and attack the enemy, the British general moved forward on the night of the 15th of August; whilst, by a singular coincidence, the American commander left his position at the very same hour, with the same intention. It was full moon, and the sky was unclouded. Before three o'clock in the morning, the advanced guards met half-way, and exchanged some shots; but both generals, ignorant of each other's strength, declined a general action, and lay on their arms till morning. The ground on which the armies lay was a sandy plain, with straggling trees, but a part on the left of the British was soft and boggy. Each army prepared for battle, by forming line. The British right consisted of the light infantry and the Welsh fusiliers; the 33d regiment and the volunteers of Ireland formed the centre; and the provincials composed the left, having the marshy ground in their front. Whilst this formation was going on, Captain Charles Campbell, who commanded the Highland light companies on the right, mounted the stump of an old tree to reconnoitre, and perceiving the enemy in motion, as if they intended to turn his flank, he leaped down, muttering to himself, "I'll see you damned first," and calling to his men, said, "Remember you are light infantry; remember you are Highlanders:—charge!" The Highlanders instantly rushed forward, and such was the

impetuosity of the attack, that the division of the enemy which was to have surrounded the right of the British was completely broken, and driven from the field before the battle commenced in the other parts of the line. In the contest which took place between these, the centre of the enemy gained ground; but neither party seeming disposed to advance, a pause of a few minutes took place, as if by mutual consent, during which both parties remained stationary without firing a shot. Whilst matters were in this state Lord Cornwallis ordered the corps in the centre to open their right and left; and when a considerable space intervened, he directed the Highlanders, who were getting impatient at being left in the rear, whilst their friends were fighting in front, to advance and occupy the vacant space. When the Highlanders had taken their ground, his lordship cried out, "My brave Highlanders, now is your time!" The words were scarcely uttered, when they rushed forward, accompanied by the 33d, and the volunteers of Ireland. The charge was irresistible, and the centre of the enemy was completely overthrown. Meanwhile the right of the enemy, which was enveloped in the smoke of the fire, advanced unperceived, and gained the ground on which the Highlanders had been formerly posted as a reserve. Unaware of the fate of their companions, they gave three cheers for victory; but their joy was of short duration, for, the smoke immediately clearing up, they saw their mistake; and a party of Highlanders turning on them, the greater part threw down their arms, whilst the remainder flew in all directions. The loss of the British in this decisive action was 3 officers and 66 men killed, and 17 officers and 226 rank and file wounded. Lieutenant Archibald Campbell and 3 soldiers of the 71st were killed, and Captain Hugh Campbell, Lieutenant John Grant, 2 sergeants, and 30 privates wounded.¹

Though the battle of the 16th of August

¹ In a letter communicated to General Stewart by Dr Chisholm of Bristol, an eye-witness, the writer says that there were many acts of individual prowess. One will suffice. "A tough stump of a Sutherland Highlander, of the name of Mackay, afterwards my own batman, entered the battle with his bayonet perfectly straight, and brought it out twisted like a cork-screw, and with his own hand had put to death seven of the enemy."

was decisive, yet as General Sumpter with a strong corps occupied positions on the Catawba river, which commanded the road to Charleston, it was necessary to dislodge him. For this purpose Colonel Tarleton was directed to proceed with the cavalry, and a corps of light infantry, under Captain Charles Campbell of the 71st. On the morning of the 18th they came in sight of Fishing-Creek, and observing some smoke at a short distance on their right, the sergeant of the advanced guard halted his party, and went forward to reconnoitre. He observed an encampment with arms piled, and, with the exception of a few sentinels and some persons employed in cooking, the soldiers were reposing in groups apparently asleep. The sergeant reporting what he had seen to Captain Campbell, the latter, who commanded in front, fearing a discovery, formed such of the cavalry as had come up, and with 40 of the Highlander light infantry rushed quickly forward, secured the piled arms, and surprised the camp. The success was complete; a few men were killed, nearly 500 surrendered prisoners, and the rest fled in all directions. The loss was trifling, but the Highlanders had in an especial manner to regret the death of Captain Campbell, who was killed by a random shot.

The American general, Morgan, having entered South Carolina, in December 1780, with about 1100 men, Colonel Tarleton was detached with some infantry, of which the first battalion of the 71st formed a part, and a small body of cavalry. On the morning of the 17th of January 1781, intelligence was received that General Morgan was posted on a rising ground in front, which was thinly covered with pine trees. The front line was drawn up on the top of the rising ground, and the second, four hundred paces in rear of the first. Colonel Tarleton instantly formed in order of battle. In front he placed the 7th, or fusileers, the infantry of the British legion, and the light infantry; the Highlanders and cavalry formed the reserve. The line, exhausted by running at a rapid pace, received the fire of the enemy at the distance of thirty or forty yards, which did considerable execution. The fire was returned, but without spirit and with little effect; and it was kept up on both

sides for ten or twelve minutes, neither party advancing. The light infantry then made two attempts to charge, but were repulsed with loss. In this state of matters the Highlanders were ordered up, and advancing rapidly to the charge, the enemy's front line instantly gave way; and this retrograde motion being observed by the second line, which had not yet been engaged, it immediately faced to the right and inclined backwards, and by this skillful manœuvre opened a space by which the front line retreated. Eager to pursue, the Highlanders followed the front line, when Colonel Howard, who commanded the enemy's reserve, threw in a destructive fire upon the 71st, when within forty yards of the hostile force. So disastrous was the effect of this fire, that nearly one half of the Highlanders fell; and the rest were so scattered over the ground, on which they pursued, that they could not be united to form a charge with the bayonet. Though checked, the Highlanders did not fall back, probably expecting that the first line and the cavalry would come up to their support; but they were mistaken: and after some irregular firing between them and Colonel Howard's reserve, the front line of the Americans rallied, returned to the field, and pushed forward to the right flank of the Highlanders. Alone, and unsupported, and almost overpowered by the increasing numbers of the enemy, the Highlanders "began to retire, and at length to run, the first instance (may it be the only one!) of a Highland regiment running *from* an enemy!"² A general rout ensued; few of the infantry escaped, but the cavalry saved themselves by the speed of their horses. The loss of the British, in this disastrous affair, exceeded 400 men. The Highland officers were perfectly satisfied with the conduct of their men, and imputing the disaster altogether to the bad dispositions of Colonel Tarleton, made a representation to Lord Cornwallis, not to be employed again under the same officer, a request with which his lordship complied.

The main body of the American army under General Green retreated northward after this action, and Lord Cornwallis made every exertion to follow them. Previous to the

² Stewart's *Sketches*.

march the two battalions of the 71st, being greatly reduced, were consolidated into one, and formed in brigade with the Welsh fusileers and 33d regiment. General Green retreated to Guildford Court-house, where on the 16th of March he prepared for battle. He drew up his army in three lines: the first occupied the edge of a wood with a fence in front of Hogstie farm; the second a wood of stunted oaks at some distance in the rear; and the third line was drawn up in the more open parts of the woods and upon cleared ground. The front line of the British was formed of the German regiment of De Bos, the Highlanders and guards under the Honourable General Leslie on the right; and the Welsh fusileers, 33d regiment, and 2d battalion of guards under Brigadier-General Charles O'Hara, on the left. The cavalry were in the rear, supported by the light infantry of the guards and the German Jagers.

The order of battle being completed, the attack began at one o'clock. The Americans, covered by the fence in their front, reserved their fire till the British were within thirty or forty paces, at which distance they opened a most destructive fire, which annihilated nearly one-third of Colonel Webster's brigade. The fire was returned by the brigade, who rushed forward on the enemy. These abandoned their fence, and retreated on the second line. The contest was maintained with greater pertinacity on the more open ground, where the regiment of De Bos and the 33d retreated and advanced repeatedly before they succeeded in driving the enemy from the field. A party of the guards pressing forward without observing a body of cavalry placed in the right flank as a reserve, were charged in flank, had their line broken, and lost several men. The enemy, who had retreated, emboldened by the effect of this charge, halted, turned their face to the field, and recommenced firing. Whilst matters were in this state, and the Hessians warmly engaged, the Highlanders, who had rapidly pushed round the flank, appeared on a rising ground in rear of the enemy's left, and rushing forward with shouts, made such an impression on the Americans that they immediately fled, leaving their guns and ammunition behind. In this well-con-

tested action every corps fought separately, each depending on its own firmness; and having to sustain the weight of so greatly superior numbers, the issue was for some time doubtful. The British had 7 officers and 102 non-commissioned officers and rank and file killed, among whom were Ensign Grant and 11 soldiers of the 71st; and 20 officers and 419 non-commissioned officers and rank and file wounded, including 4 sergeants and 46 soldiers of the same regiment.

No solid advantage was gained by this battle, as Lord Cornwallis found it necessary to retreat, and was even obliged to leave his wounded behind in a house in the neighbourhood. The British took the direction of Cross Creek, followed close in the rear by the Americans. The settlement of Cross Creek was possessed by emigrant Highlanders, who had evinced great loyalty during the war; and they now offered to bring 1500 men into the field, and to furnish every necessary except arms and ammunition, but stipulated that they should be commanded by officers from the line. This reasonable offer was declined; but it was proposed to form them into what was called a provincial corps of the line. This proposition was rejected by the emigrant Highlanders, who retired to their settlements, after a negotiation of twelve days. The army then marched for Wilmington, where it arrived on the 17th of April. Here Lord Cornwallis halted till the 26th, when he proceeded on the route to Petersburg. After traversing several hundred miles of a country chiefly hostile, he arrived at Petersburg on the 20th of May, where he formed a junction with Major-general Philips, who had recently arrived from New York with 3000 men. With the united forces, which amounted to 6000 men, Lord Cornwallis proceeded to Portsmouth, and whilst he was preparing to cross the river at St James's island, the Marquis de la Fayette, ignorant of the strength of the British army, gallantly attacked Colonel Thomas Dundas's brigade, with 2000 men. The Marquis was repulsed, but not without a warm contest.

Arriving at Portsmouth, Lord Cornwallis continued his march to Yorktown, and took up a position on the York river, on the 22d of

August. The place selected was an elevated platform, on the banks of the river, nearly level. On the right of the position, extending from the river, was a ravine about forty feet in depth, and upwards of one hundred yards in breadth; a line of entrenchments, with a hornwork, formed the centre. Beyond the ravine, on the right of the position, was an extensive redoubt, and two smaller ones on the left, also advanced beyond the entrenchments. These defences, which constituted the chief strength of the camp, were not completed when General Washington, who had been lately joined by the Count de Rochambeau, took up a position at the distance of two miles from the British lines. His force consisted of 7000 French and 12,000 Americans, being thrice as numerous as that of the British, which did not exceed 5950 men.

General Washington immediately proceeded to erect batteries, and to make his approaches. He first directed his fire against the redoubt on the right, which after four days' bombardment was reduced to a heap of sand. He did not, however, attempt an assault on this point of the position, but turned his whole force against the redoubts on the left, which he carried by storm, and turned the guns of the redoubts on the other parts of the entrenchments. Some soldiers of the 71st, who had manned one of these redoubts, conceiving that the honour of the regiment was compromised by their expulsion from the redoubt, sent a petition through the commanding officer to Lord Cornwallis, for permission to retake it; but as his lordship did not think that the acquisition would be of much importance, under existing circumstances, he declined.

Finding his position quite untenable, and his situation becoming every hour more critical, the British commander determined to decamp at midnight with the *elite* of his army, to cross the river, and leave a small force in the works to capitulate for the sick and wounded, the former being very numerous. The plan would have succeeded had not the passage of the river been rendered dangerous, if not impracticable, by a squall of wind. The first division was embarked, and some of the boats had reached Gloucester Point on the

opposite shore, when the General countermanded the enterprise in consequence of a storm which arose. Judging farther resistance hopeless, Lord Cornwallis made proposals of capitulation, and the terms being adjusted, the British troops marched out with their arms and baggage on the 8th of October 1781, and were afterwards sent to different parts of the country. The garrison had 6 officers and 150 non-commissioned officers and rank and file killed, and 6 officers and 319 non-commissioned officers and rank and file wounded. Lieutenant Fraser and 9 soldiers of the 71st were killed, and 3 drummers and 19 soldiers wounded.

The military services of this army, which were now closed, had been most arduous. In less than twelve months they had marched and countermarched nearly 2000 miles, had been subjected to many severe hardships, and besides numerous skirmishes had fought two pitched battles, in all of which they had been victorious; yet all their exertions were unavailing in the general contest.

With this misfortune also ended the military career of the Fraser Highlanders, who remained prisoners till the conclusion of the war. True to their allegiance, they resisted to a man the solicitations of the Americans to join their standard and settle among them, thus exhibiting a striking contrast to many soldiers of other corps, who, in violation of their oath, entered the American ranks. In other respects the conduct of the Highlanders was in perfect keeping with this high state of moral feeling and daring, not one instance of disgraceful conduct ever having occurred in the old 71st. The only case of military insubordination was that which happened at Leith in April 1779, of which an account has been given in the history of the 42d regiment; but it is clear that no fault was attributable to the men of the detachment in question who merely insisted on the fulfilment of the engagement which had been entered into with them.⁶

The regiment returned to Scotland on the termination of hostilities, and was discharged at Perth in 1783.

KEITH'S AND CAMPBELL'S HIGH-
LANDERS,

OR

THE OLD EIGHTY-SEVENTH AND EIGHTY-
EIGHTH REGIMENTS.

1759—1763.

Keith's Highlanders—Germany—Campbell's High-landers—Germany—Zeirensberg—Fellinghausen—Continental Notions of Highlanders—Brucher Mühl—Reduction of regiments.

THE first of these regiments consisted of three companies of 105 men each. A relation of the celebrated Field-Marshal Keith, Major Robert Murray Keith, who had served in the Scotch Brigade in Holland, was appointed to the command. About the end of the year 1759 this regiment joined the allied army in Germany under Prince Frederick of Brunswick.

The Highlanders were not long in the allied camp when they were brought into action. On the 3d of January 1760 the Marquis de Vogue attacked and carried the town of Herborn, and made a small detachment of the allies who were posted there prisoners. At the same time the Marquis Dauvet made himself master of Dillenburg, the garrison of the allied troops retiring into the castle, where they were closely besieged. Prince Ferdinand no sooner understood their situation than he began to march with a strong detachment for their relief on the 7th of January, when he attacked and defeated the besiegers. On the same day "the Highlanders under Major Keith, supported by the hussars of Luckner, who commanded the whole detachment, attacked the village of Eybach, where Beau Fremont's regiment of dragoons was posted, and routed them with great slaughter. The greater part of the regiment was killed, and many prisoners were taken, together with two hundred horses and all their baggage. The Highlanders distinguished themselves on this occasion by their intrepidity, which was the more remarkable, as they were no other than raw recruits, just arrived from their own country, and altogether unacquainted with discipline." The Highlanders had 4 men killed and 7 wounded.³

Prince Ferdinand was so well satisfied with

³ Smollett.

the conduct of this body, that he recommended to the governor not only to increase it to 800 men, but to raise another regiment of equal strength, to be placed under his serene highness. This recommendation was instantly attended to, and, in a few weeks, the requisite number of men was raised in the counties of Argyle, Perth, Inverness, Ross, and Sutherland. The command of the new regiment was conferred on John Campbell of Dunoon; but power was reserved to the Earls of Sutherland and Breadalbane, the lairds of Macleod and Innes, and other gentlemen in the north, to appoint captains and subalterns to companies raised on their respective estates. Major Macnab, son of the laird of Macnab; Captain Archibald Campbell, brother of Achallader; John Campbell of Auch, and other officers, were recommended by Lord Breadalbane; and Macleod, who raised a company in Skye, appointed his nephew, Captain Fotheringham of Powrie to it. Sir James Innes, chief of that name, who succeeded to the estates and Dukedom of Roxburgh in the year 1810, was also appointed to a company.

Keith's regiment was embodied at Perth and Campbell's at Stirling, and being embodied at the same time, and ordered on the same service, an interchange of officers took place. Embarking for Germany they joined the allied army, under Prince Ferdinand, in 1760, and were distinguished by being placed in the grenadier brigade.

The allied army moved from Kalle on the 30th of July 1760, in consequence of the advance of the French, who took up a position on the river Dymel. The hereditary prince of Brunswick, who had passed that river the preceding day, was directed by Prince Ferdinand to turn the left of the enemy, who were posted between Warburg and Ochsendorff, whilst he himself advanced in front with the main body of the army. The French were attacked almost at the same moment both in flank and rear, and defeated with considerable loss. In an account of the battle written by Prince Ferdinand to George II., he says, "that the loss of the allies, which was moderate, fell chiefly upon Maxwell's brave battalion of English grenadiers and the two regiments of Scots Highlanders, which did wonders. Colonel

Beckwith, who commanded the whole brigade formed of English grenadiers and Scots Highlanders, distinguished himself greatly." None of the Highlanders were killed, but Lieutenant Walter Ogilvie, and two privates were wounded.

Another affair soon occurred in which the Highlanders also distinguished themselves. Prince Ferdinand, having determined to beat up the quarters of a large French detachment stationed at Zierenburg, pitched upon five battalions, with a detachment of the Highlanders and eight regiments of dragoons, for this service. This body began their march on the night of the 5th of August, and when within two miles of the town the corps proceeded by three different roads—Maxwell's brigade of grenadiers, the regiment of Kingsby, and the Highlanders, keeping together. They marched in profound silence, and though their tramp was at last heard by the French, the surprise was too sudden for effectual resistance. "The Scots Highlanders mounted the breaches sword in hand, supported by the Chasseurs. The column of English grenadiers advanced in good order and with the greatest silence. In short, the service was complete, and the troops displayed equal courage, soldier-like conduct, and activity." ⁴ The loss of the Highlanders in this affair was 3 privates killed and 6 wounded.

The hereditary prince being hard pressed by Marshal de Castries, was reinforced from the camp at Warburg. The Highlanders joined him on the 14th of October shortly after he had been attacked by the Marshal, who had compelled him to retire. The prince now attacked the French commander in his turn, but was unsuccessful, being obliged again to retire after a warm contest, which lasted from five till nine in the morning. The Highlanders, who "were in the first column of attack, were the last to retreat, and kept their ground in the face of every disadvantage, even after the troops on their right and left had retired. The Highlanders were so exasperated with the loss they sustained that it was with difficulty they could be withdrawn, when Colonel Campbell received orders from an aide de-camp sent by the prince, desiring him to retreat as to persist in maintaining his position longer

⁴ Military Memoirs.

would be a useless waste of human life." In this action Lieutenants William Ogilvie and Alexander Macleod of the Highlanders, 4 sergeants, and 37 rank and file were killed, and Captain Archibald Campbell of Achallader, Lieutenants Gordon Clunes, Archibald Stewart, Angus Mackintosh of Killachy, and Walter Barland, and 10 rank and file wounded.⁵

On the preceding night an attempt was made by Major Pollock, with 100 grenadiers and the same number of Keith's Highlanders, to surprise the convent of Closter Camp, where a detachment of the enemy was posted, and where, it was supposed, the French commander and some of his officers were to pass the night; but this attempt miscarried. On reaching the sentinel of the main-guard Major Pollock rushed upon him and ran him through the body with his sword. The wounded man, before falling, turned round upon his antagonist and shot him with a pistol, upon which they both fell dead.

The next affair in which the Highlanders were engaged was the battle of Fellinghausen, in July 1762. The commander in chief, in a general order, thus expressed his approbation of the conduct of the corps in this action: "His serene highness, Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, has been graciously pleased to order Colonel Beckwith to signify to the brigade he has the honour to command his entire approbation of their conduct on the 15th and 16th of July. The soldier-like perseverance of the Highland regiments in resisting and repulsing the repeated attacks of the *chosen troops of France*, has deservedly gained them the highest honour. The ardour and activity with which the grenadiers pushed and pursued the enemy, and the trophies they have taken, justly entitle them to the highest encomiums. The intrepidity of the little band of Highlanders merits the greatest praise." Colonel Beckwith, in making his communication, added, that "the humanity and generosity with which the soldiers treated the great flock of prisoners they took, did them as much honour as their subduing the enemy." In this action Major Archibald Campbell of

⁵ At this time the corps was joined by a reinforcement of 400 men from Johnstone's Highlanders, and soon afterwards by 200 of Maclean's.

Achallader, who had been promoted only a week before,⁶ and Lieutenants William Ross and John Grant, and 31 rank and file, were killed; and Major Archibald Macnab, Captain James Fraser, Lieutenants Archibald Macarthur, Patrick Campbell, and John Mackintosh, brother of Killachy and father of Sir James Mackintosh, 2 sergeants, and 70 privates, were wounded.

No enterprise of any moment was attempted till the 28th of June 1762, when Prince Ferdinand attacked the French army at Graibenstein, and defeated them. The French lost upwards of 4000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, including 200 officers, whilst that sustained by the allies did not exceed 700 men. The British troops, who were under the command of the Marquis of Granby, "behaved with a bravery not to be paralleled, especially our grenadiers and Highlanders."

The Highlanders, from the distinction they had earned in these different encounters, now began to attract the especial notice of the Germans. At a time when an entire ignorance prevailed among the people of England respecting the Highlanders, it is not to be wondered at that the Germans should have formed the most extraordinary notions of these mountaineers. In common with the English they looked upon the Highlanders as savages; but their ignorance went farther, for the people of Germany actually believed that the Highlanders were still strangers to Christianity. "The Scotch Highlanders," says an article which appeared in the *Vienna Gazette* of 1762, "are a people totally different in their dress, manners, and temper from the other inhabitants of Britain. *They are caught in the mountains when young*, and still run with a surprising degree of swiftness. As they are strangers to fear, they make very good soldiers when disciplined. The men are of low stature, and the most of them old or very young. They discover an extraordinary submission and love for their officers, who are all young and handsome. From the goodness of their dispositions in every thing—

for the boors are much better treated by these savages than by the polished French and English; from the goodness of their disposition, which, by the by, shows the rectitude of human nature before it is vitiated by example or prejudice, it is to be hoped that their king's laudable, though late, endeavours to civilise and instruct them in the principles of Christianity will meet with success!" The article adds, that the "French held them at first in great contempt, but they have met with them so often of late, and seen them in the front of so many battles, that they firmly believe that there are twelve battalions of them in the army instead of two. Broglio himself has lately said that he once wished that he was a man of six feet high, but that now he is reconciled to his size since he has seen the wonders performed by the little mountaineers." An acquaintance with the Highlanders soon dissipated the illusions under which the Germans laboured.

The Highlanders were not engaged in the battle of Johannisberg, in which the allies were worsted; but on the 21st of September, in the subsequent action at Brucher Mühl, they took a part. The French occupied a mill on one side of the road, and the allies a redoubt on the other, and the great object of both parties was to obtain possession of a small post which defended the bridge at Brucher Mühl. At first a slight cannonade was opened from a few guns, but these were speedily augmented to twenty-five heavy pieces on each side. In the post occupied by the allies there was only at first 100, but during the action, which lasted without intermission for fifteen hours, no less than seventeen regiments were successively brought forward, replacing one another after they had spent their ammunition. Both sides remained in their respective positions, and although the contest was long and severe the allies lost only 600 in killed and wounded. The Highland corps had Major Alexander Maclean and 21 rank and file killed, and Captain Patrick Campbell and Lieutenant Walter Barland, 3 sergeants, and 58 rank and file wounded.

On the conclusion of hostilities in November 1762 the Highlanders were ordered home. In the three campaigns in which they had

⁶ The cause of his promotion was his having, with a party of Highlanders, rescued General Griffin, afterwards Lord Howard of Walden, from a strong detachment of the enemy. Major Campbell was brother of Achallader, who, by his classical learning and acquirements, attracted the notice of Lord Lyttleton.

served they had established a well-earned reputation for bravery; and so great was the estimation in which they were held by the Dutch, that, on their march through Holland, they were welcomed with acclamations, particularly by the women, who presented them with laurel leaves;—a feeling which, it is said, was in some measure owing to the friendly intercourse which had previously existed between the inhabitants and the Scotch brigade.

After landing at Tilbury Fort, the regiments marched for Scotland, and were received everywhere on their route with the most marked attention, particularly at Derby, the inhabitants of which town presented the men with gratuities in money. Among various reasons assigned for the remarkable predilection shown by the people of Derby, the most probable is, a feeling of gratitude for the respect shown by the Highlanders to the persons and properties of the inhabitants when visited by them in the year 1745.

Keith's regiment was marched to Perth and Campbell's to Linlithgow, and they were reduced in July 1763.

The total loss of these corps was 150 men besides 7 officers killed; and 170 men, and 13 officers, wounded.

EIGHTY-NINTH HIGHLAND REGIMENT.

1759—1765.

Raising of the Regiment—India—Reduction.

THE war in which Great Britain was engaged requiring at this time increased exertions on the part of the government, it was resolved to raise, in addition to Keith's Highlanders, another regiment in those parts of the Highlands where the influence of the Gordon family prevailed. At the solicitation of the Dowager Duchess of Gordon, Major Staates Long Morris, to whom she had been lately married, was appointed to raise the regiment; and to strengthen his interest amongst the youth of the North, her eldest son by her former husband, the late Duke of Gordon, then a youth at college, was appointed a captain; his brother, Lord William, a lieutenant; and

his younger brother, Lord George, an ensign. The object of the duchess in obtaining these appointments was to counteract the political influence of the Duke of Argyle during the minority of her son. Major Morris was so successful that, in a few weeks, 760 men were collected at Gordon Castle, who, in December 1759, were marched to Aberdeen.

The regiment embarked at Portsmouth for the East Indies in December 1760, and arrived at Bombay in November following. The Duke of Gordon was desirous of accompanying the regiment, but his mother, at the especial request of George II., induced him to remain at home to finish his education.

The 89th had no particular station assigned it, but kept moving from place to place till a strong detachment under Major Hector Munro joined the army under the command of Major Carnac, in the neighbourhood of Patna. Major Munro then assumed the command, and being well supported by his men, quelled a formidable mutiny among the troops. After the ringleaders had been executed, and discipline restored, Major Munro attacked the enemy at Buxar, on the 23d of October 1764, and though the force opposed to him was five times as numerous as his own, he overthrew and dispersed it. The enemy had 6000 men killed, and left 130 pieces of cannon on the field, whilst his majesty's troops had only 2 officers and 4 rank and file killed. Major Munro received a letter of thanks on the occasion from the President and Council of Calcutta. "The signal victory you gained," they say, "so as at one blow utterly to defeat the designs of the enemy against these provinces, is an event which does so much honour to yourself, Sir, in particular, and to all the officers and men under your command, and which, at the same time, is attended with such particular advantages to the Company, as call upon us to return you our sincere thanks." For this important service Major Munro was immediately promoted to the brevet rank of Lieutenant-colonel.

The services of the regiment being no longer required, it was ordered home, and was reduced in the year 1765. It has been remarked, as a singular circumstance attending their service, that although five years embodied, four of

which were spent in India, or on the passage going and returning, none of the officers died, nor was there any promotion or other change among them, except the change of Lord Wm. Gordon to the 76th regiment, and the promotion of his successor to his lieutenantcy. The same good conduct which distinguished the other Highland corps was not less conspicuous in this,—not one man out of eight of the companies, numbering in all 780, having been brought to the halberts. Of the whole regiment only six men suffered corporal punishment.

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JOHNSTONE'S HIGHLANDERS,
or
ONE HUNDRED AND FIRST REGIMENT.

1760—1763.

THIS regiment, which consisted of five companies, of 5 sergeants and 105 rank and file each, was raised in the year 1760 by the following gentlemen, viz. Colin Graham of Drainie, James Cuthbert of Milnraigs, Peter Gordon of Knockespie, Ludovick Grant of the family of Rothiemurchus, and Robert Campbell, son of Ballivolin, who received captain's commissions.

After the companies were completed they assembled at Perth, and thence were marched to Newcastle, where they remained till near the end of the year 1761, when they were sent to Germany, to reinforce Keith's and Campbell's Highlanders. Their officers did not accompany them, but were ordered back to the Highlands to raise six additional companies of the same strength as the other five. This service was soon performed, 600 men having assembled at Perth in a few months. Major, afterwards Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall was appointed to the command of the corps, with the rank of major-commandant. The Major, Adjutant Macveah, and Sergeant-major Coxwell, were the only persons in the 101st regiment not Highlanders. Lieutenant-general Lord George Beauclerk reviewed the regiment at Perth in 1762, and declared that he had never seen a body of men in a more "efficient state, and better fitted to meet the enemy." They had, however, no opportunity of realizing the expectations formed of them, not having been called into active service. The regiment was reduced at Perth in August 1763.

LORD MACLEOD'S HIGHLANDERS,
FORMERLY THE 73RD REGIMENT,
NOW THE 71ST HIGHLANDLIGHT INFANTRY

I.

1777—1818

Raising of the Regiment—First Battalion in India—Perambaucum—Porto-Novo—Cuddalore—Number of Regiment changed to 71st—War with Tippoo—Bangalore—Seringapatam—Nundydroog—Savendroog—Ceylon—Home—Cape of Good Hope—Buenos Ayres—Home—Peninsula—Roleia—Vimeiro—Corunna—Flushing—Sobral—Zibriera—Fuentes d'Onor—Albuera—Arroyo-de-Molinos—Ciudad-Rodrigo—Badajoz—Almarez—Salamanca—Alba-de-Tormes—Vittoria—Pyrenees—Nive—St Pierre—Sauveterre—Orthes—Aire—Tarbes—Toulouse—Waterloo—Champs Elysees—Home.

HINDOOSTAN.	CORUNNA.	NIVE.
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.	FUENTES D'ONOR.	ORTHES.
ROLEIA.	ALMAREZ.	PENINSULA.
VIMEIRO.	VITTORIA.	WATERLOO.
	PYRENEES.	SEVASTOPOL.
	CENTRAL INDIA.	

THIS regiment took its original name from Lord Macleod, eldest son of the Earl of Cromarty, both of whom were engaged in the rebellion of 1745. Having, on account of his youth, received an unconditional pardon for his share in that transaction, Lord Macleod went abroad in quest of employment in foreign service. He sojourned some time at Berlin with Field Marshal Keith, through whose interest, it is believed, he obtained a commission in the Swedish army. At this time his means were so limited that he was unable to equip himself for the service, but the Chevalier de St George, on the recommendation of Lord George Murray, sent him a sum of money to defray the expenses of his outfit. He is described by Lord George as "a young man of real merit," who, he was hopeful, would gain the good opinion of those under whom he was to serve. This expectation was fully realized, and after serving the crown of Sweden twenty-seven years with distinguished efficiency, he obtained the rank of Lieutenant-general.

Though exiled so long from his native country, his attachment to the land of his birth was not in the least abated, and, desirous of revisiting it, he returned to England in the year 1777, and was presented to George III., who received him very graciously. At

suggestion of Colonel Duff of Muirtown, who had served in Keith's Highlanders, and encouraged by the favourable reception he met with in the North, he offered his services to raise a regiment. The offer was accepted, and although without property or political consequence, yet so great was the influence of his name, that 840 Highlanders were raised and marched to Elgin in a very short time. In addition to these, 236 Lowlanders were raised by Captains the Honourable John Lindsay, David Baird, James Fowlis, and other officers, besides 34 English and Irish, who were enlisted in Glasgow, making in all 1100 men. The corps was embodied at Elgin, and inspected there by General Skene in April 1778. About this time letters of service were issued for raising a second battalion of the same size as the first,—a service which was speedily performed. The men of both battalions, of whom nearly 1800 were from those parts of the Highlands where the interest of Lord Macleod's family had once predominated, were of a robust constitution and of exemplary behaviour.

FIRST BATTALION.

Colonel—John Lord Macleod.

Lieut.-Colonel—Duncan M'Pherson.

Majors.

John Elphinston. James Mackenzie.

*Captains.*George Mackenzie. Hugh Lamont.
Alexander Gilchrist. Hon. James Lindsay.
John Shaw. David Baird.
Charles Dalrymple.

Captain Lieutenant and Captain, David Campbell.

*Lieutenants.*A. Geddes Mackenzie. Simon Mackenzie.
Hon. John Lindsay. Philip Melvill.
Abraham Mackenzie, Adj. John Mackenzie.
Alexander Mackenzie. John Borthwick.
James Robertson. William Gunn.
John Hamilton. William Charles Gorrie.
John Hamilton. Hugh Sibbald.
Lewis Urquhart. David Rannie.
George Ogilvie. Charles Munro.
Innis Munro.*Ensigns.*James Duncan. George Sutherland.
Simon Mackenzie. James Thrail.
Alexander Mackenzie. Hugh Dalrymple.
John Sinclair.

Chaplain—Colin Mackenzie.

Adjutant—Abraham Mackenzie.

Quartermaster—John Lytrott.

Surgeon—Alexander MacDougall.

SECOND BATTALION.

Colonel—John Lord Macleod.

Lieut.-Colonel—The Hon. George Mackenzie.

Majors.

Hamilton Maxwell. Norman Macleod.

*Captains.*Hon. Colin Lindsay. Mackay Hugh Baillie.
John Mackintosh. Stair Park Dalrymple.
James Fowlis. David Ross.
Robert Sinclair. Adam Colt.*Lieutenants.*Norman Maclean. Angus Mackintosh.
John Irving. John Fraser.
Rod. Mackenzie, senior. Robert Arbuthnot.
Charles Douglas. David MacCulloch.
Rod. Mackenzie, junior. Murdoch Mackenzie.
Phineas Mackintosh. George Fraser.
John Mackenzie, senior. John Mackenzie, junior.
Alexander Mackenzie. Martin Eccles Lindsay.
Phipps Wharton. John Dallas.
Laughlan MacLaughlan. David Ross.
Kenneth Mackenzie. William Erskine.*Ensigns.*John Fraser. John Forbes.
John MacDougall. Æneas Fraser.
Hugh Gray. William Rose.
John Mackenzie. Simon Fraser, Adjutant.

Chaplain—Æneas Macleod.

Adjutant—Simon Fraser.

Quartermaster—Charles Clark.

Surgeon—Andrew Cairncross.

The first battalion, under Lord Macleod, embarked for the East Indies in January 1779, and arrived in Madras Roads on the 20th of January 1780. The second battalion, under the command of the Honourable Lieut.-Colonel George Mackenzie, brother of Lord Macleod, was sent to Gibraltar, where it landed two days before the arrival of the first battalion at Madras.

The second battalion formed part of the garrison of Gibraltar during the siege, which lasted upwards of three years. In this, the only service in which it was engaged, the battalion had 30 privates killed and 7 sergeants, and 121 rank and file wounded. In May 1783 it returned to England, and was reduced at Stirling in October following. The officers who were regimentally senior in rank had liberty granted to join the first battalion in India.

The first battalion joined the army under Major-General Sir Hector Munro, and assembled at St Thomas's Mount, near Madras, in July 1780. This force amounted to 5209 men, and, with the exception of one battalion of the Company's European troops and the Grenadiers of another and 800 Highlanders, consisted of native troops.

This young and untried regiment had scarcely arrived in India, when Hyder Ali, forcing his way through the Ghauts, at the head of 100,000 men, burst like a mountain torrent into the Carnatic. He had interposed his vast army between that of the British, commanded by Sir Hector Monro, and a smaller force, under the command of Colonel Baillie, which were endeavouring to form a junction. The latter having, though victorious, sustained a serious loss in an engagement with Hyder Ali's troops, sent to the commander an account of his difficult position, stating that, from the loss he had sustained and his total want of provisions, he was equally unable to advance or remain in his then situation. With the advice of a council of war, Sir Hector judged the only course was to endeavour to aid Colonel Baillie, with such a reinforcement as would enable him to push forward in defiance of the enemy. The detachment selected for this enterprise consisted of about 1,000 men under Colonel Fletcher; and its main force was composed of the grenadier and infantry companies of Lord Macleod's regiment, commanded by Captain Baird. Hyder Ali having gained intelligence of this movement, sent a strong body to cut them off on their way, but, by adopting a long circuitous route, and marching by night, they at length safely effected a junction with Colonel Baillie. With the most consummate skill, however, Hyder, determining that they should never return, prepared an ambuscade, into which, early on the morning of the 10th of September, they unwarily advanced. The enemy, with admirable coolness and self-command, reserved their fire till the unhappy British were in the very midst of them. The army under the command of Colonels Baillie and Fletcher, and Captain Baird, marched in column. On a sudden, whilst in a narrow defile, a battery of twelve guns opened upon them, and, loaded with grape-shot, poured in upon their right flank. The British faced about; another battery opened immediately upon their rear. They had no choice therefore, but to advance; other batteries met them here likewise, and in less than half an hour fifty-seven pieces of cannon, brought to bear on them at all points, penetrated into every part of the

British line. By seven o'clock in the morning, the enemy poured down upon them in thousands: Captain Baird and his grenadiers fought with the greatest heroism. Surrounded and attacked on all sides, by 25,000 cavalry, by thirty regiments of Sepoy infantry, besides Hyder's European corps, and a numerous artillery playing upon them from all quarters, within grape shot distance, yet did this gallant column stand firm and undaunted, alternately facing their enemies on every side of attack. The French officers in Hyder's camp beheld with astonishment the British Grenadiers, under Captain Baird's command, performing their evolutions in the midst of all the tumult and extreme peril, with as much precision, coolness, and steadiness, as if upon a parade ground. The little army, so unexpectedly assailed, had only ten pieces of cannon, but these made such havoc amongst the enemy, that after a doubtful contest of three hours, from six in the morning till nine, victory began to declare for the British. The flower of the Mysore cavalry, after many bloody repulses, were at length entirely defeated, with great slaughter, and the right wing, composed of Hyder's best forces, was thrown into disorder. Hyder himself was about to give orders for retreat, and the French officer who directed the artillery began to draw it off, when an unforeseen and unavoidable disaster occurred, which totally changed the fortune of the day. By some unhappy accident the tumbrils which contained the ammunition suddenly blew up in the centre of the British lines. One whole face of their column was thus entirely laid open, and their artillery overturned and destroyed. The destruction of men was great, but the total loss of their ammunition was still more fatal to the survivors. Tippoo Sahib, the son of Hyder, instantly seized the moment of advantage, and without waiting for orders, fell with the utmost rapidity, at the head of the Mogul and Carnatic horse, into the broken square, which had not had time to recover its form and order. This attack by the enemy's cavalry being immediately seconded by the French corps, and by the first line of infantry, determined at once the fate of our unfortunate army. After successive prodigies of valour, the brave Sepoys were almost to a man cut to pieces. Colonels

Baillie and Fletcher, assisted by Captain Baird, made one more desperate effort. They rallied the Europeans, and, under the fire of the whole framense artillery of the enemy, gained a little eminence, and formed themselves into a new square. In this form did this intrepid band, though totally without ammunition, the officers fighting only with their swords and the soldiers with their bayonets, resist and repulse the myriads of the enemy in thirteen different attacks; until at length, incapable of withstanding the successive torrents of fresh troops which

the humane interference, however, of the French officers in Hyder's service, many lives were saved. Colonel Fletcher was slain on the field. Colonel Baillie, severely wounded, and several other officers, with two hundred Europeans, were made prisoners. When brought into the presence of Hyder, he, with true Asiatic barbarism, received them with the most insolent triumph. The British officers, with a spirit worthy of their country, retorted with an indignant coolness and contempt. "Your son will inform you," said

Colonel Baillie, "that you owe the victory to our disaster, rather than to our defeat." Hyder angrily ordered them from his presence, and commanded them instantly to prison. Captain Baird had received two sabre-wounds on his head, a ball in his thigh, and a pike-wound in his arm. He lay a long time on the field of battle, narrowly escaping death from some of the more ferocious of the Mysore cavalry, who traversed the field spearing the wounded, and at last being unable to reach the force under Munro, he was obliged to surrender to the enemy.

The result of this battle was the immediate retreat of the main army under Sir Hector Munro to Madras. Colonel Baillie, Captain Baird, and five other British officers were marched to one of Hyder's nearest forts, and afterwards removed to Seringapatam, where they were joined by others of their captive countrymen, and subjected to a most horrible



Sir David Baird, from a painting by Raeburn.

were continually pouring upon them, they were fairly borne down and trampled upon, many of them still continuing to fight under the very legs of the horses and elephants. To save the lives of the few brave men who survived, Colonel Baillie had displayed his handkerchief on his sword, as a flag of truce; quarter was promised, but no sooner had the troops laid down their arms than they were attacked with savage fury by the enemy. By

and protracted imprisonment. It was commonly believed in Scotland that Captain Baird was chained by the leg to another man; and Sir Walter Scott, writing in May 1821 to his son, then a cornet of dragoons, with his regiment in Ireland, when Sir David was commander of the forces there, says, "I remember a story that when report came to Europe that Tippoo's prisoners (of whom Baird was one) were chained together two and two, his mother

said, 'God pity the poor lad that's chained to our *Davie!*'" She knew him to be active, spirited and daring, and probably thought that he would make some desperate effort to escape. But it was not the case that he was chained to another. On the 10th of May all the prisoners had been put in irons except Captain Baird; this indignity he was not subjected to till the 10th of November following. "When they were about," says his biographer, "to put the irons on Captain Baird, who was completely disabled in his right leg, in which the wound was still open, and whence the ball had just then been extracted, his friend Captain Lucas, who spoke the language perfectly, sprang forward, and represented in very strong terms to the Myar the barbarity of fettering him while in such a dreadful state, and assured him that death would be the inevitable termination of Captain Baird's sufferings if the intention were persisted in. The Myar replied that the Circar had sent as many pairs of irons as there were prisoners, and they must be put on. Captain Lucas then offered to wear two sets himself, in order to save his friend. This noble act of generosity moved the compassion even of the Myar, who said he would send to the Kellidar, (commander of the fort,) to open the book of fate. He did so, and when the messenger returned, he said the book had been opened, and Captain Baird's fate was good; and the irons were in consequence not put on at that time. Could they really have looked into the volume of futurity, Baird would undoubtedly have been the last man to be spared."¹ Each pair of irons was nine pounds weight. Captain Lucas died in prison. Captain Baird lived to revenge the sufferings which he and his fellow-prisoners endured by the glorious conquest of Seringapatam on the 4th of May, 1799.

Some time after the battle of Conjeveram, Lord Macleod took ship for England, having, it is said, differed in opinion with General Munro on the subject of his movements, particularly those preceding Colonel Baillie's disaster. He was succeeded in the command of the 73d by Colonel James Crawford, who, with the regiment now reduced to 500 men, joined the army under Sir Eyre Coote on the morning

¹ *Life of Sir David Baird*, vol. i. p. 44.

of the 1st of July 1781, when about to attack the enemy at Porto Novo.

General Coote's army did not exceed 8000 men, of which the 73d was the only British regiment. The force under Hyder Ali consisted of 25 battalions of infantry, 400 Europeans, between 40,000 and 50,000 horse, and above 100,000 matchlock men, peons, and polygars, with 47 pieces of cannon. Notwithstanding this immense disparity of force, Sir Eyre Coote determined to attack Hyder, and, accordingly, drew up his army in two lines, the first commanded by Major-general Hector Munro, and the second by Major-general James Stewart. A plain divided the two armies, beyond which the enemy were drawn up on ground strengthened by front and flanking redoubts and batteries. General Coote advanced to the attack at nine o'clock, and, after a contest of eight hours, the enemy was forced from all his entrenchments, and compelled to retire.

The 73d was on the right of the first line, and led all the attacks, to the full approbation of General Coote, whose notice was particularly attracted by one of the pipers, who always blew up his most warlike sounds whenever the fire became hotter than ordinary. This so pleased the General that he cried aloud, "Well done, my brave fellow, you shall have a pair of silver pipes for this!" The promise was not forgotten, and a handsome pair of pipes was presented to the regiment, with an inscription in testimony of the General's esteem for its conduct and character.

After a variety of movements, both armies again met, August 27th, near Perambaucum, the spot so fatal to Colonel Baillie's detachment.

"Perhaps there come not within the wide range of human imagination scenes more affecting, or circumstances more touching, than many of our army had that day to witness and to bear. On the very spot where they stood lay strewed amongst their feet the relics of their dearest fellow soldiers and friends, who near twelve months before had been slain by the hands of those very inhuman monsters that now appeared a second time eager to complete the work of blood. One poor soldier, with the tear of affection glistening in his eye, picked up the decaying spatterdash of his valued brother, with the name yet entire upon it

which the tinge of blood and effects of weather had kindly spared. Another discovered the club or plaited hair of his bosom friend, which he himself had helped to form, and knew by the tie and still remaining colour. A third mournfully recognised the feather which had decorated the cap of his inseparable companion. The scattered clothes and wings of the flank companies of the 73d were everywhere perceptible, as also their helmets and skulls, both of which bore the marks of many furrowed cuts.

Those horrid spectacles, too melancholy to dwell upon, while they melted the hardest hearts, inflamed our soldiers with an enthusiasm and thirst of revenge such as render men invincible; but their ardour was necessarily checked by the involved situation of the army.²

Hyder Ali, in anticipation of an attack, had taken up a strong position on ground intersected by deep water courses and ravines. The British commander formed his line of battle under a heavy fire, which the troops bore with firmness. An obstinate contest took place, which lasted from nine in the morning till sun-set. Hyder then abandoned his position, leaving General Coote master of the field of battle. The loss of the British was upwards of 400 killed and wounded, almost all native troops.

Colonel Crawford having become second in command, in consequence of the departure of General Munro for England, and the disabling of General Stewart in the last-mentioned action, Captain Shaw assumed the command of the 73d regiment. It continued attached to General Coote's army, and was present at the battles of Sholungar on the 27th of September 1781, and of Arnee on the 2d of June 1782.³

Having obtained reinforcements from England, General Stewart, who had recovered from his wounds, and succeeded to the command of

² Cannon's 71st, p. 16.

³In these encounters the regiment suffered little loss. Munro in his narrative mentions the following case: "I take this opportunity of commemorating the fall of John Doune Mackay, corporal in Macleod's Highlanders, son of Robert Doune, the bard whose singular talent for the beautiful and extemporaneous composition of Gaelic poetry, was held in such esteem. This son of the bard had frequently revived the spirits of his countrymen, when drooping in a long march, by singing the humorous and lively productions of his father. He was killed by a cannon-shot, and buried with military honours by his comrades the same evening."

the army on the death of General Coote, who died in April 1783, resolved to attack Cuddalore, the garrison of which had also obtained considerable additions from the Isle of France. General Stuart accordingly appeared before the place on the 6th of June 1783, and as M. Bussy, who commanded the garrison, was active in increasing his means of defence, he determined to make a speedy attack, and fixed the morning of the 13th for that purpose. The firing of three guns from a hill was to be the signal for a simultaneous assault at three different points; but in consequence of the noise of the cannonade which was immediately opened, the signals were not distinguished, and the attacks were not made at the same time. The enemy were thus enabled to direct their whole forces against each successive attack, and the result was, that one of the divisions was driven back. In the ardour of the pursuit, the besieged evacuated their redoubts, which were instantly taken possession of by Lieutenant-colonel Cathcart with the Grenadiers, and Lieutenant-colonel Stuart "with the precious remains of the 73d regiment." Though Colonel Stuart's party were forced to retire from the more advanced posts, yet as they retained possession of the principal redoubts, the advantage already was on the side of the British. In the belief that the French would retire from all their advanced posts during the night, General Stuart did not attempt to carry them. This expectation was realised. In this affair the 73d had Captains Alexander Mackenzie, and the Honourable James Lindsay, Lieutenants Simon Mackenzie and James Trail, 4 sergeants and 80 rank and file killed; and Captain John Hamilton, Lieutenants Charles Gorrie, David Rannie, John Sinclair, James Duncan, and George Sutherland, 5 sergeants, and 107 rank and file wounded. The casualties of the enemy exceeded 1000 men.

The following flattering compliment formed part of the general orders issued by the Commander-in-chief at the conclusion of the battle:—"I am also grateful to Captain Lamont and the officers under his command, who gallantly led the *precious remains* of the 73d regiment through the most perilous road to glory, until exactly one half of the officers and men of the battalion were either killed or wounded."

With the aid of 2400 men from the fleet, under Admiral Suffrein, Bussy made a spirited sortie on the 25th of June, but was driven back with great loss. Hostilities terminated on the 1st of July in consequence of accounts of the signature of preliminaries of peace between Great Britain and France having been received. The army returned to St Thomas's Mount at the conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace, in March, 1784.

In consequence of the arrangements made when the second battalion was reduced, the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel George Mackenzie, and some other officers of that corps, joined the regiment in 1785. Next year the number of the regiment was changed to the 71st, on which occasion it received new colours. The same year the corps sustained a heavy loss by the death of Colonel Mackenzie, when Captain (afterwards General Sir David) Baird was appointed Major. Lord Macleod died in 1789, and was succeeded in the Colonelcy by the Honourable Major-General William Gordon. The strength of the regiment was at this time about 800 men, having been kept up to that number by occasional detachments from Scotland.

The war between Tippoo Sahib and the East India Company, which broke out in 1790, brought the regiment again into active service. In May of that year, the 71st and Seaforth's Highlanders (now the 72d), joined a large army assembled at Trichinopoly, the command of which was assumed by Major-General Meadows. The right wing was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel James Stuart, and the left by Lieutenant-Colonel Bridges, while the two Highland regiments formed the second brigade. In the campaign against Tippoo, the 71st followed all the movements of the army. The flank companies were employed in the attack on Dundegul, and the regiment was after the capture of that place, engaged in the siege of Palacatcherry.

Lord Cornwallis joined the army early in 1791 as Commander-in-chief, and, after various movements, encamped close to Bangalore on the 5th of March. He made an assault on the 21st, and carried the place with little loss. The attack was led by the flank companies, including those of the 71st, all under the com-

mand of the Honourable John Lindsay and Captain James Robertson, son of Principal Robertson the historian.

Having obtained a reinforcement of 10,000 well-mounted native cavalry and some European troops from the Carnatic, Lord Cornwallis advanced upon Seringapatam, and on the 13th of May came within sight of the enemy, drawn up a few miles from the town, having the river on their right, and the heights of Carrighaut on their left. On the 15th the enemy were forced from a strong position, and driven across the river into the island on which the capital stands. In this affair the 71st had Lieutenant Roderick Mackenzie, and 7 rank and file killed; and Ensign (afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel of the 50th regiment⁴) Chas. Stewart, and 74 rank and file wounded.

The advanced state of the season, and other unfavourable circumstances operating against a siege, Lord Cornwallis retired to Bangalore. From this place he detached Major Gowdie to attack Nundydroog, a strong fortified granite rock of great height. Except on one side this fortress was inaccessible, and care had been taken to strengthen that part by a double line of ramparts; and an outwork covered the gate by a flanking fire. Notwithstanding its great elevation, and very steep ascent, Nundydroog could still be approached, though it required immense labour to render the approaches available. After fourteen days' intense exertion, the besiegers succeeded in drawing up some guns, and erecting batteries on the face of a craggy precipice, from which they made two breaches, one on the re-entering angle of the outwork, and the other in the curtain of the outer wall.

Moving with his whole army towards Nundydroog, on the 18th of October, Lord Cornwallis made preparations for storming the place. An assault by night having been determined upon, Lieutenant Hugh Mackenzie, (afterwards paymaster of the 71st,) with twenty grenadiers of the 36th and 71st regiments, was to lead the attack on the right, and Lieutenant Moore, with twenty light infantry, and two flank companies of the same regiment, under the command of Lieutenants Duncan and Kenneth Mackenzie, was to lead the left. The whole was under the command of Captain (afterwards

⁴ He died in Spain, in the year 1810.

Lieutenant-General) James Robertson, supported by Captain (afterwards Major-General) Burns, with the grenadiers, and Captain Hartly with the light infantry of the 36th regiment. Whilst waiting the signal to advance, one of the soldiers whispered something about a *mine*. General Meadows overhearing the observation, took advantage of the circumstance, by intimating that there *was* a mine, but it was "a mine of gold." This remark was not thrown away upon the troops.

Apprehensive of an assault, the enemy had provided themselves with huge masses of granite, to hurl down upon the besiegers when they should attempt to ascend the rock. The assault was made on the morning of the 19th of October, in a clear moonlight, and in spite of every obstacle the assailants effected a lodgement within one hundred yards of the breach. Driven from the outward rocks, the enemy attempted to barricade the gate of the inner rampart; but it was soon forced, and the place carried with the loss of 30 men amongst the native troops killed and wounded, principally from the stones which were rolled down the rock.

Encouraged by this success, Lord Cornwallis next laid siege to Savendroog, the strongest rock in the Mysore, and hitherto deemed impregnable. This stronghold was considerably higher than Nundydroog, and was separated by a chasm into two parts at the top, on each of which parts was a fort, but each independent of the other. The arduous duty of reducing this stronghold was intrusted to Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart, who had already distinguished himself in other enterprises. Some of the outworks were battered, preparatory to an assault, which was fixed for the 21st of December. Accordingly on the morning of that day, the flank companies of the 52d, the two Highland regiments and the 76th, were assembled under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Nisbet of the 52d, and at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the party advanced to the assault to the air of *Britons Strike Home*, performed by the band of the 52d regiment. The assailants then ascended the rock, clambering up a precipice which was so nearly perpendicular, that after the capture of the place the men were afraid to descend. The citadel on the eastern top was

soon carried, and eventually the whole of the rock, the assailants losing only two men. This success was soon followed by the capture of all the other strongholds in the Mysore.

Bent upon the capture of the Sultan's capital, the possession of which would, it was supposed, finish the war, Lord Cornwallis, in the month of January 1792, put his army in motion for Seringapatam, of which place he came in sight on the 4th of February. On the evening of the 6th he formed his army into three columns; the right column consisting of the 36th and 76th regiments, being under the command of General Meadows; the centre one, consisting of the 52d, with the 71st and 74th Highland regiments, under Lord Cornwallis, with Lieutenant-Colonels James Stuart and the Honourable John Knox; and the left column, being the 72d Highland regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell. The native troops were divided in proportion to each column. General Meadows was to penetrate the enemy's left, after which he was to attempt to open and preserve the communication with Lord Cornwallis's division, by directing all his efforts towards the centre. Part of the centre division, under Colonel Stewart, was to pierce through the centre of the enemy's camp, and attack the works on the island, while Colonel Maxwell with the left wing was directed to force the work on Carrighaut Hill, and descending thence to turn the right of the main division, and unite with Colonel Stuart. The three columns began to move at eight o'clock in the evening. "The head of the centre column led by the flank companies of the regiment, after twice crossing the Lockary, which covered the right wing of the enemy, came in contact with their first line, which was instantly driven across the north branch of the Cavery, at the foot of the glacis of the fort of Seringapatam. Captain Lindsay, with the grenadiers of the 71st, attempted to push into the body of the place, but was prevented by the raising of the drawbridge a few minutes before he advanced. He was here joined by some grenadiers and light infantry of the 52d and 76th regiments. With this united force he pushed down to the Loll Bang, where he was fiercely attacked by a body of the enemy, whom he quickly drove back with the bayonet. His numbers were soon

afterwards increased by the grenadier company of the 74th, when he attempted to force his way into the Pettah (or town,) but was opposed by such overwhelming numbers that he did not succeed. He then took post in a small redoubt, where he maintained himself till morning, when he moved to the north bank of the river, and joined Lieutenant-Colonels Knox and Baird, with the troops who formed the left of the attack. During these operations the battalion companies of the 52d, 71st, and 72d regiments forced their way across the river to the island, overpowering all that opposed them. At this moment, Captain Archdeacon, commanding a battalion of Bengal seapoys, was killed. This threw the corps into some confusion, and caused it to fall back on the 71st, at the moment that Major Dalrymple was preparing to attack the Sultan's redoubt, and thus impeded his movements. However, the redoubt was attacked, and instantly carried. The command was given to Captain Sibbald, who had led the attack with his company of the 71st. The animating example and courage of this officer made the men equally irresistible in attack, and firm in the defence of the post they had gained. The enemy made several vain attempts to retake it. In one of these the brave Captain Sibbald was killed. Out of compliment to this officer, the Commander-in-chief changed the name from Sultan's to Sibbald's redoubt. In this obstinate defence the men had consumed their ammunition, when, by a fortunate circumstance, two loaded oxen of the enemy, frightened by the firing, broke loose from their drivers, and taking shelter in the ditch of this redoubt, afforded an ample and seasonable supply. The command of this post was assumed by Major Kelly of the 74th regiment, who had gone up with orders from the Commander-in-chief, and remained there after the death of Captain Sibbald. The Sultan seemed determined to recover this redoubt distinguished by his own name, and directed the French troops to attack it. But they met with no better success than the former, notwithstanding their superior discipline."⁵

The loss of the enemy in this affair was estimated at 4000 men and 80 pieces of cannon. That on the side of the assailants was 535 men

⁵ Stewart's *Sketches*.

killed and wounded. Of the 71st, Captain Sibbald and Lieutenant Baine, 2 sergeants, and 34 rank and file were killed; and Ensigns Duncan Mackenzie, and William Baillie, 3 sergeants, and 67 rank and file wounded.

On the 9th of February Major-General Robert Abercromby, with the army from Bombay, consisting of the 73d and 75th Highland, and 77th, besides some native regiments, joined the besieging army. Operations for the siege were begun the same day; but nothing particular occurred till the 18th, when Major Dalrymple, to cover the opening of the trenches, crossed the Cavery at nine o'clock at night, and surprised and routed a camp of Tippoo's horse. During the three following days traverses were finished; and on the 22d, the enemy, after a warm contest, were defeated by a part of the Bombay army under General Abercromby. This was the last effort of the Sultan, who sued for peace, and obtained it at the expense of nearly one-half of his dominions, which he ceded to the East India Company.

On the termination of the war, the 71st, now under the command of Lieutenant-colonel David Baird, was marched to the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly, where they remained till the breaking out of the war with France in 1793. The flank companies were employed on the expedition against Ceylon, in the month of August that year, in which enterprise Captain Gorrie was severely wounded, and 11 men were killed and wounded.

On the 2d of January 1797, the regiment was inspected by Major-general Clarke, who issued the following general order:—

“Major-General Clarke has experienced infinite satisfaction, this morning, at the review of His Majesty's 71st regiment.

“He cannot say that on any occasion of field exercise he ever was present at a more perfect performance.

“When a corps is so striking in appearance, and so complete in every branch of its discipline, little can occur to the Commander-in-chief to particularise. He cannot but notice, however, that the 71st regiment has excited his admiration for its expertness in those parts of its exercise which are most essential, and most difficult to execute. He alludes to its order and regularity when moving in line; its ex-

trene accuracy in preserving distances, and the neatness and promptitude that are so evident in all its formations. So much perfection in a corps, whose services in India will long be held in remembrance, does the greatest honour to Lieut.-Colonel Baird and all his officers, to whom, and the corps at large, the Commander-in-chief desires to offer his best thanks."

In October 1797, in consequence of orders, all the soldiers fit for service, amounting to 560 men, were drafted into the 73d and 74th regiments; those unfit for service, along with the officers and non-commissioned officers, sailed from Madras for England on the 17th of October, and arrived in the Thames in August 1798. The regiment was then removed to Leith, and thence to Stirling, after an absence of nearly 18 years from Scotland.⁶

As a mark of indulgence, a general leave of 2 months was granted to the officers and men of the 71st, to enable them to visit their friends and families, after so long an absence from their native country.

The regiment remained in Scotland till June, 1800, when it was removed to Ireland, having previously received an accession of 600 volunteers from the Scottish fencible regiments. This augmented the corps to 800 men, of whom 600 were Highlanders. On the 24th of April, 1801, Lieutenant-Colonel Paek joined and assumed command of the regiment. In August 1803, Major-General Sir John Francis Cradock was appointed Colonel of the 71st, in succession to General the Honourable William Gordon. A second battalion was ordered to be embodied at Dumbarton, in the year 1804. From the success with which the recruiting for this battalion was carried on in Glasgow, and the favour shown to the men by the inhabitants, the corps acquired the name of the "Glasgow Highland Light Infantry."

The first battalion sailed from Cork on the 5th of August, 1805, on the expedition against the Cape of Good Hope, (of which an account will be found under the head of the Sutherland Regiment,) and reached its destination

⁶ On the 23d of May 1821, His Majesty King George the Fourth was graciously pleased to authorise the 71st to bear on the regimental colour and appointments the word "HINDOOSTAN," in commemoration of its distinguished services in the several actions in which it had been engaged, while in India, between the years 1780 and 1797.

on the 4th of January 1806. On this service the regiment had 6 rank and file killed, and Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Campbell, 5 sergeants, and 67 rank and file wounded.

This enterprise was followed by that against Buenos Ayres, of which the 71st formed the chief force. The expedition reached the Rio de la Plata on the 8th of June, and passing Monte Video, anchored opposite to the city of Buenos Ayres, on the 24th. The troops and the marines of the fleet, amounting together to about 1400 men, landed the following evening without opposition. Next forenoon the troops moved forward to the village of Reduction in full view of the enemy, who were posted on the brow of an adjoining eminence. The enemy, after firing a few shots, retired into the city. On the 27th the passage of the Rio Chuclo was forced, and the result was that the city surrendered. The Spaniards, however, soon attempted to regain what they had lost, and in the beginning of August collected a force of 1500 men in the neighbourhood; but these were attacked and dispersed by General Beresford, with a detachment of the 71st, and the corps of St Helena. Notwithstanding their dispersion, however, these troops collected again, and on the 10th of August, surprised and cut off a sergeant's guard. Next day the town was abandoned by the British, who retired to the fort, and seeing no prospect of relief, capitulated the same evening. The 71st lost in this expedition Lieutenant Mitchell and Ensign Lucas, and 91 non-commissioned officers and privates were killed and wounded.

After the capitulation of General Whitelock's army, the regiment was restored to liberty, and embarked with the troops for England. The regiment landed in Ireland and marched to Middleton and afterwards to Cork, where it received a reinforcement of 200 men from the second battalion, by which the effective force was increased to 920 men. On the 21st of April, 1808, the regiment received new colours instead of those they had surrendered at Buenos Ayres. The colours were presented by General Floyd, a veteran officer, who had frequently witnessed the gallantry of the 71st in India. He made an eloquent speech on the occasion, the conclusion of which was as follows:—

“SEVENTY-FIRST,

“I am directed to perform the honourable duty of presenting your colours.

“Brave SEVENTY-FIRST! The world is well acquainted with your gallant conduct at the capture of *Buenos Ayres*, in South America, under one of His Majesty’s bravest generals.

“It is well known that you defended your conquest with the utmost courage, good conduct, and discipline to the last extremity. When diminished to a handful, hopeless of succour, and destitute of provisions, you were overwhelmed by multitudes, and reduced by the fortune of war to lose your liberty, and your well-defended colours, but not your honour. Your honour, SEVENTY-FIRST regiment, remains unsullied. Your last act in the field covered you with glory. Your generous despair, calling upon your general to suffer you to die with arms in your hands proceeded from the genuine spirit of British soldiers. Your behaviour in prosperity,—your sufferings in captivity,—and your faithful discharge of your duty to your King and country, are appreciated by all.

“You who now stand on this parade, in defiance of the allurements held out to base desertion, are endeared to the army and to the country, and your conduct will ensure you the esteem of all true soldiers,—of all worthy men,—and fill every one of you with honest martial pride.

“It has been my good fortune to have witnessed, in a remote part of the world, the early glories and gallant conduct of the SEVENTY-FIRST regiment in the field; and it is with great satisfaction I meet you again, with replenished ranks, and with good arms in your hands, and with stout hearts in your bosoms.

“Look forward, officers and soldiers, to the achievement of new honours and the acquirement of fresh fame.

“Officers, be the friends and guardians of these brave fellows committed to your charge.

“Soldiers, give your confidence to your officers. They have shared with you the chances of war; they have bravely bled along with you; they will always do honour to themselves and you. Preserve your regiment’s reputation for valour in the field and regularity in quarters.

II.

“I have now the honour to present the
ROYAL COLOUR.

This is the KING’S COLOUR.

“I have now the honour to present your
REGIMENTAL COLOUR.

“This is the colour of the SEVENTY-FIRST regiment.

“May victory for ever crown these colours.”

The expectations which General Floyd had formed of the regiment were soon to be realised. In the month of June the first battalion of the regiment embarked at Cork for Portugal, in the expedition under Sir Arthur Wellesley, which sailed on the 13th of July. The fleet arrived in Mondego Bay on the 29th, and the forces, amounting to 10,000 men, landed early in August. In a few days a body of 5000 troops from Gibraltar joined the army. General Wellesley made a forward movement towards Lisbon on the 9th of August, and was joined on the 11th by 6000 Portuguese, but being destitute of provisions and military stores he could not proceed. The British army reached Caldas on the 14th—four companies of the 60th and Rifle corps pushing forward to the village of Brilos, then in possession of the enemy. An affair of advanced posts now took place, which ended in the occupation of the village by the British. This was the commencement of a series of battles and operations which raised the military fame of Great Britain to the highest pitch, overtopping all the glories of Marlborough’s campaigns. Lieutenant Bunbury and a few privates of the Rifle corps were killed on this occasion.

The French under General Laborde, amounting to upwards of 5000 men, took up a position on the heights of Roleia, whither they were followed by the British on the 17th. These heights were steep and very difficult of access, with only a narrow path leading to the summit; but notwithstanding the almost insuperable obstacles which presented themselves, the position was carried by the British, after a gallant resistance by the French, who were forced to retreat at all points. The light company of the 71st was the only part of the regiment engaged, the remainder being employed in manœuvring on the right flank of the French. The company had only one man killed and one wounded.

The regiment acted a conspicuous part in the battle of Vimeiro, which took place on the 21st of August 1808.

It was Sunday morning, and the men were engaged in washing their clothes, cleaning their fire-locks, and in other employments, when the French columns made their appearance on the opposite hills, about half-past eight. "To arms" was sounded, and everything being packed up as soon as possible, the 71st, along with the other brigaded regiments, left the camp ground, and moved across a valley to the heights on the east of Vimeiro.

The grenadier company of the 71st greatly distinguished itself, in conjunction with a sub-division of the light company of the 36th regiment. Captain Alexander Forbes, who commanded the grenadier company, was ordered to the support of some British artillery, and, seizing a favourable opportunity, made a dash at a battery of the enemy's artillery immediately in his front. He succeeded in capturing five guns and a howitzer, with horses, caissons, and equipment complete. In this affair alone the grenadier company had Lieutenants John Pratt and Ralph Dudgeon and 13 rank and file wounded, together with 2 men killed.⁷

The French made a daring effort to retake their artillery, both with cavalry and infantry; but the gallant conduct of the grenadier company, and the advance of Major-General Ferguson's brigade, finally left the guns in the possession of those who had so gallantly captured them.

George Clark, one of the pipers of the regiment, and afterwards piper to the Highland Society of London, was wounded in this action, and being unable to accompany his corps in the advance against the enemy, put his pipes in order, and struck up a favourite regimental air, to the great delight of his comrades. This is the second instance in which the pipers of the 71st have behaved with particular gallantry, and evinced high feeling for the credit and honour of the corps.

⁷ Lieut.-General Sir Harry Burrard landed during the action, but did not assume the command. Lieut.-General Sir Hew Dalrymple landed on the following day, and took command of the army. The force under Lieut.-General Sir John Moore was also disembarked during the negotiation, which subsequently took place, making the British army amount to 32,000 men.

During the advance of the battalion, several prisoners were taken, among whom was the French general, Brennier. Corporal John M'Kay, of the 71st, who took him, was afterwards promoted to an ensigncy in the Fourth West India Regiment.

The result of this battle was the total defeat of the enemy, who subsequently retreated on Lisbon, with the loss of twenty-one pieces of cannon, twenty-three ammunition waggons, with powder, shells, stores of all descriptions, and 20,000 rounds of musket ammunition, together with a great many officers and soldiers killed, wounded, and taken prisoners.

The conduct of the battalion, and of its commanding officer, Lieut.-Colonel Pack, was noticed in the public despatches, and the thanks of both Houses of Parliament were conferred on the troops.

The following officers of the 71st were wounded in the battle of Vimeiro:—Captains Arthur Jones and Maxwell Mackenzie; Lieutenants John Pratt, William Hartley, Augustus M'Intyre, and Ralph Dudgeon; Ensign James Campbell, and Acting Adjutant R. M'Alpin.

The 71st subsequently received the royal authority to bear the word "*Vimeiro*" on the regimental colour and appointments, in commemoration of this battle.

The "*Convention of Cintra*," signed on the 30th of August, was the result of this victory. By its provisions the French army evacuated Portugal, which thus became freed from its oppressors.

In September, Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore assumed the command and made dispositions for entering Spain. The 71st was brigaded with the 36th and 92d regiments under Brigadier-General Catlin Crawford, and placed in the division under the command of Lieutenant-General the Honourable John Hope, afterwards the Earl of Hopetoun. On the 27th October the division left Lisbon, and joined the forces under Moore at Salamanca. The regiment took part in the disastrous retreat under Sir John Moore to Corunna, and along with the rest of the army suffered dreadfully from the severity of the weather, want of food and clothing, and disease.

"At this period the situation of the British

army was dispiriting in the extreme. In the midst of winter, in a dreary and desolate country, the soldiers, chilled and drenched with the heavy rains, and wearied by long and rapid marches, were almost destitute of fuel to cook their victuals, and it was with extreme difficulty that they could procure shelter. Provisions were scarce, irregularly issued, and difficult of attainment. The waggons, in which were their magazines, baggage, and stores, were often deserted in the night by the Spanish drivers, who were terrified by the approach of the French. Thus baggage, ammunition, stores, and even money were destroyed to prevent them falling into the hands of the enemy; and the weak, the sick, and the wounded were necessarily left behind. The 71st suffered in proportion with the rest, and by weakness, sickness, and fatigue, lost about 93 men.”⁸

In January 1809, Lieutenant-General Francis Dundas was appointed from the 94th regiment to be Colonel of the 71st, in succession to Sir John Francis Cradock, removed to the 43d.

On the 11th of January the army under Moore arrived at Corunna, where the furious battle was fought in which this famous leader got his death-wound. We have already, in our account of the 42d, given sufficient details of this engagement. While waiting for the transports some skirmishing took place with the French, in which four companies of the 71st were warmly engaged, and lost several men in killed and wounded. In the general battle on the 16th, the 71st, being placed on the extreme left of the British line, had little to do therein. In commemoration of this battle, and of the conduct of the regiment during the expedition, the 71st was authorised to bear the word *Corunna* on the regimental colours and appointments.

On the 17th of January the army embarked for England, and reached Plymouth about the end of the month, where the men were received by the people with the utmost enthusiasm, and were welcomed into every house as if they had been relations.⁹ The battalion in which was the 71st was marched to Ashford barracks, where it remained for some time. In June the first battalion was increased by the addition of

several officers and 311 non-commissioned officers and men from the second battalion which continued to be stationed in Scotland, and by a number of volunteers from the militia.

In March 1809, the royal authority was granted for the 71st to be formed into a light infantry regiment, when it was directed that the clothing, arming, and discipline should be the same as those of other regiments of a similar kind. However, it cannot be said to have ceased to be a Highland regiment, for the men were permitted to retain such parts of the national dress as might not be inconsistent with their duties as a light corps. Lieutenant-Colonel Pack wrote to the Adjutant-General, in April 1810, on the subject, and received the following reply from headquarters:—

“HORSE GUARDS, 12th April 1810.

“SIR,—Having submitted to the Commander-in-Chief your letter of the 4th instant, I am directed to state, that there is no objection to the 71st being denominated *Highland Light Infantry Regiment*, or to the retaining of their pipes, and the Highland garb for the pipers; and that they will, of course, be permitted to wear caps according to the pattern which was lately approved and sealed by authority.¹

“I have, &c.

WILLIAM WYNARD,

“Deputy-Adjutant-General.

“Lieut.-Colonel Pack,
“71st Regiment.”

The 71st was next employed on the disastrous expedition to Walcheren, for which the most gigantic preparations had been made. The troops amounted to 40,000 men, commanded by Lieutenant-General the Earl of Chatham, while the naval portion consisted of 39 ships of the line, 36 frigates, and numerous gunboats and bomb-vessels, and other small craft, under Admiral Sir James Strachan.

¹ The bonnet *cocked* is the pattern cap to which allusion is made in the above letter. This was in accordance with Lieutenant-Colonel Pack's application; and with respect to retaining the pipes, and dressing the pipers in the Highland garb, he added, “It cannot be forgotten how these pipes were obtained, and how constantly the regiment has upheld its title to them. These are the honourable characteristics which must preserve to future times the precious remains of the old corps, and of which I feel confident His Majesty will never have reason to deprive the 71st regiment.”

⁸ Cannon's *History of the 71st Regiment*, p. 73.

⁹ *Journal of a Soldier of the 71st*.

On the 16th of July, the first battalion of the 71st, consisting of 3 field-officers, 6 captains, 27 subalterns, 48 sergeants, and 974 drummers and rank and file, embarked at Portsmouth on board the *Belleisle* and *Impérieuse*. The expedition sailed from the Downs on the 28th of July, and in about thirty hours reached Roompet Channel, when the 71st was the first to disembark. It was brigaded with the 68th and 85th regiments, under the command of Brigadier-General the Baron de Rottenburg, in the division commanded by Lieutenant-General Alexander Mackenzie Fraser, and the corps of Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote. The light brigade, consisting of the 71st, 68th, and 85th light infantry, were landed under cover of the fire of some small craft, and immediately on landing came in contact with the enemy's sharpshooters, who fell back skirmishing. Two of the companies of the 71st captured four guns and several prisoners. A battery and flagstaff on the coast were taken possession of by the 10th company of the 71st, and in place of a flag, a soldier's red jacket was hoisted on it. Further details of this expedition we take the liberty of copying from Cannon's history of this regiment.

"This advance having succeeded at all points, and the enemy having fallen back on *Flushing* and *Middelburg*, the army was disembarked. The advance then dividing, proceeded by different routes. The 71st moved by the sea dyke on a fort called *Ter Veer*, the situation and strength of which was not sufficiently known, an enemy's deserter having given but imperfect intelligence respecting it.

After nightfall the column continued to advance in perfect silence, with orders to attack with the bayonet, when, on a sudden, the advance-guard fell in with an enemy's party, who came out for the purpose of firing some houses which overlooked the works. The column following the advance-guard had entered an avenue or road leading to the fort, when the advance commenced the action with the enemy, who, retiring within the place, opened a tremendous fire from his works with artillery and musketry. Some guns pointing down the road by which the battalion advanced did great execution, and the 71st had Surgeon Charles Henry Quin killed, and about

18 men killed and wounded. The column, after some firing, retired, and the place was the next day regularly invested by sea and land. It took three days to reduce it, when it capitulated, with its stores, and a garrison of 800 men.

Flushing having been invested on the 1st of August, the 71st, after the surrender of *Ter Veer*, were ordered into the line of circumvallation, and placed on the extreme left, resting on the *Scheldt*. The preparations for the attack on the town having been completed, on the 13th a dreadful fire was opened from the batteries and bomb-vessels, and congreve rockets having been thrown into the town, it was on fire in many places. The ships having joined in the attack, the enemy's fire gradually slackened, and at length ceased. A summons being sent in, a delay was demanded, but being rejected, the firing recommenced.

On the 14th of August one of the outworks was carried at the point of the bayonet by a party of detachments and two companies of the 71st under Lieutenant-Colonel Pack.

In this affair Ensign Donald Sinclair, of the 71st, was killed; Captain George Spottiswoode and a few men were wounded.

Flushing, with its garrison of 6000 men, capitulated on the 15th of August, and the right gate was occupied by a detachment of 300 men of the first or Royal Scots, and the left gate by a detachment of similar strength of the 71st under Major Arthur Jones. The naval arsenal, and some vessels of war which were on the stocks, fell into the hands of the British.

The 71st shortly after proceeded to *Middelburg*, where the battalion remained for a few days, when it was ordered to occupy *Ter Veer*, of which place Lieutenant-Colonel Pack was appointed commandant, and Lieutenant Henry Clements, of the 71st, town major. The battalion remained doing duty in the garrison until this island, after the works, &c., were destroyed, was finally evacuated on the 22d of December.

On the 23d of December, the battalion embarked in transports, and sailed for England, after a service of five months in a very unhealthy climate, which cost the battalion the loss of the following officers and men:—

	Officers.	Sergeants, Drummers, and Rank and File.
Died on service . . .	1	57
Killed . . .	2	19
Died after return home	2	9
	—	—
Total . . .	5	85

In passing Cadsand, that fort opened a fire on the transports, one of which, having part of the 71st on board, was struck by a round shot, which carried off Sergeant Steele's legs above the knees.

On the 25th of December, the first battalion of the 71st disembarked at Deal, and marched to Brabourne-Lees Barracks, in Kent, where it was again brigaded with the 68th and 85th light infantry, and was occupied in putting itself in an efficient state for active service."²

In May 1810, the battalion removed to Deal Barracks, and while here Lieutenant-Colonel Pack was removed from the regiment to become a brigadier in the Portuguese army. In the early part of September the battalion received orders to prepare six companies for foreign service, which was done by drafting into the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 6th, and 10th companies the most effective officers and men belonging to the other companies. When completed, the companies altogether consisted of 30 officers, 42 sergeants, and 615 rank and file. These companies sailed on the 15th September from the Downs in two frigates, and disembarked at Lisbon on the 26th of the same month, when the men were quartered in two convents. "To my great joy," says the *Journal of a Soldier of the 71st*, "we paraded in the grand square, on the seventh day after our arrival, and marched in sections, to the music of our bugles, to join the army: having got our camp equipments, consisting of a camp-kettle and bill-hook, to every six men; a blanket, a canteen, and haversack, to each man. Orders had been given that each soldier, on his march, should carry along with him three days' provision. Our mess of six cast lots who should be cook the first day, as we were to carry the kettle day about; the lot fell to me. My knapsack contained two shirts, two pairs of stockings, one pair of overalls, two shoe-brushes, a shaving box, one pair of spare shoes, and a few other articles; my great-coat and

blanket above the knapsack; my canteen with water was slung over my shoulder, on one side; my haversack, with beef and bread, on the other; sixty round of ball-cartridge, and the camp-kettle above all."³

At Mafra, to which place the detachment marched on the 2nd of October, it was joined by Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable Henry Cadogan, who assumed the command. The detachment joined the army under Wellington at Sobral on the 10th, and was brigaded with the 50th and 92d regiments, under Major-General Sir William Erskine, in the first division under Lieutenant-General Sir Brent Spencer. We cannot do better than quote from the simple but graphic journal already referred to:—

"We had not been three hours in the town, and were busy cooking, when the alarm sounded. There were nine British and three Portuguese regiments in the town. We were all drawn up and remained under arms, expecting every moment to receive the enemy, whose skirmishers covered Windmill Hill. In about an hour the light companies of all the regiments were ordered out, along with the 71st. Colonel Cadogan called to us, at the foot of the hill, 'My lads, this is the first affair I have ever been in with you; show me what you can do, now or never.' We gave a hurra, and advanced up the hill, driving their advanced skirmishers before us, until about half-way up, when we commenced a heavy fire, and were as hotly received. In the meantime the remaining regiments evacuated the town. The enemy pressed so hard upon us, we were forced to make the best of our way down the hill, and were closely followed by the French, through the town, up Gallows Hill. We got behind a mud wall, and kept our ground in spite of their utmost efforts. Here we lay upon our arms all night.

Next morning, by day-break, there was not a Frenchman to be seen. As soon as the sun was fairly up, we advanced into the town, and began a search for provisions, which had now become very scarce; and, to our great joy, we found a large store-house full of dry fish, flour, rice, and sugar, besides bales of cloth. All now became bustle and mirth; fires were

² Cannon's *History of the 71st Regiment*, pp. 77-79.

³ *Memorials of the late War*, p. 76.

kindled, and every man became a cook. Scones⁴ were the order of the day. Neither flour nor sugar were wanting, and the water was plenty; so I fell to bake myself a flour scone. Mine was mixed and laid upon the fire, and I, hungry enough, watching it. Though neither neat nor comely, I was anticipating the moment when it would be eatable. Scarce was it warm ere the bugle sounded to arms. Then was the joy that reigned a moment before turned to execrations. I snatched my scone off the fire, raw as it was, put it into my haversack, and formed. We remained under arms until dark, and then took up our old quarters upon Gallows Hill, where I ate my raw scone, sweetly seasoned by hunger. In our advance to the town we were much entertained by some of our men who had got over a wall the day before, when the enemy were in the rear; and now were put to their shifts to get over again, and scarce could make it out.

Next morning the French advanced to a mud wall, about forty yards in front of the one we lay behind. It rained heavily this day, and there was very little firing. During the night we received orders to cover the bugle and tartans of our bonnets with black crape, which had been served out to us during the day, and to put on our great-coats. Next morning the French, seeing us thus, thought we had retired, and left Portuguese to guard the heights. With dreadful shouts they leaped over that wall before which they had stood, when guarded by British. We were scarce able to withstand their fury. To retreat was impossible; all behind being ploughed land, rendered deep by the rain. There was not a moment to hesitate. To it we fell, pell-mell, French and British mixed together. It was a trial of strength in single combat: every man had his opponent, many had two." In the first of these affairs the detachment had 8 men killed and 34 wounded. In Wellington's despatch concerning the affair of the 14th, the names of Lieutenant-Colonels Cadogan and Reynell were particularly mentioned. John Rea, a soldier of the 6th company of the 71st behaved on this occasion with so much gallantry, and so particularly distinguished himself, that he

⁴ Thin flat cakes.

received a silver medal, inscribed "To John Rea, for his exemplary courage and good conduct as a soldier at Sobral, 14th October 1810."

On the 15th October the 71st retired between the lines at Tibreira, a continuation of those at Torres Vedras. Here the detachment remained along with the other regiments watching Marshal Massena, until the latter was compelled to retire from want of provisions in the nights between the 14th and 15th November. He was followed by the allied forces, and the 71st, along with the rest of its division, were quartered in and about Almostr from the 20th to the 26th. Massena took up a position in the vicinity of Santarem, and Wellington, after some manœuvring, placed himself in front of the enemy, having his headquarters at Cartano. The 71st was quartered in a convent at Alquintrinha, where the detachment remained until March 1811. In this month two companies of the 1st battalion arrived in the Peninsula to reinforce the regiment, other two coming out in July. On the night of the 5th of March, the French gave the British army the slip, deceiving the latter by placing wooden guns in their batteries, and stuffing old clothes with straw, which they put in place of their sentinels. It was two days before the trick was discovered. The British army immediately followed in pursuit, but did not come up with the enemy until they reached the Aguida on the 9th of April. The division, in which was the 71st, was posted at Abergaria, a small town on the frontiers of Spain, where it remained till the 30th April, when, on account of the movements of the enemy, the British army was moved out of its cantonments, and was formed in line on the high ground about two miles in rear of Fuentes d'Onor.

"On the 3rd of May, at day-break, all the cavalry and sixteen light companies occupied the town. We stood under arms until three o'clock, when a staff-officer rode up to our colonel, and gave orders for our advance. Colonel Cadogan put himself at our head, saying, 'My lads, you have had no provisions these two days; there is plenty in the hollow in front, let us down and divide.' We advanced as quick as we could run, and met the

light companies retreating as fast as they could. We continued to advance at double-quick time, our firelocks at the trail, our bonnets in our hands. They called to us, 'Seventy-first, you will come back quicker than you advance.' We soon came full in front of the enemy. The colonel cried, 'Here is food, my lads; cut away.' Thrice we waved our bonnets, and thrice we cheered; brought our firelocks to the charge, and forced them back through the town.

How different the duty of the French officers from ours! They, stimulating the men by their example; the men vociferating, each chafing each until they appear in a fury, shouting, to the points of our bayonets. After the first huzza, the British officers, restraining their men, still as death—'Steady, lads, steady,' is all you hear, and that in an under tone.

During this day the loss of men was great. In our retreat back to the town, when we halted to check the enemy, who bore hard upon us, in their attempts to break our line, often was I obliged to stand with a foot upon each side of a wounded man, who wrung my soul with prayers I could not answer, and pierced my heart with his cries to be lifted out of the way of the cavalry. While my heart bled for them, I have shaken them rudely off.

We kept up our fire until long after dark. About one o'clock in the morning we got four ounces of bread served out to each man, which had been collected out of the haversacks of the Foot Guards. After the firing had ceased, we began to search through the town, and found plenty of flour, bacon, and sausages, on which we feasted heartily, and lay down in our blankets, wearied to death. Soon as it was light the firing commenced, and was kept up until about ten o'clock, when Lieutenant Stewart, of our regiment, was sent with a flag of truce, for leave to carry off our wounded from the enemy's lines, which was granted; and, at the same time, they carried off theirs from ours. We lay down, fully accoutred, as usual, and slept in our blankets. An hour before day we were ready to receive the enemy

About half-past nine o'clock, a great gun from the French line, which was answered by

one from ours, was the signal to engage. Down they came, shouting as usual. We kept them at bay, in spite of their cries and formidable looks. How different their appearance from ours! their hats set round with feathers, their beards long and black, gave them a fierce look. Their stature was superior to ours; most of us were young. We looked like boys; they like savages. But we had the true spirit in us. We foiled them in every attempt to take the town, until about eleven o'clock, when we were overpowered, and forced through the streets, contesting every inch.

During the preceding night we had been reinforced by the 79th regiment, Colonel Cameron commanding, who was killed about this time. Notwithstanding all our efforts, the enemy forced us out of the town, then halted, and formed close column betwixt us and it. While they stood thus the havoc amongst them was dreadful. Gap after gap was made by our cannon, and as quickly filled up. Our loss was not so severe, as we stood in open files. While we stood thus, firing at each other as quick as we could, the 88th regiment advanced from the lines, charged the enemy, and forced them to give way. As we passed over the ground where they had stood, it lay two and three deep of dead and wounded. While we drove them before us through the town, in turn, they were reinforced, which only served to increase the slaughter. We forced them out, and kept possession all day."⁵

The 71st took 10 officers and 100 men prisoners, but lost about half their number in killed and wounded. Those killed were Lieutenants John Consell, William Houston, and John Graham, and Ensign Donald John Kearns, together with 4 serjeants and 22 rank and file.

Captains Peter Adamson and James McIntyre, Lieutenants William McCraw, Humphrey Fox, and Robert Law (Adjutant), Ensigns Charles Cox, John Vandeleur, and Carique Lewin, 6 serjeants, 3 buglers, and 100 rank and file, were wounded. Two officers, with several men, were taken prisoners.

In commemoration of the gallantry displayed in this prolonged action, the 71st subsequently received the royal authority to bear the words

⁵ *Memorials of the late War*, pp. 87-91.

'*Fuentes d'Onor*' on the regimental colour and appointments.

Viscount Wellington particularly mentioned the name of Licut.-Colonel the Honourable Henry Cadogan in his despatch, and being highly gratified with the conduct of the 71st on this occasion, directed that a non-commissioned officer should be selected for a commendation. According to his Lordship's recommendation, Quartermaster-Serjeant William Gavin was shortly afterwards promoted to an ensigney in the regiment.⁶

The 71st, on the 14th of May, returned to Albergaria, where it remained till the 26th, when it was marched to reinforce Marshal Beresford's army, then besieging Badajoz. After a variety of marchings, the battalion went into camp at Toro de Moro, where it remained a month, and was recruited by a detachment of 350 from the 2d battalion, stationed at Deal. The battalion returned along with Wellington's army on the 20th of July to Borba, where it remained until the 1st of September, when it removed to Portalegre, and thence marched to Castello de Vido on October 4th.

On the 22nd of October, we received information that General Girard, with 4000 men, infantry and cavalry, was collecting contributions in Estremadura, and had cut off part of our baggage and supplies. We immediately set off from Portalegre, along with the brigade commanded by General Hill, and, after a most fatiguing march, the weather being very bad, we arrived at Malpartida. The French were only ten miles distant. By a near cut, on the Merida road, through Aldea del Cano, we got close up to them, on the 27th, at Alcuessa, and were drawn up in columns, with great guns ready to receive them. They had heard nothing of our approach. We went into the town. It was now nigh ten o'clock; the enemy were in Arroyo del Molino, only three miles distant. We got half a pound of rice served out to each man, to be cooked immediately. Hunger made little cooking necessary. The officers had orders to keep their men silent. We were placed in the houses; but our wet and heavy accoutrements were, on no account, to be taken off. At twelve o'clock

⁶ Cannon's *History of the 71st Regiment*, p. 85.

we received our allowance of rum; and, shortly after, the serjeants tapped at the doors, calling not above their breath. We turned out, and at slow time continued our march.

The whole night was one continued pour of rain. Weary, and wet to the skin, we trudged on, without exchanging a word; nothing breaking the silence of the night save the howling of the wolves. The tread of the men was drowned by the pattering of the rain. When day at length broke we were close upon the town. The French posts had been withdrawn into it, but the embers still glowed in their fires. During the whole march the 71st had been with the cavalry and horse-artillery, as an advanced guard.

General Hill rode up to our colonel, and ordered him to make us clean out our pans (as the rain had wet all the priming), form square, and retire a short distance, lest the French cavalry had seen us, and should make an attack; however, the drift was so thick, they could not—it blew right in their faces when they looked our way. The Colonel told us off in three divisions, and gave us orders to charge up three separate streets of the town, and force our way, without halting, to the other side. We shouldered our arms. The general, taking off his hat, said, 'God be with you—quick march.' On reaching the gates, we gave three cheers, and in we went; the inhabitants calling, 'Live the English,' our piper playing 'Hey Johnny Cope;' the French swearing, fighting in confusion, running here and there, some in their shirts, some half accoutred. The streets were crowded with baggage, and men ready to march, all now in one heap of confusion. On we drove: our orders were to take no prisoners, neither to turn to the right nor left, until we reached the other side of the town.

As we advanced I saw the French general come out of a house, frantic with rage. Never shall I forget the grotesque figure he made, as he threw his cocked hat upon the ground, and stamping upon it, gnashed his teeth. When I got the first glance of him he had many medals on his breast. In a minute his coat was as bare as a private's.

We formed under cover of some old walls. A brigade of French stood in view. We got

orders to fire: not ten pieces in a company went off, the powder was again so wet with the rain. A brigade of Portuguese artillery came up. We gave the enemy another volley, leaped the wall, formed column, and drove them over the hill; down which they threw all their baggage, before they surrendered. In this affair we took about 3000 prisoners, 1600 horse, and 6 pieces of artillery, with a great quantity of baggage, &c.

We were again marched back to Portalegre, where the horses were sold and divided amongst the men according to their rank. I got 2s. 6d."⁷

The 71st remained in Portalegre till March 1812, having taken part, during the January of that year, in the expulsion of the French from Estremadura. After the capture of Badajoz by Wellington on the 6th of April, the 71st, and the other troops under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill, retired into Andalusia. Wellington, having armed the Tagus against Marshal Marmont, Sir Rowland Hill's force took post at Almendralejos for the purpose of watching Marshal Soult. Here the 71st remained from the 13th April to the 11th May, when it along with the rest of Sir R. Hill's corps marched to Almaraz to destroy the bridge of boats there. On the 18th of May it reached the height on which the castle of Mirabete stands, five miles from Almaraz.

"On the evening of the third day, General Hill ordered our left companies to move down to the valley, to cover his reconnaissance. When he returned, the officers were called. A scaling ladder was given to each section of a company of the left wing, with the exception of two companies. We moved down the hill in a dismal manner; it was so dark we could not see three yards before us. The hill was very steep, and we were forced to wade through whins and scramble down rocks, still carrying the ladders. When day-light, on the morning of the 19th, at length showed us to each other, we were scattered all over the foot of the hill like strayed sheep, not more in one place than were held together by a ladder. We halted, formed, and collected the ladders, then moved on. We had a hollow to pass through to get at the battery. The French had cut a part of

the brace away, and had a gun that swept right through into the hollow. We made a rush past it, to get under the brace on the other side. The French were busy cooking, and preparing to support the other fort, thinking we would attack it first, as we had lain next it.

On our approach the French sentinel fired and retired. We halted, fixed bayonets, and moved on in double-quick time. We did not receive above four shots from the battery, until we were under the works, and had the ladders placed to the walls. Their entrenchment proved deeper than we expected, which caused us to splice our ladders under the wall; during which time they annoyed us much, by throwing grenades, stones, and logs over it; for we stood with our pieces cocked and presented. As soon as the ladders were spliced, we forced them from the works, and out of the town, at the point of the bayonet, down the hill and over the bridge. They were in such haste, they cut the bridge before all their men had got over, and numbers were either drowned or taken prisoners. One of our men had the honour to be the first to mount the works.

Fort Napoleon fired two or three shots into Fort Almaraz. We took the hint from this circumstance, and turned the guns of Almaraz on Fort Napoleon, and forced the enemy to leave it.

We moved forward to the village of Almaraz, and found plenty of provisions, which had been very scarce with us for some days."⁸

The whole of this brilliant affair was concluded in about 15 minutes, the regiment losing Captain Lewis Grant, 1 sergeant, and 7 rank and file, killed; Lieutenants William Lockwood and Donald Ross, 3 sergeants, and 29 rank and file wounded. The names of 36 non-commissioned officers and soldiers were inserted in regimental orders for conspicuous bravery on this occasion, and "*Almaraz*" was henceforth inscribed upon the regimental colours. Both in the Brigade and General Orders, the 71st was particularly mentioned.

From this time to the 7th of November the 71st was occupied with many tedious marchings and countermarchings in accordance with the movements of the enemy. It occupied Alba de

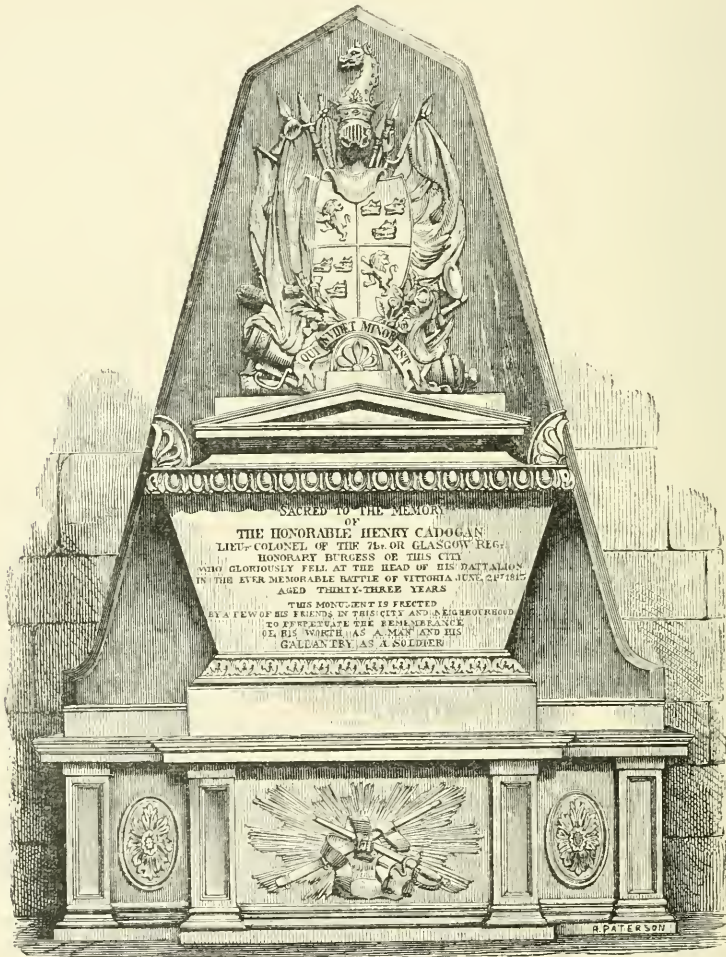
⁷ *Memorials of the late War*, p. 94.

⁸ *Memorials of the late War*, p. 93.

Tornes from the 7th till the 13th of November, and during that period sustained a loss, in action with the enemy, of 1 sergeant and 6 rank and file killed, and 1 bugler and 5 rank and file wounded. The army retired from this part and began to return on Portugal; and after various slight skirmishes with the enemy, reached Puerto de Baños in December, where it re-

mained till April 1813, being then removed to Bejar, which it occupied till May 21st. In December the 1st battalion was joined by a draft of 150 men from the 2nd. On the 20th of June the battalion along with the rest of its division encamped at La Puebla, in the neighbourhood of Vitoria.

On the morning of the 21st, the two



Monument in Glasgow Cathedral to Colonel the Honourable Henry Cadogan.

armies being in position, the 71st was ordered to ascend the heights of La Puebla to support the Spanish forces under General Morillo. Forward they moved up the hill under a very heavy fire, in which fell mortally wounded their commander Colonel Cadogan, who, in falling, requested to be carried to a neighbour-

ing height, from which he might take a last farewell of the regiment and the field.

“The French had possession of the top, but we soon forced them back, and drew up in column on the height, sending out four companies to our left to skirmish. The remainder moved on to the opposite height.

Scarce were we upon the height, when a heavy column, dressed in great-coats, with white covers on their hats, exactly resembling the Spanish, gave us a volley, which put us to the right about at double-quick time down the hill, the French close behind, through the whins. The four companies got the word, the French were on them. They likewise thought them Spaniards, until they got a volley that killed or wounded almost every one of them. We retired to the height, covered by the 50th, who gave the pursuing column a volley which checked their speed. We moved up the remains of our shattered regiment to the height. Being in great want of ammunition, we were again served with sixty rounds a man, and kept up our fire for some time, until the bugle sounded to cease firing.

We lay on the height for some time. Our drought was excessive; there was no water upon the height, save one small spring, which was rendered useless. At this time the major had the command, our second colonel being wounded. There were not 300 of us on the height able to do duty, out of above 1000 who drew rations in the morning. The cries of the wounded were most heart-rending.

The French, on the opposite height, were getting under arms: we could give no assistance, as the enemy appeared to be six to one of us. Our orders were to maintain the height while there was a man of us. The word was given to shoulder arms. The French at the same moment got under arms. The engagement began in the plains. The French were amazed, and soon put to the right about, through Vitoria. We followed, as quick as our weary limbs would carry us. Our legs were full of thorns, and our feet bruised upon the roots of the trees. Coming to a bean field at the bottom of the heights, the column was immediately broken, and every man filled his haversack. We continued to advance until it was dark, and then encamped on a height above Vitoria.

This was the dullest encampment I ever made. We had left 700 men behind. None spoke; each hung his head, mourning the loss of a friend and comrade. About twelve o'clock a man of each company was sent to receive half a pound of flour for each man at the rate

of our morning's strength, so that there was more than could be used by those who had escaped. I had fired 108 rounds this day."⁹

The loss of the regiment in the battle of Vitoria was dreadful. Colonel the Honourable Henry Cadogan, Captain Hall, Lieutenants Fox and Mackenzie, 6 sergeants, 1 bugler, and 78 rank and file were killed; Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Cother; Captains Reed, Pidgeon, and Grant; Lieutenants Duff, Richards, M'Intyre, Cox, Torriano, Campbell, and Cummeline; 13 sergeants, 2 buglers, and 255 rank and file were wounded.

The enemy retired to Pamplona, followed by the British, who afterwards marched towards the Pyrenees, the 71st reaching Maya upon the 8th of July. At Maya, on July 25th,—of which, as of other Peninsular battles, details will be found in the account of the 42nd,—the 71st behaved with marked bravery, maintaining their position to the last, and, when their ammunition was exhausted, hurling stones upon the enemy to impede their advance. The 71st had 3 sergeants and 54 rank and file killed, and 6 sergeants and 77 rank and file wounded.

The army under General Hill continued retiring until the 30th of July, when a strong position was taken up at Lizasso. Here they were attacked by the French, the 71st taking an active part in the engagement, and losing 1 sergeant, and 23 rank and file killed, and 2 sergeants and 34 rank and file wounded.

In the action in the pass of Doña Maria on the 31st, the 71st distinguished itself, and had 1 sergeant and 29 rank and file killed, and 2 sergeants and 45 rank and file wounded. For the part taken in these engagements the 71st was authorised to bear the word "*Pyrenees*" on its colours and appointments. Between the 14th of June and the 7th August, the regiment lost in killed and wounded, 33 officers, 6 buglers, and 553 rank and file.

For nearly three months after the last engagement the regiment was encamped on the heights of Roncesvalles, where the men were principally engaged in the construction of block-houses and batteries, and in the formation of roads for artillery, during which they suffered dreadfully from the inclemency of the weather. On the night of October 11th a strong party of the

⁹ *Memorials of the late War*, p. 113.

French made an attack upon an advance of 15 men of the 71st under Sergeant James Ross, but the small band, favoured somewhat by their position and the darkness, maintained its ground, and forced the enemy to retire. At the request of Lieutenant-General Sir William Stewart, each of the 16 men was presented with a medal.

After the battle of Nivelle, in which the 71st did not take part, the regiment occupied part of the town of Cambo, and was there joined by a detachment of 16 men of the 2nd battalion (then in Glasgow), under the command of Lieutenant Charles Henderson. On the 9th of December the 71st crossed the Nive without loss, the regiment forming upon the top of the opposite height, and sending out two companies after the enemy, who, however, eluded pursuit. The enemy retired on Bayonne, and General Hill disposed his army with the right on the Adour, the left above the Nive, and the centre, in which was the 71st, at St Pierre, across the high road to St Jean Pied-de-Port.

“All the night of the 11th December we lay in camp upon the face of a height, near the Spaniards. In the afternoon of the 12th, we received orders to move round towards Bayonne, where we were quartered along the main road. There we remained until we received orders to march to our own right, to assist a Spanish force which was engaged with superior numbers. We set off by day-light on the morning of the 13th towards them, and were moving on, when General Hill sent an aide-de-camp after us, saying, ‘That is not the direction,—follow me.’ We put to right-about, to the main road towards Bayonne. We soon came to the scene of action, and were immediately engaged. We had continued firing, without intermission, for five hours, advancing and retreating, and lost a great number of men, but could not gain a bit of ground. Towards evening we were relieved by a brigade which belonged to another division. As many of us as could be collected were drawn up. General Hill gave us great praise for our behaviour this day, and ordered an extra allowance of liquor to each man. We were marched back to our old quarters along the road-side. We lay upon the road-side for two or three days, having two companies three

leagues to the rear, carrying the wounded to the hospital. We were next cantoned three leagues above Bayonne, along the side of the river. We had strong picquets planted along the banks. The French were cantoned upon the other side. Never a night passed that we were not molested by boats passing up and down the river, with provisions and necessaries to the town. Our orders were to turn out and keep up a constant fire upon them while passing. We had two grasshopper guns planted upon the side of the river, by means of which we one night sunk a boat loaded with clothing for the army, setting it on fire with red-hot shot.

Next day we were encamped in the rear of the town, being relieved by a brigade of Portuguese. We remained in camp two or three days, expecting to be attacked, the enemy having crossed above us on the river. We posted picquets in the town, near our camp. At length, receiving orders to march, we moved on, until we came to a river on our right, which ran very swift. Part of the regiment having crossed, we got orders to come to the right-about, and were marched back to our old camp-ground. Next morning we received orders to take another road toward Salvatierra, where we encamped that night, and remained until the whole army assembled the following day.

About two o'clock in the afternoon we were under arms, and moved towards the river, covered by a brigade of artillery. We forded, and continued to skirmish along the heights until the town was taken. We lost only one man during the whole time. We encamped upon the other side of the town; and next morning followed the line of march, until we came before a town called Aris. We had severe fighting before we got into it. We were led on by an aide-de-camp. The contest lasted until after dark. We planted picquets in different streets of the town; the enemy did the same in others. Different patrols were sent out during the night, but the French were always found on the alert. They retired before day-light, and we marched into the town with our music at the head of the regiments. The town appeared then quite desolate, not worth twopence; but we were not three days in it, until the French inhabitants came back, opened

their shops and houses, and it became a fine lively place."¹

In the action of the 13th December the 71st lost Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie, Lieutenants Campbell and Henderson, 2 sergeants, and 24 men killed; Captains Barclay and Grant, Lieutenants McIntyre and Torriano, and 37 men wounded. For these services the regiment bears "*Nive*" on its colours. On the 26th February 1814 the regiment was in action at Sauveterre, and on the 27th took part in the battle of Orthez, although it appears that in the latter it sustained little or no loss. It bears "*Orthez*" on its colours.

Two divisions of the French army having retired to Aire, after the action of the 27th of February, Lieutenant-General Sir Rowland Hill moved upon that town to dislodge them. Upon the 2d of March the French were found strongly posted upon a ridge of hills, extending across the great road in front of the town, having their right on the Adour. The second division attacked them along the road, seconded by a Portuguese brigade, and drove them from their position in gallant style. Lieutenant James Anderson and 17 rank and file were killed; Lieutenant Henry Frederick Lockyer, 1 sergeant, and 19 rank and file, were wounded.

A detachment from the second battalion, consisting of 1 captain, 4 subalterns, and 134 rank and file, under the command of Major Arthur Jones, joined at Aire.

On the 25th of March part of the battalion was engaged in an affair at Tarbes, in which Lieutenant Robert Law was wounded, and upon the 10th of April was in position at Toulouse, where some of the companies were employed skirmishing, and sustained a loss of 1 sergeant and 3 rank and file killed; 6 rank and file were wounded.²

On the 10th of April the regiment marched to Toulouse, in order to attack it. It was drawn up in column behind a house, and sent out the flank companies to skirmish; the French, however, evacuated Toulouse on the night of the 11th, when the 71st and the other regiments entered the town. The following interesting incident, in connection with the attack on

Toulouse, is narrated by a soldier of the 71st in his *Journal*:—

"I shall ever remember an adventure that happened to me, towards the afternoon. We were in extended order, firing and retiring. I had just risen to run behind my file, when a spent shot struck me on the groin, and took the breath from me. 'God receive my soul!' I said, and sat down resigned. The French were advancing fast. I laid my musket down and gasped for breath. I was sick, and put my canteen to my head, but could not taste the water; however, I washed my mouth, and grew less faint. I looked to my thigh, and seeing no blood, took resolution to put my hand to the part, to feel the wound. My hand was unstained by blood, but the part was so painful that I could not touch it. At this moment of helplessness the French came up. One of them made a charge at me, as I sat pale as death. In another moment I would have been transfixed, had not his next man forced the point past me: 'Do not touch the good Scot,' said he; and then addressing himself to me, added, 'Do you remember me?' I had not recovered my breath sufficiently to speak distinctly: I answered, 'No.' 'I saw you at Sobral,' he replied. Immediately I recognised him to be a soldier whose life I had saved from a Portuguese, who was going to kill him as he lay wounded. 'Yes, I know you,' I replied. 'God bless you!' cried he; and, giving me a pancake out of his hat, moved on with his fellows; the rear of whom took my knapsack, and left me lying. I had fallen down for greater security. I soon recovered so far as to walk, though with pain, and joined the regiment next advance."³

On the afternoon of April 12th word came that Napoleon had abdicated, and shortly after peace was proclaimed, and a treaty concluded between France and England.

The 71st marched from Toulouse to Blaachfort, where it was encamped for about a fortnight, after which it proceeded to Bordeaux, where it embarked on the 15th of July, arriving in Cork on the 28th of that month. Shortly afterwards the regiment proceeded to Limerick, where it lay for the rest of the year, and where Colonel

¹ *Memorials of the late War*, p. 123.

² *Cannon's History of the 71st Regiment*, p. 104.

³ *Memorials of the late War*, p. 127.

Reynell assumed the command in December. In January 1815 the first battalion of the 71st embarked at Cork, and proceeded to America; but peace having been concluded with the United States, its destination was changed, in consequence of Napoleon having again broken loose, and resumed his former dignity of Emperor of the French. Thus England was once more embroiled in war. The 71st was in consequence transhipped in a small craft, and sent to Ostend, where it disembarked on April 22nd. It was then marched to Leuze, where, quartered in the surrounding villages, it lay till June 16th, 1815, under the command of Colonel Reynell. It was brigaded with the first battalion of the 52nd, and eight companies of the 95th regiment (Rifles), the brigade being commanded by Major-General Frederick Adam, and the division by Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Clinton. The first battalion had at this time 997 rank and file. The regiment was drilled every day, and on the morning of June 16 was proceeding to its drill-ground as usual, when it was ordered immediately to advance upon Nivelles, where it arrived late at night. On the same day Blucher had been attacked at Ligny, and Wellington had successfully met Marshal Ney at Quatre Bras, in which action the 71st had no chance of taking part, although they had their own share of the fighting at Waterloo. On the morning of the 17th the 71st took the road to Waterloo, and along with the other regiments of the brigade took up a position behind Hougomont, where they lay under arms, amid pouring rain, all night. Two hours after daybreak, General Hill came down and took away the 10th company to cover his reconnoissance, and shortly after, the regiment set to cleaning their arms, and preparing for action. All the opposite heights were covered by the enemy.

The artillery had been tearing away since daybreak in different parts of the line. About twelve o'clock we received orders to fall in for attack. We then marched up to our position, where we lay on the face of a brae, covering a brigade of guns. We were so overcome by the fatigue of the two days' march, that scarce had we lain down until many of us fell asleep. We lay thus about an hour and a half, under a dreadful fire, which cost us about 60 men,

while we had never fired a shot. The balls were falling thick amongst us.

About two o'clock a squadron of lancers came down, hurraing, to charge the brigade of guns: they knew not what was in the rear. The general gave the word, 'Form square.' In a moment the whole brigade were on their feet, ready to receive the enemy. The general said, 'Seventy-first, I have often heard of your bravery, I hope it will not be worse to-day than it has been.' Down they came upon our square. We soon put them to the right-about.

Shortly after we received orders to move to the heights. Onwards we marched, and stood, for a short time, in square, receiving cavalry every now and then. The noise and smoke were dreadful. We then moved on in column for a considerable way, and formed line; gave three cheers, fired a few volleys, charged the enemy, and drove them back.

At this moment a squadron of cavalry rode furiously down upon our line. Scarce had we time to form. The square was only complete in front when they were upon the points of our bayonets. Many of our men were out of place. There was a good deal of jostling for a minute or two, and a good deal of laughing. Our quarter-master lost his bonnet in riding into the square; got it up, put it on, back foremost, and wore it thus all day. Not a moment had we to regard our dress. A French general lay dead in the square; he had a number of ornaments upon his breast. Our men fell to plucking them off, pushing each other as they passed, and snatching at them.

We stood in square for some time, whilst the 13th dragoons and a squadron of French dragoons were engaged. The 13th dragoons retiring to the rear of our column, we gave the French a volley, which put them to the right-about; then the 13th at them again. They did this for some time; we cheering the 13th, and feeling every blow they received.

The whole army retired to the heights in the rear; the French closely pursuing to our formation, where we stood, four deep, for a considerable time. As we fell back, a shot cut the straps of the knapsack of one near me: it fell, and was rolling away. He snatched it up, saying 'I am not to lose you that way, you are all I

have in the world,' tied it on the best manner he could, and marched on.

Lord Wellington came riding up. We formed square, with him in our centre, to receive cavalry. Shortly the whole army received orders to advance. We moved forwards in two columns, four deep, the French retiring at the same time. We were charged several times in our advance. This was our last effort; nothing could impede us. The whole of the enemy retired, leaving their guns and ammunition, and every other thing behind. We moved on towards a village, and charged right through, killing great numbers, the village was so crowded. We then formed on the other side of it, and lay down under the canopy of heaven, hungry and weary to death. We had been oppressed, all day, by the weight of our blankets and great-coats, which were drenched with rain, and lay upon our shoulders like logs of wood."⁴

The 71st had Brevet Major Edmund L'Estrange, aide-de-camp to Major-General Sir Denis Pack, and Ensign John Tod killed. The following officers were wounded: the Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the battalion, Colonel Thomas Reynell; Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Jones; Captains Samuel Reed, Donald Campbell, William Alexander Grant, James Henderson, and Brevet Major Charles Johnstone; Lieutenants Joseph Barrallier, Robert Lind, John Roberts, James Coates, Robert Law, Carique Lewin, and Lieutenant and Adjutant William Anderson.

The number of serjeants, buglers, and rank and file killed amounted to 29; 166 were wounded, and 36 died of their wounds."⁵

The 71st afterwards marched to Paris with the rest of the army, and was encamped in the Champs Elysées, continuing there till the beginning of November, when it proceeded to Versailles, and to Viarmes in December. On the 21st of December the second battalion was disbanded at Glasgow, the effective officers and men being transferred to the first battalion.

In January 1816 the regiment marched to the Pas de Calais, where it was cantoned in several villages. On the 21st of June the 71st was formed in hollow square upon the *bruyère*

of Rombly for the purpose of receiving the medals which had been granted by the Prince Regent to the officers and men for their services at Waterloo, when Colonel Reynell addressed the regiment as follows:—

"SEVENTY-FIRST,—The deep interest which you will all give me credit for feeling in everything that affects the corps, cannot fail to be awakened upon an occasion such as the present, when holding in my hands, to transfer to yours, these honourable rewards bestowed by your sovereign for your share in the great and glorious exertions of the army of His Grace the Duke of Wellington upon the field of Waterloo, when the utmost efforts of the army of France, directed by Napoleon, reputed to be the first captain of the age, were not only paralysed at the moment, but blasted beyond the power of even a second struggle.

"To have participated in a contest crowned with victory so decisive, and productive of consequences that have diffused peace, security, and happiness throughout Europe, may be to each of you a source of honourable pride, as well as of gratitude to the Omnipotent Arbiter of all human contests, who preserved you in such peril, and without whose protecting hand the battle belongs not to the strong, nor the race to the swift.

"I acknowledge to feel an honest and, I trust, excusable exultation in having had the honour to command you on that day; and in dispensing these medals, destined to record in your families the share you had in the ever memorable battle of Waterloo, it is a peculiar satisfaction to me that I can present them to those by whom they have been fairly and honourably earned, and that I can here solemnly declare that, in the course of that eventful day, I did not observe a soldier of this good regiment whose conduct was not only creditable to the English nation, but such as his dearest friends could desire.

"Under such agreeable reflections, I request you to accept these medals, and to wear them with becoming pride, as they are incontestable proofs of a faithful discharge of your duty to your king and your country. I trust that they will act as powerful talismans, to keep you, in your future lives, in the paths of honour, sobriety, and virtue."

⁴ *Memorials of the late War*, p. 132.

⁵ *Cannon's History of the 71st Regiment*, p. 110.

The regiment received new colours on the 13th of January 1817; they were presented by Major-General Sir Denis Pack, a name intimately associated with some of our Highland regiments. On this occasion he addressed them as follows :—

“SEVENTY-FIRST REGIMENT.—Officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, it affords me the greatest satisfaction, at the request of your commanding officer, Colonel Reynell, to have the honour of presenting these colours to you.

“There are many who could perform the office with a better grace, but there is no one, believe me, who is more sensible of the merit of the corps, or who is more anxious for its honour and welfare.



Major-General Sir Denis Pack, K.C.B. From a painting in possession of Mrs Reynell Pack.

“I might justly pay to the valour and good conduct of those present the compliments usual on such occasions, but I had rather offer the expression of my regard and admiration of that excellent *esprit-de-corps* and real worth which a ten years' intimate knowledge of the regiment has taught me so highly to appreciate. I shall always look back with pleasure to that long period in which I had the good fortune to be your commanding officer, and during which time I received from the officers the most cordial and zealous assistance in support of discipline; from the non-commissioned officers proofs of the most disinterested regard for His Majesty's service and the welfare of their regiment; and I witnessed on the part of the privates and the corps at large a fidelity to their colours in South America, as remarkable under such trying circumstances as their valour has at all times been conspicuous in the field. I am most happy to think that there is no drawback to the pleasure all should feel on this occasion. Your former colours were mislaid after a fête given in London to celebrate the Duke of Wellington's return after his glorious termination of the peninsular war, and your colonel, General Francis Dundas, has sent you three very handsome ones to replace them. On them are emblazoned some of His

Grace's victories, in which the 71st bore a most distinguished part, and more might be enumerated which the corps might well be proud of. There are still in our ranks valuable officers who have witnessed the early glories of the regiment in the East, and its splendid career since is fresh in the memory of all. Never, indeed, did the character of the corps stand higher; never was the fame of the British arms, or the glory of the British empire more pre-eminent than at this moment, an enthusiastic recollection of which the sight of these colours must always inspire.

“While you have your present commanding officer to lead you, it is unnecessary for me to add anything to excite such a spirit; but were I called upon to do so, I should have only to hold up the example of those who have fallen in your ranks, and, above all, point to the memory of that hero who so gloriously fell at your head.”⁶

After remaining in France until the end of October 1818, the 71st embarked for England, and arrived at Dover on the 29th of that month, proceeding to Chelmsford, where the establishment was reduced from 810 to 650 rank and file.

II.

1818—1873.

Chatham—Ireland—Sir Gordon Drummond becomes Colonel—Quebec—Montreal—Inspected by Lord Dalhousie—Kingston—Toronto—Major-General Sir Colin Halkett becomes Colonel—Bermuda—Tartan Plaid Scarf restored—Edinburgh—Major-General Sir S. T. Whittingham becomes Colonel—Lt. General Sir Thomas Reynell becomes Colonel—Divided into two Battalions—Chichester—Canada—West Indies—Death of Sir Thomas Reynell—Lt. General Sir Thomas Arbuthnot becomes Colonel—His death—Lt. General Sir James Macdonell becomes Colonel—Dublin—The Queen's Visit (1849)—Canada—Ireland—Inspected by H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge—New Colours—Corfu—The Crimea—Malta—India—Inspected by Lord Clyde—Cholera—Sealkote—Nowshera—Umbeylah Pass—Chumla Valley—Delhi—Home—Edinburgh—Aldershot—Ireland—Inspected by Lord Strathnairn—Gibraltar—Death of Colonel the Hon. Charles Grey—Lt. General Robert Law, K.H., appointed Colonel—His Services—Buttevant—Malta—Fort St. George.

FROM 1818 to 1822 this regiment performed garrison duties at various places in England, a mere enumeration of which would not be interesting, and is needless here. While at Chatham in 1821, the strength of the regiment was reduced to 576 rank and file. In 1822 it sailed from Liverpool for Dublin, where it

⁶ Colonel the Honourable Henry Cadogan, who was mortally wounded at Vittoria on the 21st of June 1813.

arrived on the 3rd of May, and remained there till the beginning of October, when it was marched to the south of Ireland. Here it remained until May 1824, having its headquarters at Fermoy, with detachments stationed at various villages in order that disturbances might be suppressed and order maintained. The nature of the duties which the regiment had to perform can be seen by reference to our account of the 42nd about this period. In January 1824 Lieutenant-General Sir Gordon Drummond was removed from the colonelcy of the 88th to that of the 71st, vacant by the death of General Francis Dundas.

In May the regiment proceeded to Cork to re-embark for North America; but before doing so, Colonel Sir Thomas Arbuthnot, commanding the regiment, received very gratifying addresses from the magistrates and inhabitants of Fermoy, praising highly the conduct of the regiment, which had now the esteem of all classes. The 71st embarked at Cork for North America on the 14th, 16th, 17th, and 18th of May 1824, and arrived at Quebec about a month thereafter, at which place the headquarters of the regiment was stationed. The 71st remained in America performing garrison duty at various places till 1831. In May 1827 the headquarters was removed to Montreal; preparatory to the change, the service companies were inspected by Lieutenant-General the Earl of Dalhousie, who assured Lieutenant-Colonel Jones that he never had seen any regiment in more perfect order. In May 1828 the regiment removed to Kingston, where it remained for a year, and where it suffered much from fever and ague. From this place headquarters removed to Toronto in June 1829, and companies were sent out to occupy various posts; the 71st remained there for two years.

In June 1825 the strength of the regiment had been increased to 710 rank and file, who were formed into 6 service and 4 dépôt companies, the latter stationed in England; the movements of the former we have been narrating. In August 1829 the dépôt companies removed from Gravesend to Berwick-on-Tweed, and in June 1830 from the latter place to Edinburgh Castle. In September 1829 Major-General Sir Colin Halkett succeeded General Drummond as colonel of the 71st.

In May 1831 the service companies returned to Quebec, where they stayed four months, sailing in October for Bermuda, where they were stationed till September 1834. While at Bermuda, in February 1834, the tartan plaid scarf was restored to the 71st by authority of the King. In September of that year the 6 service companies left Bermuda for Britain, arriving at Leith in October 19th. The regiment was stationed at Edinburgh till May 1836, when it embarked for Ireland, and was stationed at Dublin till June 1837, when it proceeded to Kilkenny. The regiment remained in Ireland till April 1838, on the 16th of which month the 6 service companies again sailed from Cork to Canada. The four dépôt companies remained in Ireland till June 1839, when they sailed from Cork to Scotland, and were stationed at Stirling. While in Ireland, March 1838, Major-General Sir Samuel Ford Whittingham succeeded Sir Colin Halkett to the colonelcy of the regiment, and he again was succeeded in March 1841 by Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Reynell, formerly so intimately associated with the regiment as its lieutenant-colonel. The strength of the regiment was in August 1838 increased to 800.

During 1840 the 6 service companies were stationed at St John's, Lower Canada.

The service companies proceeded from St John's to Montreal, in two divisions, on the 27th and 28th of April 1842.

In consequence of the augmentation which took place in the army at this period, the 71st regiment was ordered to be divided into two battalions, the 6 service companies being termed the first battalion, and the dépôt, augmented by two new companies, being styled the reserve battalion. The dépôt was accordingly moved from Stirling to Chichester in 1842, and after receiving 180 volunteers from other corps, was there organised into a battalion for foreign service.

The reserve battalion of the 71st, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel James England, embarked at Portsmouth in Her Majesty's troop-ship "Resistance," which sailed for Canada on the 13th of August 1842, and landed at Montreal on the 23d of September, where the first battalion was likewise stationed, under the command of Major William

Denny, who, upon the arrival of Lieutenant-Colonel England, took charge of the reserve battalion.

The reserve battalion marched from Montreal to Chambly on the 5th of May 1843, and arrived there on the same day.

The first battalion, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel England, embarked at Quebec for the West Indies in the "Java" transport, on the 20th of October 1843. The headquarters disembarked at Grenada on the 15th of December following.

The headquarters of the first battalion embarked on the 25th of December 1844, at Grenada for Antigua,⁷ where they continued during 1845. On the 11th of May 1845, the headquarters and three companies of the regiment marched from Chambly, and arrived in Kingston, in Canada, on the 14th of that month.

On the 18th of April 1846, the headquarters and four companies of the first battalion embarked at Antigua on board the transport "Princess Royal," and on the 24th of the same month landed at Barbadoes.

The first battalion, under the command of Captain Nathaniel Massey Stack, embarked for England at Barbadoes on the 29th and 30th of December 1846, on board H.M. ship "Belleisle." On the 6th of October they had left Kingstown in Canada West, and arrived at La Prairie on the 8th of the same month.

The ship "Belleisle," having the first battalion on board,⁸ sailed for Portsmouth on January 1st 1847, and arrived at Spithead on the 25th. After disembarking the battalion at Portsmouth it proceeded to Winchester, where it remained till July 19th, when it was conveyed in three divisions by railway to Glasgow, and on December 21st was removed to Edinburgh.

On the 18th of February 1848, Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Arbuthnot, K.C.B., from the 9th Foot, was appointed colonel of the regiment in room of Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Reynell, Bart., who had died at Arundel on February 10, 1848; and on the death of the new colonel at Salford, on January 26th 1849, about a year after, Lieutenant-General Sir James Maedonell, K.C.B., from

the 79th Foot, was appointed to the colonelcy of the regiment on February 8, 1849.

In compliance with instructions received upon the occasion of Her Majesty's visit to Dublin, the headquarters of the first battalion, with the effectives of three companies, proceeded from Naas to that garrison on the 28th of July, and were encamped in the Phoenix Park. The three detached companies also joined at the encampment on the same day.

The headquarters and two companies of the reserve battalion, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Hew Dalrymple, Bart., proceeded from St John's to Montreal in aid of the civil power, on the 28th of April 1849. The headquarters and three companies quitted Montreal and encamped on the Island of St Helen's on the 30th of June, but returned to St John's on the 16th of July. On the 17th of August 1849, the headquarters and two companies proceeded from St John's to Montreal in aid of the civil power, and returned to St John's on the 6th of September.

The Queen having arrived in Dublin on the 6th of August, the first battalion had the honour of sharing in the grand review which took place in the park on the 9th, in presence of Her Majesty and Prince Albert, after which a highly complimentary general order was issued, expressing the high approval of Her Majesty and Prince Albert of the conduct of the troops present at the review.

On the 10th of August 1849 Her Majesty and Prince Albert and the Royal Family left Dublin, and the 71st furnished a guard of honour, under Captain T. H. Colville, at the railway station; and on the 11th, the lieutenant-general commanding marked his very high appreciation of the services of the troops stationed in Dublin during the above auspicious occasion, by publishing another highly complimentary general order.

In addition to the remarks in the general order of Lieutenant-General Sir Edward Blackeney, which reflected so much credit on the 71st Highland Light Infantry, in common with the other regiments in garrison, Major-General H.R.H. Prince George of Cambridge was graciously pleased to express his approbation of the high state of efficiency and good conduct of the battalion; and as its stay in

⁷ Cannon's *History of the 71st Regiment*, pp. 120, 121.

Dublin was intended to be only during Her Majesty's visit, the headquarters and three companies returned to Naas on the 13th of August 1849, detaching on the same day three companies to Maryborough, Carlow, and Newbridge.

During the months of March and April 1850, the various scattered companies of the 71st were removed to Dublin, where the whole battalion was stationed at the Richmond Barracks.

The headquarters and two companies of the reserve battalion quitted St John's and Chamberly on the 21st of May 1850, and arrived at Toronto on the 23rd of that month, where the battalion was joined by the other companies, and it continued there during the remainder of the year.

In May 1852 the reserve battalion proceeded from Toronto to Kingston. On the 8th of June following, Lieutenant-Colonel Hew Dalrymple, Bart., retired from the service by the sale of his commission, and was succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel Nathaniel Massey Stack.⁸

Instructions having been received for the battalion to embark at Glasgow for Ireland, three companies proceeded to Dublin on the 27th, and the headquarters, with the three remaining companies, embarked on board the "Viceroy" steamer on the 1st of May, and arrived at Dublin on the 2nd. Companies were detached to various places, and the headquarters proceeded from Dublin to Naas on the 20th of May.

On the 4th of July Lieutenant-Colonel William Denny, having arrived from Canada, assumed the command of the battalion, when Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Hew Dalrymple, Bart., proceeded to rejoin the reserve battalion.

H.R.H. Major-General Prince George of Cambridge, commanding the Dublin district, made the autumn half-yearly inspection of the regiment on the 13th of October 1849, on which occasion H.R.H. expressed personally to the regiment his satisfaction and approbation of their appearance and steadiness under arms, and the marked improvement that had been effected.

A draft of the reserve battalion, consisting of 2 subalterns, 2 sergeants, and 90 rank and

file, embarked at Cork for Canada on the 4th of May of the same year.

The state of discipline in the regiment was reported to be good on its arrival in Dublin, and during its stay in that garrison it was most favourably reported upon. The accompanying extracts, which were conveyed to the commanding officers by order, are creditable to the character of the regiment:—

"ASST. ADJT.-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
"DUBLIN, 21st July 1851.

"The Commander-in-Chief is glad to find that His Royal Highness considers the recruits lately joined to be of a superior description, and that he is enabled to speak with unqualified praise on the state of the discipline to which the regiment has arrived since it formed part of the garrison of Dublin.

"GEORGE MYLINS
"Asst. Adjt.-Gen."

"Officer Commanding
"1st Bat. 71st Regt."

The following is an extract from a letter received from the Adjutant-General of the Forces, having reference to the confidential report of H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, of the 1st battalion of the 71st Highland Light Infantry, for the second period of 1850:—

"ASST. ADJT.-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
"DUBLIN, 28th January 1851.

"The progress made by this battalion during the half year is extremely satisfactory to the Commander-in-Chief, and in the highest degree creditable to Lieutenant-Colonel Denny and his officers, who may congratulate themselves on having brought the battalion into a state of efficiency of which it certainly could not boast when the lieutenant-colonel assumed the command.

"W. F. FORSTER, A.A.-G."

During 1851 and 1852 the regiment remained in Ireland, moving about in detachments from place to place, and performing efficiently a variety of duties, agreeable and disagreeable, in that disturbed country, and sending off now and then small parties to join the reserve battalion in Canada. In August the regiment removed to Kilkenny.

On the 1st of November 1852, a communication was received for the battalion to be held in readiness for embarkation for the Mediterranean, and in compliance therewith, the

⁸ Cannon's *History of the 71st Regiment*, pp. 122, 123.

service and *depôt* companies were formed on the 1st of January 1853; and on the 3rd the battalion received new colours. On the arrival of the battalion at Cork, the old colours were placed over a tablet erected at Kinsale, to the memory of the late Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Arbutnot, a native of that place, who commanded the regiment for many years. During February and March the regiment sailed in detachments for Corfu.

By a War Office letter of 20th of February 1854, the regiment was to be augmented, from the 1st of April, by one pipe-major and five pipers.

The reserve battalion remained in Canada from 1849 to 1853, having been stationed successively at St John's, Toronto, Kingston, and Quebec, returning from Canada in 1854, and forming the *depôt* of the regiment at Canterbury in October.

On the outbreak of the Crimean war all the effectives, with a proportion of officers, consisting of 1 major, 3 captains, 6 subalterns, 20 serjeants, 6 buglers, and 391 rank and file—total, 417—were ordered to proceed to the Crimea, and embarked at Portsmouth, on board the “Royal Albert,” November 24, and landed at Balaclava on the 20th of December. The first battalion joined the reserve in February 1855.

Major-General A. F. Mackintosh, Commander of the Forces in the Ionian Islands, issued the following order prior to the embarkation of the first battalion from Corfu for the Crimea, in January 1855:—

“*General Order.*”

“DEPUTY QR.-MASTER GENERAL'S OFFICE,
“CORFU, 24th January 1855.

“The Major-General commanding addresses a few words to the 71st Light Infantry on their departure for the seat of war.

“The Major-General first saw the 71st a good many years ago, on a day when their commanding officer fell at their head; he has since often met the regiment in various parts of the world, and has always remarked among both the officers and men of the regiment that high military spirit and personal activity still conspicuous, which caused it to be selected and organised as a light corps.

“They are now about to appear on a scene where their predecessors in the regiment have so often distinguished themselves—the field of battle,—and the Major-General wishes them a prosperous passage, followed by a glorious career.

“R. WALPOLE,
“*Dep. Qr.-Mr. General.*”

During the time the 71st was in the Crimea, it had no chance of distinguishing itself in any great action, as had the 42d, and the other two Highland regiments with which it was brigaded. Nevertheless, the 71st had many fatiguing and critical duties to perform, which it did with efficiency; as will be seen, it was mainly occupied in expeditions to various parts of the Crimea.

The regiment embarked on the 3rd of May on board the “Furious” and the “Gladiator” steam frigates, forming part of the first expedition to Kertch, returning to Balaclava on the 8th. The regiment moved to the front on the 9th of May, and joined the third brigade of the fourth division in camp, before Sebastopol, performing satisfactorily the very trying duties in the trenches. Here, however, it did not long remain, as on May 22nd it embarked at Balaclava, on board the steam frigates “Sidon” and “Valorous,” and proceeded to Kertch with the expeditionary force of the allied army.

Landing at Kamiesch Bouroun, about five miles from Kertch, on the 24th of May, under cover of the gun-boats, it bivouacked that night, and marched to Kertch the following morning, proceeding the same day to Yenikali, where it encamped.

The regiment re-embarked at Yenikali on the 10th of June on board the steam frigates “Sidon” and “Valorous,” to return to the headquarters of the army, but was again disembarked—the headquarters and right wing at Yenikali on June the 12th, and the left wing at Cape St Paul on the 14th—to protect these points, in conjunction with a French and Turkish force. One company moved into Kertch from Yenikali, August 4th, and the left wing from Cape St Paul to Kertch, September 22nd.

Three companies, under Major Hunter, embarked at Kertch, September 24th, and proceeded with the French on a joint expedition

to Taman. Taman and Phanagoria were bombarded by the French and English gunboats, and taken possession of by the allied expeditionary force on the same day. A large supply of hutting material and fuel was obtained for the use of the troops from these places, after which they were fired and abandoned. The expedition returned to Kertch on the 3rd of October.

A draft, consisting of 1 captain, 5 subalterns, 4 sergeants, and 121 rank and file from the reserve companies at Malta, landed at Balaklava in August, was moved to the front, and attached to the Highland division in camp before Sebastopol. It was present at the fall of Sebastopol, under the command of Major Campbell, and joined the headquarters of the regiment at Yenikali on the 2nd of October.

Until the 22nd of June 1856, the various companies were kept moving between Yenikali and Kertch. On that date Kertch and Cape St Paul were handed over by the regiment to the Russians, the Turks and French having already evacuated the Crimea.

The headquarters and six companies embarked on board the steamship "Pacific," and two companies on board the "Gibraltar," on the 22nd of June, for passage to Malta.

During the stay of the 71st in Malta, from July 1856 to January 1858, there is nothing of importance to record except the death of Sir James Maedonell on the 15th of May 1857.

The regiment received orders by telegram from England to proceed overland to India on the evening of the 2nd of January 1858, and on the morning of the 4th it embarked on board H.M. ship "Princess Royal" and the steam frigate "Vulture." The headquarters and right wing arrived at Bombay on February 6th, and the left wing on the 8th; the right wing proceeding to Mhow by bullock train in detachments of about forty daily, the first of which left Bombay on the 26th of February, and the last arrived at Mhow, March 17th. It marched from Mhow on the 30th March to join the Central India Field Force, and joined the second brigade at Mote on May 3rd. It was present at the action in Rose's attack on the enemy at Koonch, May 7th, when eight men fell dead in the ranks, and upwards of

twenty officers and men had to be carried from the field on account of the heat of the sun. It was present also at the actions at Muttra and Deapoor, 16th and 17th May; at the latter places the principal attacks of the enemy were repulsed by this regiment. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell commanding the brigade, Major Rich commanding the regiment, and Battalion Major Loftus, were specially mentioned by the major-general. The regiment was present at the battle of Gowlowlee, May 22nd, the occupation of Calpee, May 23rd, and it marched on Gwalior with the 1st Brigade Central India Field Force; at the action of Moorar on the 16th of June, in which the 71st took a prominent part. It was while rushing on at the head of a company of this regiment that Lieutenant Wyndham Neave fell mortally wounded, and that Sergeant Hugh M'Gill, 1 corporal, and 2 privates were killed. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, Major Rich, and Lieutenant Scott were specially mentioned; and Sergeant Ewing and Private George Rodgers were recommended for the Victoria Cross.

On the evening of the 18th of June the regiment formed part of a column for the support of Brigadier Smith's brigade, and advanced on Gwalior with the whole force on the 19th and 20th.

After the capture of Gwalior on the 20th of June, the headquarter's wing marched back to Moorar cantonments, where it was stationed till the 12th of August, when it returned to Gwalior, and was stationed at the Lushker and Phool Bagh, and returned again to Moorar on the 6th of June 1859.

On the 11th of November 1858, a detachment from headquarters went on field-service to the Sind River, had two skirmishes with the rebels, and returned to Gwalior on the 9th of February 1859.

On the 29th of November 1858, another detachment from headquarters went on field service, and had skirmishes with the rebels at Ranode and Nainewass. At the latter place three were killed. This detachment returned to Gwalior on 27th of May 1859.

The left wing marched from Bombay on the 11th of March 1858, and arrived at Mhow on 17th of April, and on the 9th of June a

company was detached from Mhow to Indore. The greater portion of the left wing proceeded on field-service, under Major-General Michel, C.B., and on 2nd September 1858 was present at the action at Rajghur. In the action at Mongrowlee, on September the 15th, the 71st had one private killed. In the action at Sindwaho on October the 19th, and that at Koorai on October the 25th, the 71st had no casualties. The left wing arrived at Bhopal on the 17th of November 1858, and marched to Goonah on the 17th of January 1859.

On the 25th of November a party of 50 rank and file left Mhow on camels, with a column under command of Major Sutherland, 92d Highlanders, and were engaged with the rebels at Rajpore on the same day, after which they returned to Mhow.

On the 1st of January 1859, the company stationed at Indore marched from that place *en route* to join a column on service under Brigadier-General Sir R. Napier, K.C.B., and was present at the attack of the Fort of Naharghur, 17th of January, where two privates were wounded. Captain Lambton was specially mentioned for his daring attack.

The headquarters of the regiment were inspected by the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Clyde, on the 2nd of December 1859. His Excellency expressed his satisfaction, both with what he himself saw and the reports which he had received regarding the state of the regiment from other sources. The report made by Lord Clyde to H.R.H. the General Commanding-in-Chief, produced the following letter from the Adjutant-General of the Forces, highly complimentary to the commanding officer and all ranks of the regiment:—

“HORSE GUARDS,
“24th January 1860.

“SIR,—His Royal Highness the General Commanding-in-Chief is much gratified to hear from General Lord Clyde, Commander-in-Chief in India, that at his Lordship's last visit to the station occupied by the regiment under your command, he found it in the highest order.

“After the recent arduous and continuous duties on which it has been employed, great

credit is due to its commanding officer, Colonel William Hope, and to every rank in the corps, and H.R.H. requests that his opinion may be communicated to them accordingly.—I have the honour to be, &c.

“G. A. WETHERAL,
“Adjutant-General.

“Officer Commanding
“71st Highlanders.”

In the month of January 1860, intimation was received of the death of Lieutenant-Colonel R. D. Campbell, C.B., in London, on the 4th of December 1859, and the command of the 71st devolved on Lieutenant-Colonel Hope, C.B.

On the 22nd of July cholera broke out in the regiment. It first appeared in the hospital in cantonments, but the next day spread to the barracks, and, two or three days later, reached the fortress of Gwalior. The companies in cantonments, with the exception of one, moved under canvas; two of those in the fort moved down into quarters at the Phool Bagh. Notwithstanding these movements, the epidemic continued until the beginning of September, and did not finally disappear until the 16th of that month, having carried off 1 colour-sergeant, 2 sergeants, 2 corporals, 1 piper, 1 bugler, and 62 men, 11 women and 11 children.

On the 11th of November 1860 the order for the relief was received, and on the 20th of the next month the regiment marched for Seal-kote, Punjab, having been relieved at Gwalior by the 27th Inniskillings.

The state of discipline of the regiment while in the Gwalior district can be gathered from the following extract from a report from the Political Agent, Gwalior, to the Government of India, dated 15th June 1860:—

“When it was determined in June last to post a British force at the Lushker, the people expected with dread and deprecation a violent and dangerous, at least a rude and overbearing soldiery; but Her Majesty's 71st Highlanders soon dispelled their fears and created pleasant feelings.

“His Highness and the best informed men of the Durbar have assured me that those soldiers who passed ten months in the

Phool Bagh have, by their manners, habits, dealings, and whole demeanour, so conciliated the respect and regards of all, that nothing would be more acceptable than the domestication of such a force in the capital.

"The Durbar considers further, that it would bring to Gwalior incalculable industrial advantages, through affording a constant supply of superintendents of public works and skilled labourers.

"I venture to express the hope, that his Excellency may consider the Durbar's view of the conduct of Her Majesty's 71st, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, C.B., a very high and true compliment, as worthy of express recognition as good conduct in the field. It is in my humble judgment a most fully deserved compliment.

"AD. A. CHARTERS MACPHERSON,
"Political Agent."

"CAMP AGRA,
"29th November 1859.

"MY LORD,—As your Lordship is going to Gwalior, I trust you will not think that I exceed my office, if I venture to send you an extract from a report of June last, in which I attract the attention of the Government to the admirable conduct of Her Majesty's 71st Highlanders, and to its appreciation by Maharajah Scindia and his people.

"The importance of such conduct on the part of the first British troops stationed at the capital of Gwalior might scarcely be overstated.

"Having lived with the 71st at the Phool Bagh for about twelve months, my pride in them as soldiers and countrymen must be my excuse to your Lordship for venturing upon this irregular communication of my impressions. General Napier's views will, I trust, confirm them.

"AD. A. CHARTERS MACPHERSON,
"Political Agent."

Various drafts joined the service companies in 1860. The regiment marched into Sealkote on Sunday, the 17th of February 1861.

The brigadier-general, commanding the Lahore division, made his first half-yearly inspection of the regiment on the 26th of April

1861, and published the following order on the conclusion of this duty:—

"Extract from Station Orders, dated Sealkote,
27th April 1871.

"Brigadier-General Ferryman, C.B., having completed the inspection of the 71st Highland Light Infantry, begs to express to Lieut.-Col. Rich and the regiment his great satisfaction with everything he has seen. The drill is excellent; it could not be better; and the officers are well instructed. He will, therefore, have much pleasure in making a very high report to the Commander-in-Chief of everything he has witnessed."

The regiment remained at Sealkote till the 1st of November 1862, when headquarters and seven companies marched *en route* to Nowshera, and arrived at that station on the 21st of the same month, having detached one company at Attock to garrison the fortress.

On the 14th of October 1863, headquarters, under Lieut.-Col. Hope, C.B., moved from Nowa-Killa in the Yuzufzai country, arriving on the 18th of October at Nowshera, where the sick were left. At Nowa-Killa was assembled the force about to be employed in the hill country to the eastward, and the command was assumed by Brigadier-General Sir Neville Chamberlain, K.C.B. The object of the expedition was to destroy Mulka, on the Mahabun Mountains, the stronghold of certain Hindostanee refugees, generally known as the Sitana Fanatics, who infested our frontier and preyed on the villages. Mulka is just beyond our frontier line, and in the territory of the Indoons.

The direct route to Mulka by the Chinglao Pass being reported to be stockaded, it was decided to take the more circuitous one by the Umbeylah Pass and the Chumla Valley. The brigadier-general decided on having a small native force at Nowa-Killa, and forming a depôt for the European troops at Roostum, which is near the entrance to the Umbeylah Pass, and directed the sick and the regimental band to remain there accordingly. 99 men of the 71st of all ranks were detached to remain at Roostum under Lieut. Boulderson.

The force marched in two divisions,—the first, all of native troops under command of

Lieut.-Col. Wilde, C.B., of the corps of Guides, on 19th October; and the second, which included all the European troops, on the 20th of October, under the brigadier-general.

The pass was seized by Lieut.-Col. Wilde without difficulty, but owing to the rugged nature of the ground, the so-called road being merely a path hardly practicable for loaded cattle, the troops were not concentrated at the crest of the pass until nearly 8 o'clock in the evening, and the baggage, of which much was lost or destroyed, was not all up for four days. The heavy guns were shifted on to elephants at the bottom of the pass, and got up without much difficulty.

On the 21st more ground to the front was taken, and the regiment marched down in the direction of Umbeylah about a quarter of a mile, and encamped on a small piece of level ground, and not far from a small stream of water. On the 22nd a reconnaissance was made in the Chumla Valley under the orders of Lieut.-Col. Taylor, C.E., with a small body of native cavalry, supported by the 20th Native Infantry. This party penetrated some distance into the valley without being molested; but on its return near sunset it was attacked near the village of Umbeylah, and sustained some loss. Their assailants, who were chiefly of the Boneyir tribe, followed up the 20th Native Infantry in great numbers, and commenced a general attack upon the force, which was immediately turned out and placed in position with some difficulty owing to the darkness. The attack was, however, repulsed with heavy loss to the enemy and slight loss on the British side, the 71st sustaining none. This attack by the Boneyir was not anticipated.

There was no intention of entering the Boneyir Valley, the pass of which is close to the village of Umbeylah; but this had not been explained to them. They were doubtless unwilling to allow a force to enter even the Chumla Valley, the inhabitants of which are closely connected with them, and the opportunity of attacking the invaders at a disadvantage, as they thought, was not to be lost by these warlike mountaineers.

The unexpected hostility of this numerous and warlike tribe, superadded to the difficulty

regarding the baggage, and the delay now become necessary to bring up additional supplies, entirely changed the aspect of affairs, and it became apparent that the force must remain on its present ground for some days at least; orders were accordingly given to throw up breastworks along the front and flanks. The front line, which was across the valley or pass, was chiefly occupied by the European troops; while the flanks, which were on the hills on each side, were entirely occupied by native troops, until the 26th.

On the 25th, 100 men under command of Captain Aldridge, and 15 marksmen, were employed in meeting a slight attack made on the right flank; but no casualty occurred in the 71st. On the 26th, the marksmen, 1 sergeant and 15 men, were with an equal number of the 101st Royal Bengal Fusiliers ordered up to the left flank, which was threatened. Shortly afterwards, Major Parker with 150 men of the 71st proceeded as a further reinforcement. Both these parties obtained great praise for steadiness and gallantry in this, the most serious attack that had yet occurred. The marksmen occupied the post called the Eagle's Nest, which was several times attacked by the enemy in great numbers, and with great determination. Many were shot down when close to the breastwork.

Major Brownlow, 20th Native Infantry commanding the post, made a most favourable report of the conduct of this small party, and especially named privates William Clapperton and George Stewart as having exhibited great gallantry and coolness. These men's names afterwards appeared in General Orders, and they were recommended for the "medal for service in the field."

The conduct of the party under Major Parker was also eulogised by Lieut.-Col. Vaughan, who commanded the picquets on the left flank, and Major Parker's name was afterwards specially brought to the notice of the Commander-in-Chief. On this day the casualties were, 1 killed and 5 wounded. Major Parker's party remained on the heights during the 26th and 27th, and was relieved on the 28th by equal numbers of the 101st regiment.

On the 30th the regiment assisted in re-

pulsing a very spirited, but not well-sustained attack made by the enemy about dawn on the front line of the picquets in the valley, when 3 men were wounded.

On several days the regiment furnished a strong working party to make a new road, leading from the right flank to the village of Umbeulah. On the 6th of November an armed party, under Ensign C. B. Murray, was ordered out to cover the working party, and about a mile from the nearest post it soon became evident that the enemy intended to molest the party. Accordingly, about 11 A.M. a reinforcement of 50 men, under Captain Mounsey, proceeded to the threatened point. Captain Mounsey was placed by the commanding officer, Major Harding, at a point considerably higher than that occupied by Ensign Murray, and nearer to camp, where he materially assisted in protecting Ensign Murray's left flank, which was threatened. Soon after 1 o'clock the working party was withdrawn. Corresponding orders were, however, omitted to be sent to Ensign Murray's party, which consequently held its ground along with a party of the 20th Native Infantry; and Captain Mounsey having been ordered to take up a fresh position still higher up the hill, the party under Ensign Murray, no longer assisted by the flank fire of the other, could only hold its ground, and was nearly surrounded.

About 2 P.M. Ensign Murray was killed, and other casualties having occurred, Major Harding, who had joined soon after, decided on holding the ground till dark, when he hoped to be able to carry off the wounded, which could not be done under the enemy's fire. Major Harding finally retired without the wounded, but was killed in the retreat. Captain Mounsey having proceeded to the point to which he was directed, assisted by parties of the Guide corps and 1st Punjab Infantry, twice charged and drove the enemy off; and, without casualty to his own party, protected some wounded officers and men until they could be removed. For this service he was specially mentioned to the Commander-in-Chief, as was also Lieutenant Davidson of the Indian army, attached to, and doing duty with the 71st, for gallantry in assisting a wounded

officer. In addition to the above-named officers, sergeant J. B. Adams and 2 privates were killed, and 5 wounded.

On the 18th of November, at daylight, a change of position was effected, and the whole force was concentrated on the heights, which up to that time had been on the right flank. The movement was completed by 8 o'clock A.M., without molestation, and apparently without the knowledge of the enemy, who soon afterwards appeared in great force in the valley and occupied the abandoned position.

An attack on Captain Griffan's battery, which was supported by two companies of the 71st, was at first threatened, but the enemy soon turned his attention to the post occupied by the 14th Native Infantry, commanded by Major Ross, and which had now become our advanced post on the left. Repeated attacks were made on this post. Reinforcements being called for, Captain Smith's company, 2 officers and 34 bayonets, was pushed forward about 2 P.M. The enemy was in great force, and between 5 and 6 P.M. the picquets were obliged to retire to a second line of breastwork. During its occupation of the advance line and in the retreat, Captain Smith's company suffered severely. The captain himself had his leg broken by a matchlock ball, and was cut down. Lieutenant Gore Jones of the 79th, who was attached to the company, was shot in the head. The picquet reformed in the second line, and were joined by two companies of the 71st under Major Parker, who resumed command. They were furiously attacked, but after a severe hand-to-hand struggle repulsed the enemy at all points, and retained possession of the ground until after nightfall, when the whole were withdrawn by the brigadier-general, as the occupation of this point was not considered necessary or advisable. Major Parker was specially mentioned for this service.

There were killed on this occasion Captain C. F. Smith, Lieutenant Gore Jones, and 4 privates; the wounded were Sergeant John Hunter and 4 privates.

On the morning of the 19th Captain Aldridge was shot, when returning from visiting the advance sentries of the Lalloo picquet. Four companies of the regiment relieved an

equal number of the 101st on the upper picquet, on which the enemy continued firing all day, when 2 privates were wounded.

The 101st took the picquets of the upper camp, and also held the advanced post known as the Craig picquet. About 3 P.M. the enemy made a sudden and furious attack in great force on the Craig picquet, and succeeded in obtaining possession of it. The 71st was at once ordered to re-take it. This post was situated on the apex of a very steep and rocky hill, of which the enemy had disputed possession on several occasions. Supported by a concentrated artillery fire and by two native corps, the 5th Ghoorkas and the 5th Punjab Infantry, the regiment, led by Colonel Hope, C.B., soon regained possession, and the combined force drove the enemy back over the nearest hill. A heavy flanking fire was maintained on the enemy by the water picquet, which also suffered some loss. The loss of the regiment was severe. The post was held that night by 270 of the 71st, under Major Parker, who also assumed command of the regiment. Brigadier-General Sir N. Chamberlain was wounded in the attack, and eventually had to resign command of the force to Major-General Garvoek.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hugh Rose, signified his entire approval of the gallantry of the regiment and of all the troops employed on this occasion. Casualties on the 20th of November 1863,—killed, 6 privates; wounded, Colonel W. Hope, C.B., 2 sergeants, 3 corporals, and 20 privates.

After his repulse with very heavy loss on the 20th, the enemy refrained from attacking any of our posts until the 15th of December, during which interval Major-General Garvoek took command, and the 7th Fusiliers and the 93rd Highlanders having arrived, the duty became less severe. Previous to the arrival of these regiments no soldier in camp could be said to be off duty day or night. An exchange of posts from the upper camp to the lower was the only relief, the upper camp being much more exposed.

On the 15th December, the regiment being on picquet duty, did not accompany the portion of the force which, under the major-general, with Brigadiers Turner and Wilde

commanding brigades, advanced and drove the enemy from all its posts in front, and from the village of Lalloo, but assisted in repulsing a very determined counter attack made by a strong force on the Craig picquet and upper camp generally.

On the 16th the major-general advanced and again defeated the enemy at the village of Umbeylah, which with Lalloo was burned. On the following morning the enemy sent into the major-general's camp and tendered submission, which was accepted. A small force was detached with a strong party of Boneyirs co-operating, to destroy Mulka. This was done without actual opposition, but this force was very critically situated for a short time.

The regiment returned to Nowa-Killa, and reached Nowshera on the 30th, whence it marched on the 4th of January 1864, reaching Peshawur on the 5th.

On the 21st the regiment was inspected by His Excellency, Sir Hugh Rose, G.C.B., Commander-in-Chief, who expressed himself in the most complimentary manner with reference to the conduct of the regiment in the late campaign. He called the three men whose names had appeared in General Orders—privates Malcolm, Clapperton, and Stewart—to the front, and addressed some words of approval and encouragement to them.

On the 28th of April the regiment was inspected by Major-General Garvoek, who also spoke in high terms of its conduct and discipline.

On the 23rd of October, pursuant to orders from England, the regiment marched to Calcutta for embarkation. It arrived at Rawul Pindce on the 30th; and on the 1st of November the half-yearly inspection was made by Sir John Garvoek, G.C.B.

The regiment having been called on to furnish volunteers to regiments serving in the Bengal Presidency, 200 men volunteered, and were transferred to other regiments.

On the 9th of November the regiment resumed its march by Lahore, Umritsur, and Loodiana to Umballa, where it arrived on the 13th of December; and on the following day was present at a general parade of the troops in the station, where medals for gallant service

in the field were presented by Major-General Lord George Paget to Sergeant-Major John Blackwood, and privates Macdonald, Malcolm, Clapperton, and Stewart, for distinguished conduct in the field. The Sergeant-Major was also granted a pension of £15 in addition to the medal.

The regiment arrived at Delhi on the 26th of December; and on the 4th of January 1865, one wing proceeded by rail to Allahabad, and was followed next day by the other wing.

On the 21st and 23d the regiment proceeded by rail to Chinsurah, 25 miles from Calcutta, where it remained until it embarked—the right wing and head-quarters, under the command of Colonel Hope, on the 4th of February, in the steamship “Mauritius,” and the left wing, commanded by Major Gore, in the “Albert Victor,” on the 14th of February. The right wing arrived and disembarked at Plymouth on the 29th of May, having touched at Madras, the Cape, and Fayal. It remained at Plymouth until the 7th of June, when it was sent to Leith in H.M.’s ship “Urgent,” and arrived in Edinburgh on the 12th, where it occupied the Castle.

The left wing arrived at Gravesend on the 19th of June, where it landed, and was afterwards taken round to Leith by the “Urgent,” and joined the head-quarters in Edinburgh Castle on the 25th of June.

The following General and Divisional Orders were published previous to the regiment quitting India:—

Extract of Divisional Order by Major-General Sir John Garvoek, K.C.B., commanding Peshawur Division.

“RAWUL PINDEE, 1st November 1864.

“The 71st Highland Light Infantry being about to leave the Peshawur Division, *en route* to England, the Major-General commanding desires to offer them his best wishes on the occasion.

“He has known the regiment for a number of years. He was very intimately associated with it in the Mediterranean, and his interest in it is now naturally increased in no small degree by its having served under him in the field and done its part, and done it well, in obtaining for him those honours which Her Majesty has been pleased to confer.

“The Major-General had not assumed the command of the Yuzufzai Field Force when the 71st re-captured the Craig Picquet, but he well knows that it was a most gallant exploit.

“Sir John Garvoek, K.C.B., begs Colonel Hope, C.B., and the officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of the 71st Highland Light Infantry, to believe that, although they will be soon no longer under his command, he will continue to take the liveliest interest in their career; and he now wishes them a speedy and prosperous voyage.”

General Orders

By His Excellency the Commander-in-chief.

“HEAD-QUARTERS, CALCUTTA,
27th January 1865.

“The services of the 71st Highland Light Infantry in India entitle them, on their departure for England, to honourable mention in general orders.

“A wing of the regiment on their arrival in India in 1858 joined the Central India Field Force, and His Excellency is therefore enabled to bear testimony to the good services which they performed, and the excellent spirit which they displayed during that campaign.

“The regiment more recently distinguished itself under their commanding officer, Colonel Hope, C.B., in the late operations on the frontier.

“Sir Hugh Rose cannot, in justice to military merit, speak of the 71st in a General Order without reverting to an earlier period, when in two great campaigns in Europe they won a reputation which has earned them an honoured page in history.

“Sir Hugh Rose’s best wishes attend this distinguished regiment on their leaving his command for home.

“By order of His Excellency the Commander-in chief.

E. HAYTHORN,

“Colonel, Adjutant-General.”

The depot companies, commanded by Brevet-Major Lambton, joined the regiment in Edinburgh, and the establishment of the regiment was fixed at 12 companies, with 54 sergeants, 31 buglers and pipers, and 700 rank and file.

The autumn inspection was made by Major-General Walker, on the 4th of October 1865.

"HORSE-GUARDS, 13th February 1866.

"SIR,

"Referring to your confidential report on the 71st regiment, dated the 4th of October last, in which you represent that a sword is worn by the officers which is not regulation, I am directed by the Field-Marshal Commander-in-chief, to acquaint you that H.R.H. having seen the sword in question, has no objection to the continuance of its use, the 71st being a Light Infantry Regiment.

"For levees, &c., the basket hilt should be worn, which, it is understood, can be made removable, and the cross-bar substituted at pleasure.

"I have, &c.,

J. TROWBRIDGE, D.A.G.

"Major-General Walker, C.B.,
Commanding North Britain."

In October 1865, during the stay of the regiment in Edinburgh Castle, it sustained the loss by death of Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Parker, on which occasion the following Regimental Order was published by Colonel Hope:—

"The Commanding Officer regrets to have to announce to the regiment the demise of Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Parker, which occurred this morning at 8 A.M. Colonel Hope feels certain that the announcement will be received with the deepest regret for the loss sustained, as well by the regiment, as by Her Majesty's service generally. Lieutenant-Colonel Parker has departed after a service of twenty-three years in the regiment, many of which he passed in distant countries and in active services against the enemies of his country. On more than one occasion, and as recently as 1863, his services in the field met with such approbation from general officers under whom he served, as to induce them to name him in public despatches.

"Colonel Hope can only express his opinion that no officer more faithfully and ably sustained the honour and reputation of the regiment than did Lieutenant-Colonel Parker, and that none better merited the honours done him."

In February 1866, the regiment removed to Aldershot, where the spring inspection was made on the 2nd of May 1866; and also the autumn inspection by Brigadier-General Sir

Alfred Horsford, K.C.B., who was pleased to comment highly on the appearance and discipline of the regiment.

In December the regiment removed to Ireland, and was distributed in Fermoy, Cork, and Ballincollig; head-quarters being at Fermoy.

On the 27th November 1867, Colonel Hope retired from the command of the regiment, which he had held for many years, and in which capacity he had gained alike the esteem and love both of officers and men. His retirement, which was forced upon him by his continued ill health, was felt to be an occasion upon which each individual member of the regiment lost a valued friend as well as a brave commander. On leaving he issued the following Order:—

"Colonel Hope has this day (18th of November 1867), relinquished the command of the regiment, which he has held for eight years, and handed it over to Major Macdonnell, who also will be his successor.

"Having served so many years—in fact, from his boyhood—in the regiment, and having commanded for the last eight years, he need hardly say that he quits the 71st with the greatest sorrow and regret.

"It has been his anxious wish at all times to maintain intact the reputation of the regiment as it was received by him; and this wish has, he believes, been gratified.

"Since the regiment was embodied, now 90 years ago, in all parts of the world,—in India, in the Cape of Good Hope, in South America, in Spain,—the 71st has been equally renowned for conduct and discipline—in the field before the enemy, during a long peace, and in quarters at home and abroad. It has also received the approbation of superior military authorities.

"Since the breaking out of the war with Russia, it has seen service in the Crimea, and the Indian Mutiny brought it once more to India, where its early laurels were won.

"In the Central Indian Campaign of 1858, the regiment served under Sir Hugh Rose, and received commendations from that distinguished officer (now Lord Strathnairn), as it did with other commanders, with whom that desultory campaign brought it into contact.

“1863 again saw the regiment in the Yuzufzai Hills, opposed to the warlike tribes of Central Asia. Colonel Hope can never forget the devotion of all officers and soldiers in the short but arduous campaign, nor the handsome terms in which Lord Strathnairn, then the Commander-in-Chief in India, acknowledged their services on its termination.

“Colonel Hope is well aware that this short recital of the regimental history is well known to all the older officers and soldiers, many of whom took part in the exploits of the 71st during the last twelve years, but he mentions them now that they may be known and remembered by the younger members, and with the confident hope that it will never be for-



Monument erected in Glasgow Cathedral.
WILLIAM BRODIE, R.S.A., Sculptor

gotten that the 71st has a reputation and a name in the British army, which must be maintained at all hazards.

“Colonel Hope now bids farewell to all his comrade officers and soldiers with every good wish for their prosperity and happiness.”

The command of the regiment now devolved upon Major John Ignatius Macdonnell, who obtained his promotion to Lieutenant-Colonel by Colonel Hope's retirement. He took over the command with the good wishes and confidence of every one, having served in the regiment

from the date of his first commission, on the 26th of April 1844, and been with it during the Crimea, Central Indian, and Yuzufzai campaigns.

The detachment of the regiment at Tralee was inspected by Lord Strathnairn, Commander of the Forces in Ireland, October 28th, 1867, and favourably reported upon.

During the stay of the 71st in the south of Ireland, parts of it were on several occasions called out in aid of the civil authorities during the Fenian disturbances; and it was held to be greatly to the credit of the regiment, that during this trying time with the inhabitants of the south of Ireland in open revolt against Her Majesty's authority, there were no complaints of quarrels or other disturbances between any civilians and soldiers of the 71st.

The establishment of the regiment was increased from the 1st of April 1868 to the following standard:—12 companies; 1 colonel; 1 lieutenant-colonel; 2 majors; 12 captains; 14 lieutenants; 10 ensigns; 1 paymaster; 1 adjutant; 1 quarter-master; 1 surgeon; 1 assistant-surgeon; 57 sergeants; 31 buglers and pipers; and 800 rank and file.

On the 22nd of July 1868, the regiment removed from Dublin to the Curragh, where it remained during summer, employed exclusively in practising field manœuvring, and in taking part in movements on a large scale with the rest of the division.

General Lord Strathnairn inspected the regiment before leaving his command, and expressed his regret at losing it, while he still further complimented it on its steadiness and good behaviour.

Two depot companies having been formed, they proceeded on the 9th of October for Aberdeen, to join the 15th depot battalion there.

On the 17th of October the regiment left the Curragh, and embarked at Dublin on board H.M.S. "Simoom" for Gibraltar, where it arrived on the 22d, disembarked on the 23d, and encamped under canvas on the North Front Camping Ground until the 29th, whence it marched into quarters and was distributed between Europa and Buena Vista Barracks.

On the 13th of March 1870 the regiment sustained the loss by death, of its Colonel,

General the Hon. Charles Grey, on which occasion the following Order was published by the commanding officer:—

"It is with the deepest regret that the commanding officer has to announce to the regiment the death of General the Hon. Charles Grey, Colonel of the 71st Highland Light Infantry. This officer has peculiar claims on the sympathy of the regiment, from the deep interest he has always taken in its welfare, and his warm attachment to a corps in which he served for upwards of ten years. On all occasions he had exerted his powerful interest to promote every measure required for the honour of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, and never did he cease to watch with the kindest feelings the varied and honourable career in distant lands of his old regiment, which he had been so proud of commanding in his early life.

"The officers will wear regimental mourning for the period of one month."

The vacancy in the colonelcy was filled up by the appointment thereto of Lieutenant-General Robert Law, K.H., which was notified to the regiment by the commanding officer in the following terms:—

"The commanding officer has much pleasure in informing the regiment that Lieutenant-General Robert Law, K.H., has been appointed colonel of the regiment, as successor to the late General the Honourable Charles Grey.

The following account of General Law's services in the 71st will sufficiently inform the regiment how much he is entitled to their respect."

Lieutenant-General Law served with the 71st Light Infantry on Sir John Moore's retreat at the action of Lago and the battle of Corunna; the expedition to Walcheren, Liège, Ter Verre, and Flushing; subsequently in Portugal, Spain, and the south of France, from 1810 to 1814; the action of Sobraon; the entering of the lines of Torres Vedras; the pursuit of Massena through Portugal; the battle of Fuentes d'Onor, on the 3rd and 5th of May 1811 (where he was wounded in two places); the covering the two last sieges of Badajos; the surprise and defeat of Girard's corps at Arroyo del Molino; the storming and destruction of the enemy's tête-du-pont and other works at Almarez; the defence

of the Alba-de-Tormes; the battles in the Pyrenees, in July 1813, where, on the 30th, the command of an important post devolved upon him; the attack on Sorcauren; the capture at Elizondo of the convoy of supplies destined for the relief of Pamplona; the battles of the Nivelle and the Nive; the action at the Bridge of Cambo; the affair at Hellette, St Palais, Arrivarelle, and Garris; and the action at Aire. He was employed in command of an armed boat on night duties; in the affair with picquets on the river Adour; at the battle of St Pierre, near Bayonne, on the 13th of December 1813; at the battle of Orthes; and the action at Tarbes, where he was wounded.

In the foregoing services he was long Adjutant of his regiment, and latterly acted as such to the light battalion of his brigade. He served also in the campaign of 1815, including the battle of Waterloo, where he was severely wounded by a cannon shot, which also killed his horse; he served also three years in the Army of Occupation in France, and received the war-medal with six clasps, and was made a K.H. He died May 16, 1874, aged 84, and was succeeded by the Hon. Geo. Cadogan, K.C.B., from Colonel of the 106th foot.

III.

1873—1886.

Linked with 78th—Moves to Malta—Opinions of Generals Sir W. F. Williams and Bissett as to the 71st—Colonel Sir Robert Law—Colonel the Hon. George Cadogan—Inspection by Generals Elmhirst and Airey—Rumours of War—Moves to Cyprus—Returns to Gibraltar—Inspection by General Anderson—Colonel Dalrymple—Returns Home—Colonel Macdonell Retires—Linked with 74th under the Territorial Scheme and Designation changed—Inspections by General Macdonald—Moves to Curragh—Recovery of Pipe Banner lost at Buenos Ayres in 1806—Belfast.

UNDER the system introduced by the General Order of 17th March 1873, the 71st Highland Light Infantry was linked, for the purposes of enlistment and service, with the 78th Highlanders (Ross-shire Buffs), the Highland Light Infantry Militia forming the 3d Battalion, and the administrative battalions of the Elgin, Inverness, Ross and Sutherland

Rifle Volunteers being associated with these. Shortly thereafter the service companies of the regiment embarked at Gibraltar for Malta, having previously been inspected by General Sir W. F. Williams, Bart., G.C.B., who, in his address after the inspection, spoke of the appreciation in which the regiment was held by himself, and by the whole garrison and inhabitants of Gibraltar, for its soldier-like qualities, its smartness and steadiness on duty, and its general good conduct, and added, "I myself, personally, regret your approaching departure, and I am certain that feeling is shared by every one in the place; but I also feel convinced that you will equally keep up the same good character in your new quarters. I wish you all health and happiness, and a good passage to your destination." Major-General Bissett, C.B., commanding the Infantry Brigade, also expressed "his sincere regret at losing from his brigade a battalion in such a high state of efficiency," and said that he would "ever remember with pride his association with so splendid a National Regiment. . . . In no Corps in the service can there exist a closer bond of union among all its members than is generated by the high *esprit de corps* for which the 71st Highland Light Infantry is so remarkable, and in the fostering of which most valuable attribute the commanding officer is so entirely supported by his officers.

"It may appear invidious to mention one regiment in contradistinction to another, yet the 71st Highland Light Infantry has been noted in this garrison for its steadiness on parade, and for its soldier-like qualities on guard, and on all duties.

"The Major-General is convinced that wherever this fine regiment may be stationed, it will be found in as high a state of efficiency for service as it is on leaving this garrison; and in wishing the officers health and prosperity at their new station, he can only hope that he may some day have the honour of serving with them again."

Malta was reached on the 29th of April, and the regiment disembarked on the following day, and marched to the Floriana Barracks, which it occupied till the 1st April

1874, changing then to Fort Verdala. During this time, and subsequently, the duties were simply those of ordinary garrison routine, the only noteworthy event being the death of the colonel, Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Law, K.H. An account of his military career has been already given near the close of the last chapter.

His successor, Lieutenant-General the Hon. George Cadogan, C.B., entered the service as Ensign and Lieutenant of the Grenadier Guards in 1833, and was on duty with that regiment during the insurrection in Canada in 1838, and also during the Crimean War, where he was present throughout the siege of Sebastopol, as well as at the battles of Alma, Balaklava, and Inkerman. From April 1855 till May 1856 he also acted as Her Majesty's Commissioner with the Sardinian Army, and for his services during the campaign he received the medal, with four clasps, was made a C.B., and a Commander of the second class of St Maurice and St Lazarus, and also received the order of the third class of the Medjidieh, and the Turkish medal. During the War of Italian Independence in 1859, he acted as Military Attaché with the Sardinian army, and was again with the Sardinian head-quarters during the war of 1866.

Except the arrival of drafts from the dépôt, and changes from Fort Verdala to St Elmo Barracks (1874), Fort Ricasoli (1875), Pembroke Camp (1876), and St Elmo Barracks (1876), the only events of importance for some time were the annual inspections by Major-General C. Elmhirst in 1874, and by Major-General Airey, C.B., in 1876, and again in 1877, the latter requesting the Commanding Officer, Colonel Macdonell, in 1876, to convey to the 71st Highland Light Infantry "how much pleased and gratified he felt with the appearance of the regiment at his annual inspection, their smartness at drill, their neatness in appearance, and the thorough cleanliness and order in the barrack rooms;" and adding, "They are only keeping up their old reputation." In 1877 his report was equally favourable. In October of the same year Colonel the Hon. Sir George

Cadogan, K.C.B., was promoted from Lieutenant-General to General.

Several other changes of quarters took place in Malta, and on 1st April 1878 the establishment was raised to 1103 of all ranks, an increase due to the threatening aspect of affairs in the East, and the probability that Britain would have to interfere actively against the designs of Russia on Constantinople. The urgent state of matters caused Her Majesty to direct that all non-commissioned officers and men, both of the First-Class Army Reserve and of the Militia Reserve, should be ordered to join the headquarters of their respective districts for regular service, and, accordingly, the dépôt companies of the 71st at Fort George were augmented by the arrival of 270 men of the First-Class Army Reserve, and of 261 men of the Highland Light Infantry Militia Reserve, so that everything might be ready for emergencies. Eventually the active intervention of British troops was not required, but the Island of Cyprus having been, by a secret convention concluded at Constantinople on the 4th of June 1878 between the British Ambassador (Sir Henry Layard) and the Grand Vizier (Safvet Pasha), placed under British protection and government, the 71st was one of the regiments selected to occupy the newly acquired territory.

Although the service was one of peace rather than of war, no accommodation was available for the women and children, and they had to be left behind, the men embarking, on the 18th July, in H.M.S. "Tamar," for Larnaka, which they reached on the 23d, disembarking and going into camp at Cheflik Pacha, five miles from Larnaka, on the following day. On the occasion of the departure of the regiment from Malta, the Governor-General, Sir A. Borton, K.C.B., notified his pleasure in stating that the men's "good behaviour while in his command had been favourably commented on by the civil authority," and that the conduct of the Military Police was "particularly mentioned, especially with regard to their successful endeavours to prevent collision or ill-feeling between the soldiers and the civil police and population."

Any chance of active service having been set aside by the terms of the Berlin Treaty, the non-commissioned officers and men of the First-Class Army and Militia Reserves were dismissed and sent home, the establishment being reduced, from 1st September 1878, to 694 of all ranks. On 20th July and 28th August, the men on full service moved from Cheflik Pacha to Camp Dali, where they remained till the 27th of September, except the A and B companies, sent to Haia Vanaro, for the purpose of making roads,—proceeding thereafter to Mattiati, and in December to Larnaka, where, on the 15th, they embarked on H.M.S. "Orontes" for Gibraltar. That place was reached on the 26th, and two companies took up quarters on the hulk "Owen Glendower," the rest of the regiment being sent to the North Front Hutments.

Early in 1879 changes of quarters again took place, some of the companies being transferred to Europa Barracks, and others to Windmill Hill; every one looking forward with eagerness to the return to England, which had been ordered for the early part of April. These hopes were, however, doomed to disappointment, for the relieving regiment having been sent on to South Africa for the Zulu War, the 71st had to remain at Gibraltar for nearly another year. At the annual inspection, on the 17th of November, by Major-General David Anderson, pleasure was expressed at the "clean and soldier-like appearance of the regiment on both parades, and the smartness and steadiness in all the movements and drill, in spite of the unfavourable weather.

"The 'Bayonet Exercise' in quick time was admirable, and elicited the warm approbation of the Major-General, who expressed himself extremely satisfied with the inspection in every respect, and requested that his thorough approval might be made known to the men of the regiment." The Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief also considered the confidential report "highly creditable, and most satisfactory," though the number of courts-martial was very heavy.

General Cadogan, the Colonel of the regiment, died in January, and was succeeded by

General J. H. E. Dalrymple from the 108th Foot. General Dalrymple entered the army as Ensign and Lieutenant in 1837, and was on active service in the Crimean War, where he was present at the battles of Alma (where he was wounded) and Inkerman, as well as in the trenches at Sebastopol. For his exertions he received the medal with clasps, the fifth class of the Medjidieh, and the Turkish medal. He was also in command of the 2d Battalion of the Scots Fusilier Guards in New Brunswick, after the "Trent Affair" in 1861-62.

On the 8th of March 1880, the regiment, after a service of 11 years and 4 months at the Mediterranean stations, embarked on H.M.S. "Himalaya" with the welcome route for Home, arriving at Portsmouth on the 13th of March, and at Granton for Edinburgh on the 18th, disembarking and occupying Edinburgh Castle the same day. While in Edinburgh the 71st furnished a guard of honour to the Queen at Ballater in the autumn of 1880, and again in the spring of 1881; and though it had, shortly after its arrival, the misfortune of losing the services of Colonel Macdonell, who retired on half-pay after having held command for twelve years, and served in the regiment for more than thirty-six years, a worthy successor was found in Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel F. W. Lambton, who now became Lieutenant-Colonel. In his farewell Order, Colonel Macdonell intimated the regret he felt at parting with officers, non-commissioned officers, and men. "His constant endeavour," he said, "and pride has been to uphold the high character for good conduct, *esprit de corps*, discipline, and reputation for smartness, which the Highland Light Infantry has always borne and maintained since it was first raised in 1777. He now with much regret bids farewell to all ranks, and, though no longer serving with the regiment, will always follow its future career with the keenest interest and pride."

On the 26th of May 1881, the 71st left Edinburgh for Maryhill Barracks, Glasgow, and while there, owing to the reorganisation of the army in accordance with the Territorial Scheme, the Battalion became linked with

the 74th Highlanders for the purposes of enlistment and service, the headquarters being fixed at Hamilton, to which place the depôt moved from Fort George on the 21st July 1881. The 1st Royal Lanark Militia was added as the reserve battalion, and the grouped regiments were to be styled in order the 1st, 2d, and 3d Battalions of the Highland Light Infantry. The uniform was to be that of the 71st, with the exception of the facings, which were changed from buff to yellow, the Militia Battalion being distinguished by an M on the shoulder-straps. In consequence of the reorganisation, the Colonel of the regiment, General Dalrymple, C.B., was placed on the retired list, but retained his command of the battalion, and the establishment was altered to 24 officers, 83 warrant and non-commissioned officers, and 461 privates, including buglers and pipers,—a total of 568 of all ranks.

The only other incidents of importance in 1881 and 1882 were the removal of the Battalion to the Curragh—this taking place on the 16th of November in the latter year; the annual inspections by General Alastair M'lan Macdonald, commanding the North British District—who on both occasions found the regiment in excellent condition, “reflecting much credit on Colonel Lambton, and all ranks under his command;” and the very interesting restoration of a Pipe Banner which had been lost at Buenos Ayres when the capitulation of 1806 took place. The details are fully given in the following correspondence, addressed to the Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief:—

“VALPARAISO,
“CHILE, *February 15th, 1882.*

“YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,—With reference to the accompanying communication from M. Santiago D. Loreca, I beg to enclose a rough sketch, which I have had to make by snatches, of the flag mentioned in this note. I would most respectfully suggest that the Admiral on this station should be commissioned to receive the trophy for its transmission to England by the first man-of-war leaving for home. Under no circumstances would it be advisable that any one on shore should be concerned in the matter, for, were it to transpire that M. Loreca meditated giving up the flag, I have not the slightest doubt but that means would be devised to prevent him giving effect to his intentions.

“The flag is in an excellent state of preservation, thanks to the great care bestowed upon it by the Lorcas, grandfather, father, and son, and I have

powerful motives for suggesting that no time should be lost in securing it in the manner I propose.

“I have the honour to subscribe myself

“Your Royal Highness’

“Most obedient Servant,

“(Signed) WILLIAM SLOX.”

M. Loreca’s letter referred to was as follows:—

“VALPARAISO,

“CHILE, *February 15th, 1882.*

“YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,—In the British expedition against Buenos Ayres in 1806, the 71st Regiment lost a flag, which came into the possession of my grandfather, Santiago Fernandez de Loreca, Major of H.C.M. Royal Corps of Artillery (Sagento Major del Real Cuerpo de Artilleria de S.M.C.), who was sent from Chile, at the request of the Viceroy of Buenos Ayres, in command of the contingent raised in this country for the succour of that city. On the death of my grandfather the flag came into possession of his son, Martino Antonio Loreca, my father, from whom, at his demise, I inherited it.

“My father charged me never to make, on any occasion, any show of the flag, but to guard it carefully; and further, that if at any time during my life any member of the Royal Family of Great Britain should visit Chile, to deliver it up in order that it might be restored to the regiment to which it once belonged.

“I had entertained the hope that the arrival of the Detached Squadron at Valparaiso would have afforded me the opportunity of carrying into effect my father’s wishes; but as there now appears to be no probability that the young Princes, the sons of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, will visit Chile, I have resolved to deliver the flag for the purpose already mentioned, to a person duly commissioned by Her Most Gracious Majesty to receive it, in the manner which will be suggested by my esteemed friend Mr William Slox in a communication accompanying this.

“In taking the present step I desire to leave it on record that I am moved thereto out of sincere respect for the Illustrious Lady who fills the British Throne, and out of esteem for the Great Nation over which she rules.

“I have the honour to subscribe myself

“Your Royal Highness’

“Most obedient Servant,

“(Signed) SANTIAGO D. LORCA.”

Subsequent results are best described in a letter of 20th June 1882 from Her Majesty’s Chargé d’Affaires at Valparaiso, Sir John Drummond Hay, which says:—

“I received on the 1st instant your letter of the 11th April last in reference to a colour of the 71st Regiment in possession of Mr Santiago Daniel Loreca, and the desire of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge that I should receive the colour from Mr Loreca. Through the assistance of Mr W. Slox I was enabled to place myself in communication with Mr Loreca, and on the 13th instant had the pleasure of receiving the colour. I gave Mr Loreca a receipt for the colour, and on his intimation that he would feel very much honoured if H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge would grant him some parchment recognition of the act, I promised to mention his wish.

“I have packed the colour, which is in a good state of preservation, in a tin box sealed with the seal of this Legation, and have addressed it to H.R.H.

“H.M.S. ‘Triumph’ is very shortly bound to England, and I propose giving the small parcel to

Captain Markham of that ship for safe transmission to His Royal Highness' hands."

The banner, thus curiously restored after such a lapse of time, was framed and glazed, and has been hung in the Officers' Anteroom. It is of red silk with a gold fringe, and has, embroidered on it, the emblems of the regiment along with the rose and thistle. Considering its age it is in a wonderful state of preservation.

From the Curragh the battalion moved on the 14th August, 1883, to Dublin, where it remained at Ship Street and Linnenhill Barracks till 1st May, 1884, and thereafter at Beggar's Bush Barracks till 25th September, 1885, when it removed to Belfast, the establishment having been increased on 1st April 1884, to 608 of all ranks, and subsequently on 1st April, 1885, to 688. In 1884 Colonel Lambton retired on half-pay. His intimation of the fact to the battalion, in an order of 24th December, was as follows:—

"Colonel Lambton, on resigning with much regret the command of the regiment, after upwards of 33 years' service in its various grades, begs to return his most grateful thanks to the officers, non-commissioned officers and privates for the cordial support he has received

from all ranks in keeping up its old established credit in the four and a half years during which he has had the honour of commanding it. He now, with no small feeling of regret, begs to bid farewell to all, and to assure them that he will watch the future career of the regiment, under the command of his successors, with undiminished interest."

Colonel Lambton was succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel J. E. Allan, who was, however, only with the battalion for one year and five months, before being placed on half-pay. In his address, in Battalion Orders of 8th April, 1886, he expressed his regret at leaving the regiment; and after thanking all ranks for their support, expressed his confidence that the discipline and *esprit de corps* which had always existed among them was as strong as ever, and said he wished to impress on every one the necessity—seeing the Battalion was for the most part composed of very young soldiers—of the officers and non-commissioned officers taking "every opportunity of explaining to their men how important it is for them to be obedient, and to lead a sober and steady life, so that when their turn comes to leave the old corps, they may join their friends with good characters."

ARGYLE HIGHLANDERS,

OR

OLD SEVENTY-FOURTH HIGHLAND REGIMENT.

1778-1783.

Raising of the Regiment—America—Penobscot—Return home—Disbanded.

THIS regiment was raised by Colonel John Campbell of Barbreck, who had served as captain and major of Fraser's Highlanders in the Seven Years' War. To him letters of service were granted in December, 1777, and the regiment was completed in May, 1778, when it was inspected at Glasgow by General Skene. The lower orders in Argyleshire, from their proximity to the sea, being more addicted to the naval than to the land service, did not em-

brace the military profession with the same alacrity as the other Highlanders; and the result was, that only 590 Highlanders entered this regiment. The remainder were Lowlanders recruited in Glasgow and the western districts of Scotland. With the exception of four, all the officers were Highlanders, of whom three field-officers, six captains, and fourteen subalterns, were of the name of Campbell.

The 74th embarked at Greenock in August 1778, for Halifax, in Nova Scotia, where they were garrisoned along with the Edinburgh Regiment (the 80th) and the Duke of Hamilton's (the 82d), all under the command of Brigadier-General Francis Maclean. In spring, 1779, the grenadier company, commanded by Captain Ludovick Colquhoun of Luss, and the light company by Captain Campbell of Balnabie, were sent to New York, and joined the army immediately before the siege of Charlestown.

The battalion companies, with a detachment of the 82d regiment, under the command of Brigadier-General Maclean, embarked at Halifax in June of the same year, and took possession of Penobscot. With the view of establishing himself there, the brigadier proceeded to erect defences; but before these were completed, a hostile fleet from Boston, with 2000 troops on board, under Brigadier-General Lovell, appeared in the bay, and on the 28th of July effected a landing on a peninsula, where the British were erecting a fort. The enemy immediately began to erect batteries for a siege; but their operations met with frequent interruption from parties that sallied from the fort. Meanwhile General Maclean proceeded with his works, and not only kept the enemy in complete check, but preserved the communication with the shipping, which they endeavoured to cut off. Both parties kept skirmishing till the 13th of August, on the morning of which day Commodore Sir George Collier entered the bay with a fleet to relieve the brigadier. The enemy immediately raised the siege, and retired to their ships, but a part only were able to escape. The remainder, along with the sailors of some of their ships which had grounded, formed themselves into a body, and attempted to penetrate through the woods; but running short of provisions, they afterwards quarrelled among themselves, and fired on each other till all their ammunition was spent. After upwards of 60 had been killed and wounded in this affray, the rest dispersed in the woods, where numbers perished. In this expedition, the 74th had 2 sergeants and 14 privates killed, and 17 rank and file wounded.

General Maclean returned to Halifax with

the detachment of the 82d, leaving Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Campbell of Monzie with the 74th at Penobscot, where they remained till the termination of hostilities, when they embarked for England. They landed at Portsmouth, whence they marched for Stirling, and, after being joined by the flank companies, were reduced in the autumn of 1783.

MACDONALD'S HIGHLANDERS,
OR
OLD SEVENTY-SIXTH HIGHLAND REGIMENT.
1777—1784.

Raising of the Regiment—Refusal to embark—America—Made prisoners—Return home—Disbanded.

LETTERS of service were granted in December 1777 to Lord Macdonald to raise a regiment in the Highlands and Isles, of which corps his lordship was offered the command; but he declined the commission, and at his recommendation, Major John Macdonell of Lochgarry was appointed lieutenant-colonel commandant of the regiment. Lord Macdonald, however, exerted his influence in the formation of the corps, and as a good selection of officers was made from the families of the Macdonalds of Glencoe, Morar, Boisdale, and others of his own clan, and likewise from those of other clans, as Mackinnon, Fraser of Culduthel, Cameron of Callart, &c., a body of 750 Highlanders was soon raised. Nearly 200 men were raised in the Lowlands by Captains Cunningham of Craigends, and Montgomery Cunningham, and Lieutenant Samuel Graham. These were kept together in two companies, and another body of men, principally raised in Ireland by Captain Bruce, formed a third company, all of which were kept perfectly distinct from the Highlanders. The regiment was inspected at Inverness in March 1778 by General Skene, and amounted to 1086 men, including non-commissioned officers and drummers.

The regiment was then quartered in Fort-George, where it remained twelve months under the command of Major Donaldson, who,

from his long experience, was well calculated to train them properly.

Being removed to Perth in March 1779, the regiment was again reviewed by General Skene on the 10th, and, being reported complete, was ordered to march to Burntisland for the purpose of embarking for America. Shortly after their arrival at Burntisland, numbers of the Highlanders were observed in parties in earnest conversation together. The cause of this consultation was soon known. Each company, on the evening of the third day, gave in a written statement, complaining of non-performance of promises, of their bounty-money being withheld, &c., and accompanied by a declaration, that till their grievances were redressed, they would not embark. They demanded that Lord Macdonald should be sent for to see justice done to them. No satisfactory answer having been returned within the time expected, the Highlanders marched off in a body, and took possession of a hill above Burntisland. To show that these men had no other end in view but justice, they refused to allow some young soldiers, who had joined them in a frolic, to remain with them, telling them that as they had no ground for complaint, they ought not to disobey orders.

The Highlanders remained for several days on the hill without offering the least violence, and sent in parties regularly to the town for provisions, for which they paid punctually. During this interval, Major Donaldson, assisted by Lieutenant David Barclay the paymaster, investigated the claims of the men, and ascertained that they were well founded, and Lord Macdonald having arrived, his lordship and the major advanced the money, and paid off every demand at their own risk. On a subsequent investigation of the individual claims, when sent to the Isle of Skye, it was ascertained that all, without exception, were found to be just,⁹ a circumstance as honourable to the claimants as it was disgraceful to those who had attempted to overreach them.

This disagreeable affair being fortunately settled, the regiment embarked on the 17th of March; but before their departure, all the men of Skye and Uist sent the money they had received home to their families and friends.¹

⁹ Stewart.

¹ Ibid.

Major Donaldson being unable to accompany the regiment on account of the delicate state of his health, and Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell having been taken prisoner on his passage from America, where he had been serving with Fraser's Highlanders, the command of the regiment devolved on Major Lord Berridale.

The transports, with the 76th on board, touched at Portsmouth, and while lying at Spithead, the regiment was ordered to the relief of Jersey, which the enemy had attacked; but before reaching the island the French had been repulsed. They then proceeded on the voyage, and landed at New York in August. The flank companies were then attached to the battalion, composed of the flank companies of the other regiments, and the battalion companies were quartered between New York and Staten Island. In February 1781, these companies embarked for Virginia with a detachment of the army, commanded by Major-General Phillips. The light company, being in the second battalion of light infantry, also formed a part of the expedition.

Lord Berridale, who had, by the death of his father this year, become Earl of Caithness, having been severely wounded at the siege of Charlestown, returned to Scotland, and was succeeded in the command of the regiment by the Hon. Major Needham, afterwards Earl of Kilmorey, who had purchased Major Donaldson's commission.

General Phillips landed at Portsmouth, Virginia, in March, and having joined the detachment under General Arnold, the united detachments formed a junction with the army of Lord Cornwallis in May. The Macdonald Highlanders, on meeting with men who had braved the dangers of the field, considered themselves as an inferior race, and sighed for an opportunity of putting themselves on an equality with their companions in arms, and they did not wait long.

The celebrated Marquis de la Fayette, anxious to distinguish himself in the cause which he had espoused, determined to attack Lord Cornwallis's army, and in pursuance of this intention pushed forward a strong corps, which forced the British picquets. He then formed his line, and a warm contest immediately began, the

weight of which, on the side of the British, was sustained by the brigade of Colonel Thomas Dundas, consisting of the 76th and 80th regiments. These corps, which were on the left, were drawn up on an open field, while the right of the line was covered by woods. Coming up in the rear of the 76th, Lord Cornwallis gave the word to charge, which being responded to by the Highlanders, they rushed forward with great impetuosity upon the enemy, who, unable to stand the shock, turned their backs and fled, leaving their cannon and 300 men, killed and wounded, behind them.²

After the surrender of Lord Cornwallis's army, the 76th was marched in detachments as prisoners to different parts of Virginia. During their confinement, many attempts were made by their emigrant countrymen, as well as by the Americans, to induce them to join the cause of American independence; but not one of them could be induced by any consideration to renounce his allegiance.

The regiment, on its return to Scotland, was disbanded in March 1784 at Stirling Castle.

ATHOLE HIGHLANDERS,

OR

OLD SEVENTY-SEVENTH HIGHLAND REGIMENT.

1778—1783.

Raising of the Regiment—Ireland—Mutiny—Disbanded.

ON the application of the young Duke of Athole, government granted him authority to raise a regiment of 1000 men for the service of the State, with power to appoint officers. The command of this corps was given to Colonel James Murray, son of Lord George Murray.

The Athole Highlanders were embodied at

² "At the moment Lord Cornwallis was giving the orders to charge, a Highland soldier rushed forward and placed himself in front of his officer, Lieutenant Simon Macdonald of Morar, afterwards major of the 92d regiment. Lieutenant Macdonald having asked what brought him there, the soldier answered, 'You know that when I engaged to be a soldier, I promised to be faithful to the king and to you. The French are coming, and while I stand here, neither bullet nor bayonet shall touch you, except through my body!'

"Major Macdonald had no particular claim to the generous devotion of this trusty follower, further than

Perth, and in June 1778 were marched to Port-Patrick, and embarked for Ireland, where they remained during the war. They were thus deprived of an opportunity of distinguishing themselves in the field; but their presence in Ireland was attended with this advantage, that they supplied the place of other troops, who would probably have been less exemplary in their conduct amongst a people whose passions were excited by misgovernment.

The terms on which the men had enlisted were to serve for three years, or during the war. On the conclusion of hostilities, they, of course, expected to be disbanded; but instead of this they were transported to England, and marched to Portsmouth for embarkation to the East Indies. On the march they were made acquainted with the intentions of Government; and so far from objecting to a continuance of their service, they showed no disinclination to embark, and when they first saw the fleet at Spithead, as they crossed Portsdown-hill, they pulled off their bonnets, and gave three cheers for a brush with Hyder Ali. They had scarcely, however, taken up their quarters at Portsmouth, when the face of matters changed. The minds of the men, it is said, were wrought upon by emissaries from London, who represented the unfaithfulness of Government in sending them abroad after the term of their service had expired. It was even insinuated that they had been sold to the East India Company at a certain sum per man, and that the officers were to divide the money amongst themselves. These base misrepresentations had their intended effect, and the result was that the soldiers resolved not to embark. The authority of the officers was despised; and after a scene of uproar and confusion, which lasted several days, during which the Highlanders attempted to obtain possession of the main-guard and garrison parade, the order to embark was countermanded by Government.

that which never failed to be binding on the true Highlander,—he was born on his officer's estate, where he and his forefathers had been treated with kindness,—he was descended of the same family (Clanranald),—and when he enlisted he promised to be a faithful soldier. He was of the branch of the Clanranald family, whose patronymic is Maceachen, or the sons of Hector; the same branch of which Marshal Macdonald, Duke of Tarentum, is descended."
—Stewart.

One account of this affair, dated at Portsmouth, and published in February 1783, contains the following details:—"The Duke of Athole, his uncle, Major-General Murray, and Lord George Lennox, have been down here, but the Athole Highlanders are still determined not to go to the East Indies. They have put up their arms and ammunition into one of the magazines, and placed a very strong guard over them, whilst the rest of the regiment sleep and refresh themselves. They come regularly and quietly to the grand parade, very cleanly dressed, twice a-day, their adjutant and other officers parading with them. One day it was proposed to turn the great guns of the rampart on the Highlanders; but this scheme was soon overruled. Another time it was suggested to send for some marching regiments quartered near the place, upon which the Highlanders drew up the draw-bridges, and placed sentinels at them."

"You may be assured," says another account, "I have had my perplexities since the mutiny commenced in the 77th regiment; but I must do the men the justice to confess, that excepting three or four drunken fellows, whose impudence to their officers could only be equalled by their brutality, the whole regiment have conducted themselves with a regularity that is surprising; for what might not have been expected from upwards of one thousand men let loose from all restraint? Matters would never have been carried to the point they have, but for the interference of some busy people, who love to be fishing in troubled waters. The men have opened a subscription for the relief of the widow of the poor invalid,⁴ for whose death they express the greatest regret. On their being informed that two or three regiments were coming to force them to embark, they flew to their arms, and followed their comrade leaders through the town, with a fixed determination to give them battle; but on finding the report to be false, they returned in the same order to their quarters. The regiment is not to go to the East Indies contrary to their instructions, which has satisfied them, but will be attended with disagreeable consequences to the service; and since the debates in the House

⁴ He was killed when the Highlanders made the attempt to take possession of the main-guard and garrison parade.

of Commons on the subject, I should not wonder if every man intended for foreign service refused going, for the reasons then given, which you may depend on it they are now well acquainted with."

Mr Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland, secretary for Ireland, in the Parliamentary debates on the mutiny, bore honourable testimony to the exemplary conduct of the regiment in Ireland:—"He had happened," he said, "to have the 77th regiment immediately under his observation during sixteen months of their garrison duty in Dublin, and though it was not the most agreeable duty in the service, he must say that their conduct was most exemplary. Their officers were not only men of gentlemanly character, but peculiarly attentive to regimental discipline. He having once, upon the sudden alarm of invasion, sent an order for the immediate march of this regiment to Cork, they showed their alacrity by marching at an hour's notice, and completed their march with a despatch beyond any instance in modern times, and this too without leaving a single soldier behind."

This unfair and unworthy attempt on the part of Government created a just distrust of its integrity, and had a most pernicious effect on its subsequent endeavours to raise men in the Highlands. Alluding to this unfortunate affair, General Stewart observes, that "if Government had offered a small bounty when the Athole Highlanders were required to embark, there can be little doubt they would have obeyed their orders, and embarked as cheerfully as they marched into Portsmouth."

The fault resting entirely with Government, it wisely abstained from pushing matters further by bringing any of the men to trial. The regiment was immediately marched to Berwick, where it was disbanded in April 1783, in terms of the original agreement.

SEAFORTH'S HIGHLANDERS,
FORMERLY
THE SEVENTY-EIGHTH,
NOW
THE SEVENTY-SECOND REGIMENT,
OR DUKE OF ALBANY'S OWN HIGHLANDERS.
I.

1778—1840.

Raising the Regiment—First Officers—Disaffection at Leith—"The affair of the Macraes"—Embarkation for India—Death of Lord Seaforth—Effects of scurvy—Joining Sir Eyre Coote's army—Joining Major-General James Stuart's army—Led by Colonel Fullarton against Tippoo Sahib—Palghatcheri—Number of the Regiment changed to 72nd—Recruiting—War with Tippoo Sahib—Stuart's dilemma—Palghatcheri—Ordered home—Fort Dindigal—Stuart takes Palghatcheri—Lord Cornwallis—Bangalore—Ootradroog—Forlorn hope of Sergeant Williams—Valour of the 72nd—Siege of Seringapatam—Storming of Savendroog—Ootradroog—Sailing for India—The Mauritius—Landing at the Cape of Good Hope—Arrival at Calcutta—Lands again at Cape Town—Captain Gethin's death—Return home—Permitted to assume the name of the Duke of Albany's Own Highlanders—The Cape of Good Hope again—Graham's Town—The Kaffir War in 1835—The Governor-General at the camp—The Kaffirs attack the Fingoes—End of the Kaffir War—Permitted to add "Cape of Good Hope" to the colours—At Graham's Town—At Cape Town—Home.



The late Duke of York's Cipher and Coronet.

HINDOOSTAN.
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.
SEVASTOPOL.
CENTRAL INDIA.

KENNETH MACKENZIE, grandson of the Earl of Seaforth, whose estate and title were forfeited in consequence of his concern in the rebellion of 1715, having purchased the family property from the Crown, was created an Irish peer, by the title of Lord Viscount Fortrose. In the year 1771, Government restored to him the family title of Earl of Seaforth. To evince his gratitude for this magnanimous act, the Earl, in the year 1778, offered to raise a regiment on his estate for general service. This

offer being accepted by his Majesty, a corps of 1130 men was speedily raised, principally by gentlemen of the name of Mackenzie, his lordship's clan.

Of these about 900 were Highlanders, 500 of whom were raised upon Lord Seaforth's own estate, and the remainder upon the estates of the Mackenzies of Seatwell, Kilcoy, Applecross, and Redcastle, all of whom had sons or brothers in the regiment. The remainder were raised in the Lowlands, of whom 43 were English and Irish.

The following is the first list of officers:—

Lieut.-Col.-Commandant—Kenneth,
Earl of Seaforth.

Major—James Stuart (from Capt. 64th Regt.)

Captains.

T. F. M. Humberston.	George Mackenzie.
Robert Lunnsdaine.	Hugh Frazer.
Peter Agnew.	Hon. Thos. Maitland.
Kenneth Mackenzie. ⁵	Charles Halkett. ⁶

Captain Lieutenant—Thomas Frazer.

Lieutenants.

Donald Moody.	George Mackenzie.
William Sutherland.	Charles Gladoning.
Colin Mackenzie.	William Sinclair.
Kenneth Mackenzie.	Charles Mackenzie.
Patrick Haggard.	John Campbell.
Thomas Mackenzie.	James Stewart.
George Innes.	Robert Marshall.
Charles M'Gregor.	Philip Anstruther.
David Melville.	Kenneth Macrae.
George Gordon.	John M'Innes.
James Gualie.	

Ensigns.

James Stewart.	Robert Gordon.
James Finney.	John Mitchell.
Aulay M'Anlay.	Ewen M'Lennan.
Malcolm M'Pherson.	George Gordon.

Staff.

Chaplain.—Wm. Mackenzie.
Surgeon.—John Walters.
Adjutant.—James Finney.
Quarter-master.—George Gunn.

The regiment was embodied at Elgin, in May 1778, and was inspected by General Skene, when it was found so effective that not one man was rejected. In the month of August the regiment marched to Leith for embarkation to the East Indies; but they had not been quartered long in that town when symptoms of disaffection began to appear among them. They complained of an infringement of their engagements, and that part of their pay and bounty was in arrear. Being wrought upon by some emissaries, the men refused to embark, and, marching out of Leith with pipes

⁵ From the Dutch Service.

⁶ From the Austrian service.

playing, and two plaids fixed on poles instead of colours, they took up a position in the immediate vicinity of Edinburgh on Arthur's Seat, on which they remained several days. During this time they were amply supplied with provisions and ammunition by the inhabitants of the capital, who had espoused their quarrel. The causes of complaint having been inquired into, after much negotiation, in which the Earls of Dunmore and Seaforth, Sir James Grant of Grant, and other gentlemen connected with the Highlands, took an active and prominent part, the grievances were removed, and the soldiers being satisfied, marched down the hill with pipes playing, with the Earls of Seaforth and Dunmore, and General Skene at their head, and returned to their quarters at Leith. From the great number of the clan Macrae that were in the regiment, the mutiny was called "The affair of the Macraes."

At Leith the regiment embarked with the greatest cheerfulness, accompanied by their colonel, the Earl of Seaforth. The intention of sending them to India being for the present abandoned, one half of the regiment was sent to Guernsey, and the other to Jersey. At the end of April 1781, however, both divisions assembled at Portsmouth, where, on the 12th of June, they embarked for the East Indies, being then 973 strong, rank and file. Though the men were all in excellent health, they suffered so severely from the effects of the voyage and the change of food, that before reaching Madras on the 2nd of April 1782, 247 of them had died of scurvy, and out of all that landed, only 369 were fit to carry arms. The death of Seaforth, their chief, who expired before the regiment reached St Helena, threw a damp over the spirits of the men, and it is said to have materially contributed to that prostration of mind which made them more readily the victims of disease.

As the service was pressing, such of the men as were able to march were immediately sent up the country under Major James Stuart; but many of them being still weak from the effects of scurvy, suffered greatly on the march. The men were sinewy and robust, and such as had escaped the scurvy were greatly injured by the violence of the sun's beams, the effects of which were not so injurious to men of

more slender habits. They joined the army of Sir Eyre Coote at Chingleput in the beginning of May; but he found them so unfit for service that he ordered the corps into quarters, and put the few who remained healthy into the 73rd or Macleod's Highlanders, the only European corps then with the army.

The men gradually recovered, and in the month of October upwards of 600 were fit for duty. The colours of the regiment were again unfolded, and in April 1783 they joined the army destined to attack Cuddalore, under Major-General James Stuart (of the family of Torrance).

On the 25th of June, the enemy made a sally on the British lines, but were repulsed at every point, losing 150 men in killed and prisoners, including among the latter the Chevalier Dumas.

Notwithstanding the termination of hostilities with France in January 1783, the war with Tippoo Sahib was continued. Colonel Fullarton, who had marched on Cuddalore, finding he was no longer needed in that quarter, retraced his steps southward, reinforced by Seaforth's Highlanders and other troops, thus augmenting his force to upwards of 13,000 men. This army was employed several months in keeping down some turbulent chiefs; and in October Colonel Fullarton marched on Palghatcherri, after securing some intermediate forts. Lieutenant-Colonel Humberston Maekenzie, of the 100th regiment, who succeeded about this time to the command of the 78th, in consequence of the death of his cousin, the Earl of Seaforth, as well as to his title and estates, had intended to attack this place the preceding year, but he abandoned the attempt. After a fatiguing march through thick woods and a broken country, Colonel Fullarton reached the place early in November, and immediately laid siege to it. The garrison might have made a long and vigorous defence; but an event occurred which hastened the fall of Palghatcherri. The enemy having taken shelter from a shower of rain, the Hon. Captain Sir Thomas Maitland advanced unperceived with his flank corps, and drove the enemy through the first gateway, which he entered; but his progress was checked at the second, which was shut. Being immediately reinforced, he prepared to force an

entrance; but the enemy, afraid of an assault, immediately surrendered.

On the 30th of April this year the regiment lost their new colonel, who died of wounds received on board the "Ranger" sloop of war on the 7th of April 1783, in an action with a Mahratta fleet while on his return from Bombay. He was succeeded in the command of the regiment by Major-General James Murray, from the half-pay of the 77th regiment.

In consequence of the peace, Seaforth's regiment having been raised on the condition of serving for three years, or during the war,—those of the men that adhered to this agreement were allowed to embark for England; while those that preferred staying in the country received the same bounty as other volunteers. The number of men who claimed their discharge on the 10th of August 1784 reduced the regiment to 425 rank and file; but so many men volunteered into the corps from the different regiments ordered home (among whom was a considerable number of Highlanders who had formerly enlisted into the 100th Regiment with Colonel Humberston Mackenzie), that the strength was at once augmented to 700 men. At the end of the next year the regiment received 423 men from various regiments.

On the 12th of September 1786 the number of the regiment was changed to the 72nd, in consequence of the reduction of senior regiments.

On the 25th of December 1787 the establishment was reduced to the following numbers:—1 captain, 1 lieutenant-colonel and captain, 1 major and captain, 7 captains, 22 lieutenants, 8 ensigns, 1 chaplain, 1 adjutant, 1 quartermaster, 1 surgeon, 2 mates, 30 sergeants, 40 corporals, 20 drummers, 2 fifers, 710 privates, including 40 contingent men.

It was soon found necessary, however, again to increase the strength of the regiment, and recruiting was carried on with success. A considerable detachment joined on the 18th of August 1789; so that in the following year, when war commenced with Tippoo, the 72nd was nearly 800 strong, while the men were healthy, seasoned to the climate, well-disciplined, and highly respectable in their moral conduct. In this highly-efficient state they

formed part of the army under Major-General Meadows on the 23rd of July 1790.

The first service of the 72nd was under Colonel Stuart, being ordered along with other troops to attack Palghatcheri, which on a former occasion had been the scene of success to a corps now destined to sustain a disappointment. The detachment being overtaken by the rains which fell in almost unprecedented abundance, Colonel Stuart got so beset with the mountain streams that, for a short time, he could neither proceed nor retire; and when the waters abated he returned to headquarters. In this enterprise the 72nd had Captain George Mackenzie and 23 rank and file killed, and 3 sergeants and 44 rank and file wounded.

After a short rest, the same officer, with the same troops under his command, was detached against Dindigul, before which he arrived on the 16th of August 1790. This is one of those granite rocks so common in that part of India. The fort on the summit had lately been repaired, and mounted with 14 guns, the precipice allowing of only one point of ascent. The means of attack, both in guns and ammunition, were very deficient. A small breach, however, was made on the 20th; and Colonel Stuart resolved to assault, small as the breach was, judging that more loss would be sustained by delay than by an immediate attack, since, in addition to other difficulties, he was short of ammunition. Accordingly, on the evening of the 21st of August, the attack was made. The defences were unusually complete, and the resistance more determined than had been experienced on any former occasion. Every man that reached the summit of the breach was met and forced down by triple rows of spikes from the interior of the rampart. After a bold but fruitless effort, they were repulsed with loss. But the enemy was so intimidated, and dreaded so much the consequence of a second and perhaps successful attack, that he surrendered next morning, ignorant of their opponent's want of ammunition, the real cause of the premature attack.

Colonel Stuart again proceeded against Palghatcherri, and on the 21st of September opened two batteries within five hundred yards of the place; and though the fortification had been greatly strengthened since the time the place

was taken by Colonel Fullarton, he succeeded the same day in making a practicable breach. Preparations were made for an assault the following morning; but before daylight the enemy offered to surrender on terms which were acceded to. Leaving a garrison in the place, Colonel Stuart joined the army in the neighbourhood of Coimbatore on the 15th of October, after which the regiment followed all the movements of the army till the 29th of January 1791, when Lord Cornwallis arrived and assumed the command.

The 72nd was engaged along with the 71st in the second attack on Bangalore, the first attack on Seringapatam, and the attack on Savendroog and Ootradroog. On the evening of March 7, 1791, the pettah of Bangalore was stormed, and the siege of the town was immediately commenced. During the night, the 72nd Highlanders were posted under the outer pettah wall, close to the gate. "The enemy kept up a sharp fire; their shots, which were many of them thirty-two pounders, came very close to the regiment, making a great rattling in the trees and bamboo hedge, near the line; but no casualties occurred."⁷

At four o'clock on the afternoon of the 20th of March, six companies of the regiment marched into the trenches; and on the evening of the following day the regiment was ordered to prepare to take part in storming the fortress. The grenadier company was to join the storming party appointed to advance by the left approach; the light company, that by the right approach; and the battalion companies were formed on the right of the parallel, to support the grenadiers. Three of the 72nd grenadiers joined the forlorn hope under Sergeant Williams of the 76th regiment. Lieutenant Campbell states in his Journal:—"The storming party primed and loaded, and sat down on their arms. Our batteries, both gun and mortar, kept firing frequently during the evening. At a quarter before eleven we got into motion; an opening was made in the centre of the second parallel; the signal for storming was given—three guns in quick succession—and out we rushed. The

covered way instantly appeared as a sheet of fire, seconded from the fort, but with no aim or effect; our batteries answered with blank cartridge; and we were in the covered way in a moment, and on the breach as quick as thought. I pushed on, carried forward by a powerful impulse, and found myself at the top of the breach with the front files. The grenadiers immediately turned off to the right with a huzza; their progress was suddenly stopped by an opening; the fort was hung with blue lights; a heavy fire was opened upon us, but with little effect; the difficulty was overcome, and our troops ascended the ladders with every possible expedition. The grandest and most striking sight I ever beheld was the rushing up of the troops to the top of the breach, and the ascent of the grenadiers in crowds by the scaling-ladders. We now heard the grenadiers' march beating in every quarter; our soldiers shouted with joy, and we swept round the ramparts, with scarce anything to oppose us. Every enemy that appeared had a bayonet in him instantly. The regiments that supported us came in by the gateway, and cleared the town below, where numbers were killed. In two hours we were in thorough possession of the fort, and Lieutenant Duncan, of the 71st regiment, pulled down the flag and put his own sash in its place. The Union flag was afterwards hoisted, and the troops gave three cheers."

On this occasion the regiment had 6 rank and file killed, and 1 sergeant and 23 rank and file wounded. In the orders issued on the following day by Lord Cornwallis, the following passage occurs:—

"The conduct of all the regiments which happened, in their tour, to be on duty that evening did credit in every respect to their spirit and discipline; but his Lordship desires to offer the tribute of his particular and warmest praise to the European grenadiers and light infantry of the army, and to the 36th, 72nd, and 76th regiments, who led the attack and carried the fortress, and who by their behaviour on that occasion furnished a conspicuous proof that discipline and valour in soldiers, when directed by zeal and capacity in officers, are irresistible.

"Lieut.-Colonel Stuart (72nd Regiment)

⁷ "Journal of Lieutenant Ronald Campbell, of the Grenadier Company, 72nd Regiment," 2 vols. folio, MS.

may be assured that Lord Cornwallis will ever retain the most grateful remembrance of the valuable and steady support which that officer afforded him, by his military experience and constant exertions to promote the public service."

The army advanced to the siege of Seringapatam on the 4th of May, and on the 15th as it approached the place, the Sultan's position was attacked by the 72nd, with other regiments. The enemy was driven from every post, and towards the close of the action the 72nd ascended an eminence and captured a round redoubt. The regiment had about 20 men killed and wounded, among the latter being Captain Braithwaite and Lieutenant Whittle. The army, nearly all its provisions and other stores being exhausted, retreated to the vicinity of Bangalore.

On the morning of the 21st of December the 72nd took part in the storm of the strong fortress of Savendroog. The right attack was made by the light companies of the 71st and 72nd, supported by a battalion company of the 72nd; the left attack by the two flank companies of the 76th and grenadier company of the 52nd; the centre attack under Major Fraser of the 72nd, by the grenadiers and two battalion companies of the 72nd, two companies of the 52nd, the grenadiers of the 71st, and four companies of sepoy, supported by the sixth battalion of sepoy; the whole under Lieut.-Colonel Nisbitt, of the 52nd regiment. The storming-parties proceeded to their stations; the band of the 52nd took post near them, and suddenly striking up the tune *Britons, strike home*, the whole rushed forward with the most heroic ardour. The Mysoreans made a feeble defence, and in less than two hours the British were in possession of the fort, with the trifling loss of five men wounded. The troops were thanked in General Orders, for their very gallant conduct.

Two days afterwards the troops advanced against Ootradroog. On the 24th, two battalion companies of the 52nd and 72nd regiments, supported by the 26th sepoy, attacked the pettah by escalade, and were speedily in possession of the town. "Lieutenant M'Innes, senior officer of the two 72nd companies, applied to Captain Scott for liberty to follow the fugi-

tives up the rock, saying he should be in time to enter the first gateway with them. The captain thought the enterprise impracticable. The soldiers of M'Innes's company heard the request made, and not doubting of consent being given, had rushed towards the first wall, and were followed by M'Innes. The gate was shut: but Lieutenant M'Pherson arrived with the pioneers and ladders, which were instantly applied, and our people were within the wall as quick as thought, when the gate was unbolted, and the two companies entered. The enemy, astonished at so unexpected an attempt, retreated with precipitation. M'Innes advanced to the second wall, the men forced open the gate with their shoulders, and not a moment was lost in pushing forward for the third wall; but the road, leading between two rocks, was so narrow that only two could advance abreast; the pathway was, in consequence, soon choked up, and those who carried the ladders were unable to proceed. At the same time, the enemy commenced throwing huge stones in numbers upon the assailants, who commenced a sharp fire of musketry, and Lieut.-Colonel Stuart, who had observed from a distance this astonishing enterprise, sent orders for the grenadiers not to attempt anything further. Lieutenant M'Pherson forced his way through the crowd, causing the ladders to be handed over the soldiers' heads, from one to another, and before the colonel's orders could be delivered, the gallant Highlanders were crowding over the third gateway. The enemy fled on all hands; the foremost of our men pursued them closely, and gained the two last walls without opposition—there were five walls to escalade. The garrison escaped by the south-east side of the fort, over rocks and precipices of immense depth and ruggedness, where many must have lost their lives. By one o'clock, our two companies were in possession of every part of the fort, and M'Innes had planted the colours on the highest pinnacle, without the loss of a single man. The Kiledar and two of his people were taken alive. Colonel Stuart declared the business to be brilliant and successful, beyond his most sanguine hopes."⁸ Thus was the important fortress of Outra-Durgum captured by two

⁸ Lieutenant Campbell's Journal.

companies of Highlanders (Major Petrie's, and Captain Hon. William M. Maitland's) of the 72nd regiment; the officers with the two companies were Lieutenants M'Innes, Robert Gordon, — Getty, and Ensign Andrew Coghlan. Lieutenant M'Pherson conducted the pioneers. They all were thanked in General Orders by Earl Cornwallis, who expressed his admiration of the gallantry and steadiness of the officers and soldiers engaged in this service.

The rainy season being over, it was resolved to make a second attack on Seringapatam, to which place the army marched in the beginning of February 1792. The sultan had taken up a formidable position to cover his capital, and was attacked during the night of the 6th of February. The regiment formed part of the left division under Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, which advanced to the attack in the following order:—Grenadier Company, 72nd; Light Company, 72nd, with scaling ladders; pioneers; 23rd native infantry; 72nd regiment; 1st and 6th native infantry. The share taken by the 72nd in the attack on the place we shall give in the words of the journal of Lieutenant Campbell of the 72nd, quoted several times already:—

“We (the 72nd) moved from the left along the north side of the ridge of hills extending from the Carrighaut pagoda to the Cappalair rocks; by ten at night we found ourselves near the base of the hill, where the officers were directed to dismount. When we were about two hundred yards from the lower entrenchment, our grenadiers filed off from the right with trailed arms, a serjeant and twelve men forming the forlorn hope. When about fifty yards from the works, the sentinel challenged us, and instantly fired his piece, which was followed by a scattered fire from the rest of their party. We rushed among them, and those who did not save themselves by immediate flight were shot or bayoneted. The greatest number of them ran down to the Carrighaut pagoda, where they made a stand, and kept up a smart fire until we were almost close to them; then retired under our fire to the foot of the hill, where they were joined by a strong body from the plain, and made a stand at a small choultry (or caravanserai),

from which a flight of steps led to the bridge across the nulla. By this time the general attack on the enemy's lines had commenced, and there was an almost connected sheet of fire from right to left—musketry, guns, and rockets rending the air with their contending noise. We sat upon the brow of the hill a few minutes, while our men were recovering their breath, and had a commanding prospect of the whole attack, though nearly three miles in extent, as we contemplated the scene before us, the grandest, I suppose, that any person there had beheld. Being rested a little, Colonel Maxwell led us down the hill under a smart fire. We rushed forward and drove the enemy across the nulla in great haste, although they stood our approach wonderfully. We crossed the bridge under a constant fire, the enemy retreating as we advanced; we crossed the Lokany river, the opposite bank of which was well covered by a *bound-hedge*, and their fire did execution. A serjeant of grenadiers was killed, Captain Mackenzie mortally wounded, Major Fraser and Captain Maitland shot through their right arms, besides other casualties. After we had penetrated the *bound-hedge*, the enemy took post behind an extensive choultry, but nothing could stop the ardour of our men: we charged without loss of time, and soon dislodged the enemy, who retreated along the banks of the Cavery to a second choultry, where their numbers were reinforced. We had now got into their camp, upon the right flank of their lines; they retreated steadily before us, and our fire and bayonets did great execution among them, the road being strewed with their bodies. We charged and dislodged them from the second choultry; here Lieutenant M'Pherson of the grenadiers was wounded. We pursued the enemy to a large pagoda; they attempted to cross the river, but the place was so crowded with guns, tumbrils, bullocks, elephants, camels, followers, and Heaven knows what, that we were in the midst of them before they could escape, and for some minutes there was nothing but shooting and bayoneting. Colonel Maxwell came up with the 23rd native infantry; the sepoy of the 14th native battalions advanced; they took us for the enemy, and

fired, but their officers suppressed the fire before much injury was done. The 71st regiment also joined us, and preparations were made to cross the river and force the lines on the opposite side. Colonel Baird requested me to lead with twenty men; I instantly rushed into the stream, followed by twenty grenadiers of the 72nd regiment; we pushed on through holes, over rocks and stones, falling and

71st and 72nd regiments advanced to the pettah, from which the inhabitants had fled, and we released a number of Europeans from prison. About seven o'clock the 72nd marched into the famous *Llal Baugh*, or, as I heard it translated, '*garden of pearls*,' and were posted in one of the walks during the day."

The loss of the regiment in this brilliant victory over Tippoo Sahib was Captain Thomas Mackenzie and 14 men killed; Major Hugh Fraser, Captain the Honourable William Maitland, Lieutenants M'Pherson and Ward, 1 serjeant, and 42 men wounded. This victory was the means of inducing the Sultan Tippoo to sue for peace, which he obtained on ceding half of his dominions, and paying £3,500,000, part of which was given as a gratuity to the troops, along with six months' batta or field allowance.

The 72nd returned to Wallahabad, where it remained till 1795, with a brief absence in August 1793, when it took part in an expedition against the French settlement of Pondichery on the Coromandel coast.⁹ The 72nd performed trench and other duty, and had only two men killed.

On the death of General Murray, the colonelcy of the regiment was conferred on Major-General Adam Williamson, March 19, 1794.

In 1795, the 72nd under their old commander-colonel, Major-General James Stuart, took part in the expedition against the Dutch

⁹ On the 12th of August, as the grenadiers and Captain Gordon's company of the 72nd were on duty in the trenches, exposed to a burning sun, and a severe cannonade from the fortress, Colonel Campbell, field officer of the trenches, sent his orderly to Lieutenant Campbell of the grenadiers requesting that the piper of the grenadiers might be directed to play some *pibrachs*. This was considered a strange request to be made at so unsuitable a time; it was, however, immediately complied with; "but we were a good deal surprised to perceive that the moment the piper began, the fire from the enemy slackened, and soon after almost entirely ceased. The French all got upon the works, and seemed more astonished at hearing the bagpipe, than we with Colonel Campbell's request."—*Lieutenant Campbell's Journal*.



General James Stuart, who died in 1815, after 54 years' service.
From a Painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence.

stumbling at every step, the enemy's shot reducing our numbers; and myself, with about half a dozen grenadiers, arrived at a smooth part of the stream which proved beyond our depth; five of us, however, got over; but the regiments did not venture to follow and we returned with difficulty. An easy passage had been found out lower down; the 71st and 72nd regiments had got into the island; the flank companies of the 52nd, 71st, and 74th regiments forded higher up, and the enemy, seeing our troops on all sides of them, betook themselves to flight.

"About one o'clock in the morning the

settlements of Ceylon, where the regiment remained from August 1795 till March 1797, taking part in various operations with but little loss of men. At the siege of Trincomalee, the 72nd had Ensign Benson, 2 serjeants, and 7 rank and file wounded. Major Fraser, who was promoted to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the regiment in September 1793, was detached against the fort of Batticaloa, which surrendered to him on the 18th of that month.

The 72nd was removed to Pondicherry preparatory to embarking for England in March 1797, previous to which the men who were fit for service were drafted into corps remaining in India. The skeleton of the regiment embarked at Madras on the 10th of February 1798, and on arriving in England, it was ordered to Perth, which it reached in August that year. For its distinguished services in India, it was authorised to bear "Hindustan" on its colours.

In October of the same year, Major-General James Stuart succeeded General Adam Williamson as colonel.¹ Lieutenant-Colonel Fraser died in May 1801; he was loved and respected by the regiment, with which he had been in many a hard-fought field. Some high ground near Seringapatam, the scene of his gallantry, was named "Fraser's Hill." He bequeathed £500 to the officers' mess, to be appropriated in such a manner as should best commemorate his attachment to the corps and his esteem for the officers.

In 1804, when a French invasion was feared, a second battalion was added to the regiment, formed of men raised in Aberdeen for limited service, under the "Limited Service Act." It was embodied at Peterhead, and remained in Scotland for some time.

In 1805 the 72nd, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Colquhoun Grant, embarked with the secret expedition under Major-General Sir David Baird, which sailed in August for the Cape of Good Hope, then possessed by the Dutch. The expedition anchored in Table Bay on the 4th of January 1806; and on the morning of the 6th, the Highland brigade, composed of the 71st, 72nd, and 93rd regiments, effected a landing, the light companies

of the two former regiments driving the Dutch sharpshooters from the contiguous heights.² After gaining a complete victory, and pursuing the enemy three miles under a burning sun, the Highlanders were ordered to halt, and the first brigade continued the pursuit.³ In Sir David Baird's despatch, he spoke as follows of the Highland brigade and of the 72nd:—

"The Highland brigade advanced steadily under a heavy fire of round shot, grape, and musketry. Nothing could resist the determined bravery of the troops, headed by their gallant leader, Brigadier-General Ferguson; and the number of the enemy, who swarmed the plain, served only to augment their ardour and confirm their discipline. The enemy received our fire and maintained his position obstinately; but in the moment of charging, the valour of British troops bore down all opposition, and forced him to a precipitate retreat.

"Your lordship will perceive the name of Lieutenant-Colonel Grant among the wounded; but the heroic spirit of this officer was not subdued by his misfortune, and he continued to lead his men to glory, as long as an enemy was opposed to His Majesty's 72nd regiment."

The regiment lost 2 rank and file killed; Lieutenant-Colonel Grant, Lieutenant Alexander Chisholm, 2 serjeants, and 34 rank and file wounded.

On the 10th of January, the regiment marched to Wineberg barracks; and on the 11th, Lieutenant M'Arthur of the 72nd was detached with thirty men of the regiment, to take possession of Hout's Bay. "After Lieutenant M'Arthur's departure, it was ascertained that the enemy had a strong garrison at Hout's

² An account of the part taken by the Highland brigade in further operations at the Cape will be found under the 93rd regiment.

³ "The soldiers suffered excessively from the heat of the sun, which was as intense as I ever felt it in India; though our fatigue was extreme, yet, for the momentary halt we made, the grenadier company (72nd) requested the pipers might play them their regimental quick step, *CABAR FEIDH*, to which they danced a Highland reel, to the utter astonishment of the 59th regiment, which was close in our rear."—*Journal of Captain Campbell, Grenadier Company, 72nd regiment.*

Properly speaking, *Cabar Feidh* is not the regimental quickstep, but the warning for the regiment to get ready for parade. In "marching past" in quick time, the tune played by the band is "*Highland Laddie*;" and in double time the pipers play *Cabar Feidh*.

¹ Stewart's Sketches, ii. pp. 137-8.

CABAR FEIDH;
OR,
GATHERING OF THE 72ND HIGHLANDERS.

ARRANGED FOR THE BAGPIPES.

The image displays a musical score for bagpipes, consisting of 11 staves of music. The notation is written in a single system across the page. Each staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The music is characterized by a complex, rhythmic pattern, typical of bagpipe tunes, featuring a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together. The melody is primarily in the upper register of the staff, with some lower notes providing a harmonic base. The piece concludes with a final cadence on the eleventh staff.

Bay, and Major Tucker of the 72nd was sent after him on horseback, to detain him until a reinforcement should arrive; but the lieutenant had reached the vicinity of the place with much expedition, and finding how matters stood, showed his men rank entire, and only partially, but to the most advantage. Having procured pen, ink, and paper, he summoned the garrison to unconditional surrender, otherwise he would blow the place about their ears, assault the works, and give no quarter. The Dutch immediately surrendered at discretion, and when the major arrived, he found Lieutenant M'Arthur in full possession of the works, consisting of a strong block-house and two batteries."⁴

The 72nd remained about the Cape till 1810, when it embarked 800 men to take part with troops from India in the capture of Mauritius.

Having on the 3rd of December arrived well to windward of the Isle of France, it was ascertained that the Indian army had landed the previous morning at Point Canonnière, and was menacing the enemy's position. The transports carrying the Cape brigade were in consequence ordered to proceed to the mouth of Port Louis Harbour, where the 72nd was held in momentary readiness to land in the rear of the enemy's lines, should he have attempted to defend them. The French captain-general, who affected to despise the Indian Sepoys, against whom he had declared he would defend himself, was by this movement afforded the opportunity of seeing that the Cape brigade was absolutely present and threatening to land. This circumstance, to use his own words, "determined the immediate surrender of the Mauritius." Accordingly, on the 5th of December 1810, the regiment landed and remained on that island, taking its tour of the detachment and garrison duties during upwards of three years, during which period it obtained the respect and approbation of the inhabitants in a very eminent degree; and the universal regret expressed by the latter on the departure of the corps was in terms that would leave no doubt of its sincerity.

In 1809 King George III. approved of the regiment discontinuing to wear the Highland

costume, which, however, was restored to it in 1823, with the exception of the kilt, for which the trews were substituted. In September 1811 the strength of the first battalion was augmented to 1000 rank and file, and was completed by drafts from the 2nd battalion, then in Ireland.

In April 1815, Lieutenant-General Rowland, Lord Hill, was appointed colonel of the 72nd in room of the deceased General Stuart; and Lord Hill was succeeded, in February 1817, by Major-General Sir George Murray.

The regiment remained at the Cape till June 1815, when it embarked for India, bearing on its colours "Cape of Good Hope" for its eminent services in South Africa. The destination of the regiment was India; but when it arrived there in September 1814, the war against the Rajah of Nepal had terminated, and it was ordered back to the Cape, landing at Cape Town in March 1816. The war in Europe having terminated, the second battalion of the regiment was disbanded at Londonderry, the men either volunteering into incomplete regiments or receiving their discharge.

In June 1817 four companies of the regiment removed to Graham's Town to relieve the 21st Light Dragoons. These companies were distributed along the Great Fish River, to carry on a line of posts intended to defend the frontiers against the depredations of the warlike tribes of Kaffirs, that were continually committing acts of hostility and aggression. Notwithstanding the arduous and toilsome nature of their duties, and their frequent exposure to the inclement weather, the men of the 72nd remained remarkably healthy.

On the 3rd of February 1819, the regiment had to regret the loss of Captain Gethin, who, with one sergeant and a private, was killed near the post of De Bruin's Drift, on an excursion against the Kaffirs. It appears those savages had entered the colony and taken off some cattle belonging to a boor in the neighbourhood of Gethin's post. On the circumstance being reported, he instantly set out with a patrol in pursuit, and, coming upon their traces, pushed forward in advance with some of the men and boors, who were mounted, and came up with the cattle in a thick part of the bush. Depending on the support of the boors, who

were well armed, in the event of an attack, he, with the few men that had accompanied him, fearlessly entered, and was proceeding to drive the cattle out, when they were attacked and surrounded by the Kaffirs; and though the cowardly boors were within hearing, and had among them the owner of the cattle, not one had the spirit to render the least assistance. Captain Gethin and his party behaved with the greatest bravery, fully determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible. He defended himself with the butt of his gun till he fell, overpowered by numbers and exertion: his body was found afterwards, pierced with thirty-two wounds. By this unfortunate affair was lost to the regiment a highly respected and valuable soldier, and to the service a brave and intelligent officer, whose gallant conduct in the Peninsula, particularly at the capture of San Sebastian, had been rewarded by promotion.

The regiment remained at the Cape, always having a detachment on the frontiers, till December 1821, when it embarked for England. At its departure, it received the approbation of the Governor-General, Lord Charles Somerset, for the exemplary and steady conduct of the men during their residence at the Cape.

On its arrival in England, in March 1822, the 72nd proceeded to Fort Cumberland; and, after moving about among various stations, it took up its quarters in Jersey and Guernsey in May 1823, in which year Sir George Murray removed to the 42nd, and was succeeded in the colonelcy of the 72nd by Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope. In this same year, the conduct of the regiment having on all occasions been so soldierly and exemplary, on the recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of York and Albany, George IV. was pleased to authorise that the 72nd should resume the Highland costume, with the exception of the kilt, trows being substituted. At the same time, as a special mark of royal favour, the regiment was authorised to assume the title of "The Duke of Albany's Own Highlanders;" and in June 1824 His Majesty approved of the 72nd using as a regimental badge the Duke of Albany's cipher and coronet, to be borne on the regimental colours.

The 72nd remained in the Channel Islands

till April 1824, and on leaving was presented with addresses by the authorities and principal inhabitants, expressing their high admiration of its discipline, and of the peaceful and orderly behaviour of the men. After staying a short time at Plymouth, the regiment proceeded to Scotland, landing on the 13th of September at Newhaven, from which it marched to Edinburgh Castle, headed by its colonel, Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope. Detachments were sent to Stirling, Fort-William, and Dumbarton.

While in Edinburgh, in August 1825, the regiment received new colours, which were presented to the colonel, Sir John Hope, by Lady Hope. In presenting them to the regiment, Sir John addressed it as follows:—

"In delivering to your charge these colours, which have been presented to the 72nd regiment by Lady Hope, I am fully aware that I am not addressing a newly-raised corps, whose name and character have yet to be acquired. As it has pleased His Majesty to confer so distinguished an honour on the regiment as to permit the 72nd to assume the name of the Duke of Albany's Own Highlanders, I cannot omit congratulating the corps on having received so flattering and honourable a mark of approbation, and expressing my conviction that this additional badge, which is now placed on these colours, will afford a new and powerful inducement for maintaining the high character which the 72nd regiment has so long and so deservedly possessed. I feel particularly gratified that the honour of delivering these colours has devolved on me, and that their presentation should also have taken place in the capital of the country where the regiment was first raised, and after its return from a long period of honourable and distinguished service. The country being now at peace, there is no opportunity for the 72nd to gain fresh honours by victories in the field; but the regiment may deserve and obtain almost equal honour and credit by setting an example of discipline and good conduct on home service, which becomes now particularly incumbent when so highly distinguished by being named after His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, to whom the whole army is indebted for the present state of order and discipline to

which it has attained. That the 72nd will ever continue to deserve the approbation of His Royal Highness I make no doubt: and I have now to offer my most sincere good wishes for the prosperity of the corps collectively, and of every individual officer, non-commissioned officer, and private soldier of the regiment."

The regiment left Edinburgh for Ireland during the same month, the Lord Provost and Magistrates of the city thanking the men for their exemplary conduct.

While in Ireland—where it was divided into detachments posted at various places—the regiment, in September 1827, was formed into six service and four dépôt companies, the former proceeding to London, and taking duty at the Tower. In June 1828, it was inspected at Canterbury by Lord Hill, who complimented it by stating "that although it had been his lot to see and serve with most of the regiments in the service, he felt he should not be doing full justice to the 72nd Highlanders if he did not express his particular approbation of everything connected with them, and add, that he had never before seen a regiment their equal in movements, in appearance, and in steadiness under arms."

In the end of the same month the service companies of the regiment again embarked for the Cape of Good Hope, where its reputation had already been so well established, and reached it on the 11th October. On disembarking at the Cape of Good Hope, it was quartered in the main barracks at Cape Town until it was removed on the 1st of October 1832 to the Castle. During this period it furnished in its tour the detachments at Simon's Bay and Rotten Island. From the latter part of 1829 to the end of 1830 a company was employed in making a road through Hottentot Holland Kloof, since called "Sir Lowry's Pass." With this exception, nothing occurred to interrupt the usual routine of garrison duty, until the 31st of December 1834, when an express having arrived with the unexpected intelligence that a great part of the eastern frontier district was overrun and plundered by the Kaffirs, the Governor, Major-General D'Urban, immediately directed a wing of the regiment to be held in readiness for embarkation and on the 2nd of January

1835 Nos. 3 and 5, with the Light Companies, under the command of Major Maclean, immediately sailed for Algoa Bay. On the 6th, the Grenadier Company marched to Simon's Bay, and embarked in His Majesty's 16-gun ship "Trinculo," in which the Governor took his passage to the frontier. Lieutenant-Colonel Peddie, K.H., with the remaining companies, proceeded, in four divisions, overland to Uitenhage, where the lieutenant-colonel with the first division arrived on the 16th, after a harassing journey of ten days, and was joined on the three succeeding days by the remaining divisions.

A detachment, consisting of Captain Sutherland, one subaltern, and forty rank and file, which rejoined the head-quarters at Grahamstown on the 12th of February, was left here for the protection of the town until a local force could be organised. Lieut.-Colonel Peddie, with the remainder, marched for Grahamstown on the 20th of January, arriving there on the 23rd, and finding at the Diodsty the three companies which had preceded them by sea, except the Light Company. With the latter and a small mounted force Captain Jervis had, on the 16th, been sent to re-occupy Fort Willshire. This, with all the military posts on the frontier, except Fort Beaufort and Hermann's Kraal, had been abandoned to the Kaffirs, and sacked by them.

At this time the Kaffirs had swept off nearly all the cattle in the colony, and were returning with their booty to the most distant and secure parts of their own country, while the Governor was at Grahamstown awaiting the arrival of armed boors and Hottentots, who hastened from the remote districts, and were collecting supplies for the prosecution of the war in Kaffirland. On the 27th of January, Major Cox, of the 75th regiment, had collected a force, of which Captain Jervis, with forty men of the Light Company, and the whole mounted force at Fort Willshire, formed part, for the purpose of bringing off the missionaries and traders, who were assembled at Burns Hill in Kaffirland: this service they successfully executed. During their absence, however, which had the effect of weakening the garrison of the fort, then under the orders of Lieutenant Bent, Royal Engineers, on the 29th of January the

Kaffirs, in overwhelming numbers, made a sudden attack on the cattle-guard. Although assistance was promptly afforded from the fort, which was not a thousand paces distant, and though the guard made a most gallant resistance, yet the Kaffirs succeeded in killing Corporal Davidson, and Privates Arnut, Webster, and Woods, of the Light Company, with two Hottentots of the new levies that composed it, and carried off all the cattle.

As it had been ascertained by Lieutenant-Colonel England, 75th regiment, that the Fish River Bush was occupied by the Kaffirs in great force, Captain Murray, with his company, marched, on the 31st of January, to Trompetter's Drift, to join a force collected there for the purpose of clearing the country; and Major Maclean, with 100 men of the 72nd, also marched thither on the 7th of February to reinforce this command, which was now under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, C.B., and which returned to Grahams-town on the 17th of February. The next day, the Commander-in-Chief in General Orders, congratulated the troops—"all of whom behaved admirably"—"upon the complete success which has crowned their recent operations, and by which the necessary and important object has been gained of driving the hostile tribes from the woods and fastnesses of the Great Fish River. The enterprise was one of no ordinary difficulty. The enemy was numerous, and well armed with muskets, and was determined to hold his ground, which, from the rugged and well-wooded ravines, was singularly adapted to his peculiar mode of fighting. The enemy was routed everywhere, and driven from his strongholds and over the Keiskamma, with a great loss in killed and wounded, and all his possessions in cattle, of which 4000 head, with large quantities of sheep and goats, fell into our hands."

During these operations there were lost altogether eleven killed and eleven wounded, of whom three killed and four wounded belonged to the 72nd regiment.

For some time after this the Kaffirs continued inactive, and made no more incursions, while the Governor confined himself to organising the new levies, and providing for the

security of the country during the absence of the army.

On the 6th of February 1835 a patrol from Fort Willshire, which had been reinforced by the Albany Burger Force and the Bathurst Yeomanry, discovered that a large body of the Kaffirs, estimated at 3000, had passed into the Fish River Bush, and next day Captain Jervis, with 120 men, proceeded to "Breakfast Key," and following the *spoor* (foot-marks), soon saw the Kaffirs, who kept up a well-sustained fire on the patrol as it approached the Bush. On being reinforced, however, by the George Burghers from the camp at Somerset Mount, and a three-pounder, the patrol succeeded in taking all the cattle that the enemy had brought up for his subsistence, thus inflicting on him a very severe blow.

The Kaffirs, however, retreated lower down the Fish River Bush, and near Trompetter's Drift fell in with a party of the Port Elizabeth Yeomanry, and killed eight of their number, with a loss on their part of only nine men—relatively speaking, a very small proportion. On the 8th, the Grenadier Company of the 75th regiment relieved Captain Jervis and the Light Company at Fort Willshire, which was marched that night to Breakfast Key, and next day formed part of the Force under Colonel Smith, which, on the following day, cleared the Bush of the Kaffirs, who retreated across the Keiskamma. The Government notice reports the loss of the Kaffirs as 150 killed, and our loss as 9 killed and 11 wounded. Sergeant Burt was the only man of the 72nd that suffered at this time: he had somehow unaccountably fallen a few paces in the rear of his company, and was immediately overpowered. Colonel Smith pursued the Kaffirs with his whole force, and a camp was formed at Macomo's Old Kraal, to which, on the 11th of March, the Light Company proceeded; and on the 18th it was joined by the rest of the regiment.

The Governor, having confided the protection of the colony to Lieut.-Colonel England, and the 75th regiment, with some local corps arrived on the 28th at the camp on the Brak River to which the troops at Macomo's Kraal had moved on the 25th. On the day after the Governor's arrival he issued an order dis-

tributing the army in four divisions, as follows:—

1st Division—Lieut.-Colonel Poddie near Fort Willshire; two guns Royal Artillery, the gunners of which, as well as the guns attached to the 3rd division, were selected from the 72nd regiment; the 72nd Highlanders; a detachment of the Cape Mounted Rifles, under Major Lowen; the 1st battalion Provisional Infantry; and the Swellend Burgher Force.

2nd Division—Lieut.-Colonel Somerset on the Clusie; two guns Royal Artillery; Cape Mounted Riflemen; Burgher Force; George Burgher Force; Uitenhage Force; and Albany Force.

3rd Division—Major Cox, 75th Regiment, Bloek Drift; two guns Royal Artillery; detachment of Cape Mounted Rifles; 2d Battalion Colonial Infantry; Beaufort Burgher Force; and the Kat River Legion.

4th Division—Field-Commandant Wyk, at Tambookie Vley, consisted of the Cradock and Somerset Burgher Forces.

On the 30th of March, the first division, with the headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief, broke up the camp at the Brak River, simultaneously with other divisions, at their various points, entered Kafirland at Execution Drift, above Fort Willshire, and encamped that night on the Kebece. The next day, April the 1st, this division encamped on the Debè Flats, and on the evening of the 2nd, Captain Jervis was despatched with the Light Company to the Upper Amatola, where he joined Major Cox, with the Kat River Legion, on the 3rd. These, with their combined force, succeeded in killing several Kaffirs, and taking 800 head of cattle, many horses, and immense flocks of goats, which were sent into the Debè Camp on the 4th, Major Cox following with his whole division. On the 3rd the first division left the Debè, penetrated to the fastnesses in rear of T'Slambie's Kop, and not meeting with the enemy in force, returned to the camp the same night, having succeeded in killing some stragglers, while the force sustained a loss of one man killed and one wounded. On the 6th the army left the Debè, and the third division entered the Keiskamma Hoek, while the baggage and supplies marched with the first division to the Buffalo.

The first division encamped on the left bank of the Buffalo, where Fort Beresford was afterwards built, and the second division encamped about three miles further down the river. Early on the morning of the 7th, Captain Murray, with 100 men of the regiment, and three companies of the First Provincial Battalion, was despatched to the principal ridge of Buffalo Mountain, with the view of intercepting any Kaffirs that might be retreating from the third division, which was advancing from the Keiskamma Hoek, and from the fourth, which was advancing from Klip Platts across the Bontebok to the rear of the mountains. About daybreak they came to a high, rugged cliff, called Murray's Krantz, and here found 600 chosen Kaffir warriors, under the guidance of Tyali, son of Dushanie, awaiting the attack, under the mistaken notion of the impregnability of their position.

On the 8th of April, Captain Murray, at the head of his company, gallantly climbed the cliff, although the Kaffirs, not content with the usual weapons, hurled down masses of rock on the attacking party. At length, however, the savage warriors fled, leaving a large number of killed on the ground, but not until Captain Murray and four of his men had been severely wounded by the assegais.⁵ The result of this affair was the capture of 4000 head of cattle, the only loss on the British side being 1 sergeant of the Provincial Battalion, who was shot by a Hottentot deserter while driving the cattle out of the bush.

The patrol returned to the camp at night, and the Commander-in-Chief, in a General Order, thanked all the officers and troops employed in the affair. The conclusion of the General Order is in the following gratifying terms:—"The intrepid and determined perseverance of Captain Murray, who, though severely wounded, continued his exertions to the end of the day, with his company of the 72nd, was of the highest order, and deserves the especial thanks of the Commander-in-Chief."

On the evening of the 8th of April all the troops were assembled at their respective points of attack, and prepared for a concentrating movement on the mountains in which

⁵ *Assegai*, a dart or javelin used by the Kaffirs.

the Keiskamma, Kaboosie, and Buffalo take their rise. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, with the second division and the mounted part of the first, was at the Posts of the Buffalo; Major Cox and the third division, at the head of the Keiskamma Hoek; Van Wyk, with the fourth, was on the plains to the northward; while Colonel Peddie, leaving the camp at midnight with four companies of the regiment and the First Provincial Battalion, ascended the Iseli-Berg; and having, early on the morning of the 9th, divided his forces into two columns, he penetrated the fastnesses of the Isidingi or Mount Kempt. The Kaffirs, now perceiving that they were attacked at every point, fled in the utmost dismay, and several thousand head of cattle became the reward of this movement; while on our side we had only to lament the loss of 1 man killed and 4 wounded, among whom was Field-Commander Van Wyk. This success is thus recorded in General Orders:—

“The hostile chiefs of the tribes of Tyali, Macomo, Bothina, Eno, and others, were at length compelled to assemble in the rocky woods near the sources of the Buffalo, with their followers, to the number of at least 7000 men, and had avowed their determination to defend themselves to the last. From these fastnesses, however, notwithstanding their imperious nature, they were immediately driven,—the troops penetrating them everywhere, each column in its ordered course; and they have scattered and dispersed in various directions, disheartened and dismayed, with a great loss of killed and wounded (among whom are some of the sons and relations of the chiefs), and in cattle to the number of ten thousand head. The Commander-in-Chief desires to express his warmest approbation of the conduct of all the troops; their excellent marching, their patient endurance of fatigue, and the brilliant gallantry with which they drove the enemy before them wherever they were to be found, alike deserve his praise and the thanks which he offers to Lieut.-Col. Peddie, commanding the first division; Lieut.-Col. Somerset, the second; Major Cox, the third; and Field-Commandant Van Wyk, the fourth; as well as the officers and soldiers of their respective divisions.”

On the 11th of April Sir Benjamin D'Ur-

ban, leaving the third and fourth divisions to harass and pursue the now discomfited Kaffirs, advanced to the river Kei in person with the two remaining divisions, the first taking the more direct road, the second moving in a parallel direction, but nearer the sea.

The first division crossed the Kei on the 16th; and now, upon entering the territories of Hintza, an order was issued forbidding any unprovoked hostility, and directing that all pillage or ill-treatment of the inhabitants should be repressed with the utmost rigour.

The first division encamped at Butterworth on the 17th, and on the 19th were joined by the second division, which had captured 3000 head of cattle, which Colonel Somerset had sent to the rear.

The Governor, having been engaged in fruitless negotiations with Hintza for some days, at length had recourse to hostile measures; and war was accordingly formally proclaimed on the morning of the 21st, on which day Colonel Smith, with the mounted force of the first division, started in pursuit of Hintza, and the regiment, with the First Provisional Battalion, marching in the direction of the Izolo, where they encamped on the 25th. There they were joined by Colonel Smith, who had taken the 12,000 head of cattle, which were sent to be guarded by the second division, that still remained at Butterworth.

On the 26th, Colonel Smith, with a large patrol, of which Captain Murray and two companies of the regiment formed a part, marched to the T'Somo and returned to the camp on the 29th, when Colonel Smith reported the result of these two days' operations:—“Nearly 15,000 head of cattle have fallen into our hands, many of the enemy have been shot, whilst our loss has been trifling; and the savages have again been taught that neither woods, ravines, nor mountains can secure them from the pursuit of British troops. More difficult and fatiguing marches troops never encountered, and these happy results would not have been obtained without extraordinary exertions.”

Meanwhile, these movements and their results had a dire effect on Hintza, and upon the Commander-in-Chief's assurance of a safe-conduct for himself and also that of other persons who would be admitted to treat for him,

he came into the camp on the 29th of April with his ordinary retinue of fifty followers, and had an immediate conference with the Commander-in-Chief.

The next morning a treaty was formally agreed to, and hostilities suspended. Hintza, together with Krieh, his principal son, and their followers, continued in the camp at their own desire; and on the 2nd of May they accompanied the troops, when the latter took their departure from the Izolo, and commenced their retrograde movement.

At a deserted trading station, where the division halted during the middle of the day, and where Bokoo, Hintza's brother, and a chief joined the party, an express was received by Colonel Somerset that the Kaffirs were massacring the Fingoes, who had placed themselves under British protection, and were preparing to accompany the retreat of the troops. Sir Benjamin d'Urban thereupon summoned to his presence Hintza and his suite, who up to this period had been under no restraint, and informed them that, after sufficient time had elapsed for the Kaffirs to be made aware of the perilous situation of the sovereign, for each Fingo who should be murdered two Kaffirs should be hanged, and that the first selected should be Hintza and his brother Bokoo. On the division moving and encamping on the Debakazi, the whole of the now captive guests and followers were disarmed, and most of them dismissed the camp. The few whom the chief Hintza was allowed to retain, together with Bokoo, Krieh, and the Hemraden, were placed under a guard of 1 captain, 2 subalterns, and 90 men of the regiment, who had orders to use extraordinary measures of precaution, and to shoot any of their prisoners except Krieh, should there be an attempt at escape or rescue.

The Governor remained here some days, and on the 9th Colonel Somerset, having previously marched towards the colony with the Fingoes and captured cattle, moved on with the division, now augmented by the greater part of the Cape corps, and encamped on the left bank of the Kei at Lapstone Drift. Here, on the morning of the 10th, the Commander-in-Chief declared, under a royal salute, and in presence of Hintza, who was marched a prisoner into the square for the purpose, that

the Kei was to be the future boundary of the colony, and that the chiefs Macomo, Tyali, Eno, Bothina, T'Slambie, Dushani, &c., and their tribes, were for ever expelled from the new territory, and would be treated as enemies if found therein. The territory was named the province of Queen Adelaide. The Commander-in-Chief gave as his reason for taking this step, "the absolute necessity of providing for the future security of the colony against unprovoked aggression, which could only be done by removing these treacherous and irreclaimable savages to a safer distance."

After this, Hintza was informed by the Governor that he would retain Krieh and Bokoo as the hostages required by the treaty entered into at the Izolo, and that he had a right to send him to Cape Town as a prisoner of war, but would refrain from doing so on his accompanying Colonel Smith through the country, and exerting his authority to collect the horses and cattle due. Upon Hintza engaging to do so, he was marched back to the guard, and his arms restored to him. He was shortly after handed over by the 72nd to a party of the corps of Guides, and proceeded with Colonel Smith accordingly. As soon as the party, with which was Captain Murray with two companies of the regiment, amounting in all to 500 men, had marched on the destined service, the Governor broke up his camp and marched to the Impotshane, where a Post named "Wardens" was immediately commenced.

On the morning of the 17th the party under Colonel Smith rejoined headquarters, having, in the words of the General Order, "marched 218 miles in seven days." They had crossed the Bashee, taken 3000 head of cattle, and succeeded in bringing off 1000 Fingoes, who from their remote situation had been unable before to join their countrymen, now under British protection. Major White, with a detachment of the Cape corps, was cut off whilst reconnoitring the country. This was the only loss on the British side. Hintza, however, met with his death while attempting to make his escape on the 14th, near the N'gabaxa. Although he had already received two severe wounds, he was shot by one of the corps of Guides, formerly a Kaffir trader,

of the name of Southey. Even those who attempt to justify the deed characterise it as an untoward event.

On the following day, the 18th of May, Sir Benjamin d'Urban entered into a treaty with Krich, now the principal chief, who took upon himself his father's engagements, and was permitted to receive the border tribes: Bokoo and Vadanna being left as hostages, the young chief was escorted into his own country. During these transactions Major Cox had not been inactive, but had perpetually harassed the Kaffirs, now seeking individual safety, and was on the point of entering into negotiations with Macomo and Tyali, who on the 13th were prepared to come into his camp, when they received a message from Hintza that he was a prisoner, and advising them to take care of themselves. This advice they followed, although they did not retaliate by detaining Major Cox, who was in their power, without the means of resistance.

On the 20th of May, the work being finished, and a force of 2 subalterns and 80 rank and file of the regiment being left behind to garrison the place, the remainder marched to the Konga, and halting there, constructed a Post, called Fort Wellington. Having left 1 subaltern and 25 rank and file of the regiment, and some provisional troops, to garrison it, the division marched to Brownlie's missionary station, on the Buffalo, which it reached on the 23rd. Here the Governor determined on fixing the future capital of the province, which was named King William's Town; a fort, named "Fort Hill," being completed and garrisoned, the plan of the town was laid out, and the troops commenced hutting themselves.

On the 10th of June the Governor left King William's Town, and, the division being broken up, gave over the command of the troops to Colonel Smith. On the 12th the Light Company marched to join Captain Jervis at the sources of the Buffalo, where a Post called Fort Beresford was constructed; and on the same day, Captain Lacy, with 30 men of his company and some provisional troops, marched to form a Post at Mount Coke, called Fort Murray. The exertions of the troops

continued unremitting, not only in completing the works of the different Posts, but also in patrolling the country. For their success in these duties they were repeatedly thanked in General Orders.

On the 9th of July a new Post, named Fort Cox, was established at Burn's Hill by Major Cox, and garrisoned by a detachment of the 75th Regiment. During the whole of this month patrolling was continued with unabated activity, but the Kaffirs, now become desperate, were successful in their efforts at Keiskamma. Lieutenant Baillie and a patrol of 30 men of the 1st Provisional Battalion were overpowered and killed to a man on the Commity flats, whilst retreating from the Keiskamma Hoek. Fifteen men of a foraging party from King William's Town were killed at the Kamka, or Yellow Wood Trees; and on the 20th, Gazela made a vigorous but unsuccessful attack upon Fort Wellington, when Private Storey of the 72nd was killed.

On the 8th of August the Kaffirs made a successful attack on the Fingoes in the Cedul Territory, carrying off all their cattle; and on intelligence being received at King William's Town, a large patrol of the regiment under Major Maclean was sent in pursuit. Their rations having, however, been expended, they were compelled to return without being able to retake the cattle or attack the Kaffirs with effect, although the latter hovered about with loud shouting and cheers during the march, and kept up a desultory fire on the detachment. In consequence of the report made by Major Maclean, and intelligence obtained that Macomo and Tyali were in great force on the Amatola and Izinuka mountains during the night of the 11th of July, Major Maclean and 40 men of the regiment, and 150 Provisionals from King William's Town, and 1 officer and 40 men of the 72nd, with 40 of the Provisionals from Fort Beresford, and the Kat River legion from Camp Adelaide, were assembled at Fort Cox. At no period since the commencement of hostilities did affairs wear a more unsatisfactory aspect. The Kaffirs, emboldened by success, watched from their fastnesses the movements of the troops, and took advantage of every circumstance

to harass them and cut off stragglers. They made frequent and incessant forays within the colony: the difficulty and expense of providing for the large force necessarily kept up increased every day: the Dutch Burgher force had been allowed to return to their homes; and among the now dispirited Hottentot levies, discontent and insubordination were making rapid progress. Under such circumstances Sir Benjamin D'Urban took the most effectual means to put a speedy end to the war. He again called out a large proportion of the Burgher force, whom he now ordered to receive a fixed rate of pay; and at the same time he despatched Brigade-Major Warden to Fort Cox to treat with the frontier Kaffirs, on condition of their becoming British subjects. An opportunity soon offered. Major Cox, having barely sufficient garrison in Fort Cox, divided the remainder and the reinforcement that were concentrated at his Post into three divisions, which, sallying from the fort, were everywhere successful, occasioning considerable loss to the enemy. They reassembled at the Gwali, where, a communication having been opened with the chiefs, Major Cox bivouacked.

The next day Major Warden having arrived from Fort Cox, he with Major Cox and an interpreter, all unarmed, proceeded about two miles from the camp to meet the chiefs, who had assembled with a body guard of 800 men, 300 of whom had firearms. Their conference came to a happy conclusion, Macomo and Tyali each sending an assegai to the Governor in token of submission and readiness to pass under the English rule.

A suspension of hostilities was mutually agreed upon, and the camp was soon filled with unarmed Kaffirs, who expressed the greatest delight at the event. On the 21st of August a second conference was held below Fort Cox, and on this occasion the Kaffirs, to the number of 4000, of whom a great part were mounted, and upwards of 400 of them armed with guns, drew up with an evident attempt at display, and considerable pretension to military regularity. They received the overtures of Major Warden with but slight attention, and took little pains to conceal that

they were not indisposed to a renewal of the contest. This altered feeling was no doubt in a great measure produced by the circumstance that 2000 head of cattle had during the few preceding days fallen a prey to their marauding parties, which Macomo pretended had been sent out in ignorance of the truce. In consequence of this display, and in the event of the necessity of recommencing hostilities, Fort Cox was reinforced from King William's Town and Fort Beresford.

On the 2nd of September H.M.S. "Romney" had arrived in Algoa Bay with the 27th regiment and drafts for the 72nd and 75th. It is a curious circumstance, and shows how readily the Kaffirs obtain information, that the officers at Fort Cox knew of the arrival of troops in the bay from the Kaffir messenger Platjè, long before they received the intelligence through the usual channel of the post. To the exaggerated accounts which the Kaffirs had received of the additional force may with great probability be ascribed their changed demeanour on the 7th, when Macomo and Tyali accepted the terms offered by Colonel Smith, and, as a proof of their sincerity, returned with him to Fort Cox.

On the 8th of September Sir Benjamin D'Urban arrived at Fort Willshire for the purpose of negotiating with the chiefs, and shortly after a treaty of peace was concluded, and hostilities finally brought to a close.

During this contest, which had lasted nearly nine months, although the regiment had but little opportunity of distinguishing itself, it invariably maintained a high character for good conduct, not a single instance of crime of any description having occurred in the corps during the whole campaign. It repeatedly received the praise of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, and had the satisfaction of seeing the approbation of His Majesty William IV. recorded in the following words:—

"It affords His Majesty high gratification to observe that in this new form of warfare His Majesty's forces have exhibited their characteristic courage, discipline, and cheerful endurance of fatigue and privation."

During the month of October the detachments of the regiment at Forts Warden and Wellington were relieved by the 75th regi-

ment, whose headquarters were now at Fort Cox; and upon the 18th, the headquarters having been relieved by the 75th regiment at King William's Town, marched for Grahamstown, where they arrived on the 26th, consisting of only two companies, the others being distributed in Forts Cox, Beresford, and Murray.

Government having at the end of 1836 given up the new province of Queen Adelaide, it was evacuated by the troops, when the regiment, having its headquarters at Grahamstown, furnished detachments to various forts.

On the 17th of March 1836 the regiment was permitted to bear on its colours and appointments the words "Cape of Good Hope," in commemoration (as the order from the Horse Guards expresses it) of the distinguished gallantry displayed by the 72nd regiment at the capture of the town and garrison of the Cape of Good Hope, on the 8th of January 1806, when it formed part of the second or Highland brigade employed on that occasion. On the 20th of January 1837, by an order from the Horse Guards, His Majesty was also graciously pleased to allow the regiment to bear on its colours and appointments the word "Hindoostan," in commemoration of the meritorious services of the regiment while in India from 1782 to 1798.

The regiment remained with the headquarters at Grahamstown, furnishing detachments to the different outposts until the month of October 1838, when orders were received for the corps to be held in readiness to proceed to Cape Town, on being relieved by the 27th regiment. The regiment, on its arrival at Cape Town, occupied quarters in the castle and main barracks, and furnished detachments to Simon's Town and Rotten Island. A detachment of troops having been ordered to proceed to Port Natal on the east coast of Africa, and take possession of it in the name of Her Majesty, the 72nd Highlanders furnished for this duty 1 captain, 2 subalterns, 1 assistant surgeon, 4 sergeants, 2 drummers, and the Light Company completed to 86 rank and file. This detachment, under the command of Major Charteris, military secretary to His Excellency Major-General Sir G. Napier, K.C.B., embarked on the

19th of November 1838, landing at Port Natal on the 3d of December, and were immediately employed in the erection of buildings for the protection of stores, and the construction of works for the defence of the Post.

The regiment remained during the year 1839 at Cape Town, and in that period received two drafts from the depot companies, consisting in all of 1 major, 1 captain, 3 subalterns, 3 sergeants, and about 170 rank and file. The detachment from Port Natal returned to Cape Town under Captain Jervis of the 72nd on the 2nd of January 1840, when His Excellency Major-General Sir George Napier, K.C.B., was pleased to express in General Orders his entire satisfaction with their conduct during absence from headquarters. The regiment had in September 1839 received orders to be held in readiness to embark for England, on being relieved from home by the 25th regiment, and the latter troops landed at the Cape in the month of March 1840. Previous to the regiment embarking for England the following address was presented to it, signed by all the principal inhabitants of Cape Town and its vicinity:—

"To the officers, non-commissioned officers, and private soldiers of H.M. 72nd Highlanders.

"We, the undersigned merchants and other inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope, cannot permit the embarkation of the 72nd from the shores of this colony to take place without recording some expression of the sense we entertain of the general deportment and estimable conduct of the regiment during the twenty-five years it has been stationed in this garrison. The character of the 72nd Highlanders throughout that period has been uniformly and permanently marked towards the public by good order, sobriety, and discipline; while on every occasion on which its assistance has been sought, its services have been promptly, cheerfully, and effectively rendered. In parting with a regiment whose conduct has been so exemplary, and in which many of us have found personal friends, to whom we have been long and faithfully attached, we are anxious to express, however feebly, before you quit the colony, an acknowledgment of our regret

at your departure, and to convey to you, however inadequately, our cordial wishes for your happiness wherever you may be stationed, and that you may long continue to enjoy that distinguished renown which the 72nd Highlanders have so honourably achieved in the service of their country."

On the embarkation of the 72nd, the following General Order was issued by Major-General Sir George Napier, commanding the forces at the Cape :—

"His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief cannot permit the 72nd Highlanders to embark for England, from the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, in which they have been stationed for the long period of twelve years, without his expressing his marked approbation of the conduct of this highly-disciplined and exemplary corps while under his immediate command; and from the reports His Excellency has received from Colonel Smith, the Deputy-Quartermaster-General, under whose orders this regiment has been during the greater part of the above period, including a very arduous and active service in the field, His Excellency is enabled to record, which he does with great satisfaction, the very meritorious services of the 72nd Highlanders in whatever duty they have been engaged, whether in the field or in quarters.

"His Excellency begs to assure Major Hope, the officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of the 72nd regiment, that he will ever feel a lively interest in their welfare."

On the 11th of April 1840 the regiment embarked in two divisions for England. The headquarters landed at Portsmouth on the 8th of the following June, and marched immediately to Fort Cumberland. The second division landed also at Portsmouth on the 18th of the same month, and proceeded to the same place.

On the 1st of July Colonel Arbuthnot joined and assumed the command; and by a regimental order of the same date, the ten companies were consolidated, the depôt companies being stationed in Portsmouth at the period of the arrival of headquarters from the Cape. On the 6th of July the headquarters marched into Portsmouth, and occupied quarters in that garrison.

On the death of Sir John Hope, the colonelcy of the regiment was conferred upon Major-General Sir Colin Campbell (*not* Lord Clyde) in August 1836.

II.

1841—1872.

The Duke of Wellington presents new colours to the 72nd—Gibraltar—Barbadoes—Trinidad—Nova Scotia—Return to Europe—Embark for Malta—To the Crimea—Home—Channel Islands—Shorncliffe—Presentation of colours—Arrive in India in 1837—Shorncliffe—New Colours—Old Colours' destination—To Portsmouth—Bombay—Calaba—Guzerat—Tankaria—Baroda—Ahmedabad—Deesa—Nusseerabad—Mount Aboo—Death of Major Mackenzie of Glacket at Burra—The 72nd joins Major-General Roberts—Operations against Kotah—Strength of the Force—Major Thellusson—Sawah—Jehaspoor—Bhoondee—The Chunbul—The Rajah of Kotah—Major Burton and his Sons murdered—Kotah taken—Its immense strength—Lieutenant Cameron's gallantry—Lala—Fall of Kotah—Cavalry pursuit of the Rebels—Leave Kotah for Neemuch—Mokundurra Pass—Neemuch again—Colonel Parke commands this Station—Nusseerabad—Mutiny of the Army of Sindiah at Gwalior—The Bunnas—Kotaria—Brigadier-General Parke—Oodeypoor—Jhalra Patun—Soosneer—Rajgurgh—Sironj—Sarungpoor—Indore—Bhopal—Becor—Mungowlee—The Betwah—Borassa—Bhopal saved—Rao Sahib—Tantea Topee—The Nerbudda crossed by the Rebels—Hooshungabad—Churwah—Chicalda—Mhow—Indore—Chapeira—Angur—Palace of Chotah Oodeypoor—Pertabghur—Operations in the Jeysulmeer Districts on the Indus—Brigadier-General Parke's Operations north of Kotah—Tantea Topee captured and executed—Rao Sahib and Feroze Shah, Prince of Delhi—Major-General Michel's wonderful Marches—Lieutenant Vesev's March of 3000 Miles—The 72nd Medal for the Suppression of the Indian Mutiny—Victoria Cross conferred on Lieutenant Cameron—Mhow—Indore—Inspections—Leave Mhow—Nargaon—Leave Poonah—Return Home—Edinburgh—Prince Alfred opens the Museum of Arts and Sciences—The 72nd as a Guard of Honour—Inspection by General F. W. Hamilton, C.B.—Colonel Payn, C.B., commands—Aldershot—Inspection—Major Hunter in command—Manchester—Dublin—Limerick—Buttevant—Ordered to India—Proceed to Cork—Appointment of General Arbuthnot as Colonel of the 72nd—Arrive at Alexandria—Umballah—Lieutenant Thomson's Death—Reviewed by General Lord Napier of Magdala—Inspected by Major-General Fraser Tytler, C.B., at Umballah—Kussowlee and Dugshai.

In July 1841 the regiment, now joined by the depôt companies, proceeded from Portsmouth to Windsor, where, in January 1842, it was presented with new colours by Field-Marshal His Grace the Duke of Wellington, in the quadrangle of the castle, and in presence of Her Majesty the Queen, Prince Albert, and the King of Prussia. The Duke addressed the 72nd as follows :—

“Colonel Arbutnot, and you, gentlemen officers, and you, non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the 72nd Highland Regiment, I have attended here this day, in compliance with the wish of your commanding officer, and by permission of Her Majesty, to present to you your new colours.

“These colours have been consecrated by one of the highest dignitaries of our Church, and are presented to you in the presence of Her Majesty, and of her illustrious and royal guest, the King of Prussia, of Prince Albert, and of a number of the most distinguished personages. They are composed of the colours of the three nations, and bear the cipher of Her Majesty; and I have no doubt, from your previous character and your present high state of discipline, that you will guard them under every circumstance to the utmost of your power.

“These colours you are henceforth to consider as your head-quarters, and in every circumstance, in all times of privation and distress, you will look to them as your rallying point; and I would again remind you that their presentation is witnessed by the monarch of one of the most powerful nations in Europe—a nation which boasts of an army which has heretofore been a pattern for all modern troops, and which has done so much towards contributing to the general pacification of Europe. And I am happy to be able to show His Majesty a regiment in such high order. I have long known the 72nd Highland Regiment. Half a century has now nearly elapsed since I had the pleasure of serving in the same army with them on the plains of Hindoostan, and then they were famous for their high order and discipline. Since that period they have been engaged in the conquest of some of the most valuable colonies of the British Crown, and latterly in performing most distinguished services at the Cape of Good Hope. Fourteen years out of the last sixteen they have spent in foreign service, and, with only eighteen months at home for their re-formation and their redisciplining, appear in their present high state of regularity and order. The best part of a long life has been spent by me in barracks, camps, and cantonments; and it has been my duty as well as my inclination always

to study how best to promote the health and discipline of the troops; and I have always found it to be done only by paying the strictest regard to regularity and good order, with the greatest attention to the orders of their superiors. I address myself now particularly to the older soldiers, and wish them to understand that their strict attention to their discipline and respect to their officers will often have the best effect upon the younger soldiers; and it is, therefore, their duty to set a good example to their juniors by so doing. By these means alone can they expect to command the respect and regard of the community among whom they are employed. And I have made it my business to inquire particularly, and am rejoiced to find that the 72nd has always commanded that respect and regard, wherever it has been stationed, to which its high state of discipline and order so justly entitles it.

“You will, I am sure, always recollect the circumstances under which these colours are now committed to your charge, having been consecrated by one of the highest dignitaries of the Church, in the presence of Her Majesty, who now looks down upon you, and of her royal visitors. I give them into your charge, confident that at all times, under all circumstances, whether at home or abroad, and in all trials and privations, you will rally round them, and protect them to the utmost of your power.”

To this address Colonel Arbutnot made the following reply:—

“My Lord Duke, it would be highly presumptuous in me if I were to make any reply to the address which your Grace has delivered to us; but I cannot avoid stating that it is impossible for me, and indeed, I may add, out of the power of any one, to express how deeply I, my officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, feel the high honour which has been conferred on us by having had our colours presented to us by the greatest soldier the world has ever seen, and that in the presence of our Sovereign, His Majesty the King of Prussia, and Field-Marshal His Royal Highness Prince Albert.”

In 1843 the regiment removed to Ireland, where it remained till November 1844, when

it embarked from Cork for Gibraltar. The *dépôt* companies remained in Ireland till September 1847, when they removed to Paisley in Scotland.

After the decease of Lieutenant-General Sir Colin Campbell, on the 13th of June 1847, Lient.-General Sir Neil Douglas, K.C.B., K.C.H., was appointed Colonel of the regiment on the 12th of the following July.

During the whole of its service at Gibraltar, the regiment was constantly employed in furnishing working parties and artificers to assist in the construction of the new line of fortifications extending from the Light House at Europa Point to Little Bay, and from the New Mole to Chatham Counter-Guard. This magnificent work was proceeding with wonderful rapidity when the regiment left Gibraltar.

On the 14th of June 1847 it had been notified in garrison orders that the 72nd would re-embark, in the coming autumn, for the West Indies; and on the arrival of the reserve battalion of the 67th Regiment, the service companies embarked on the 15th of February 1848 on board the "Bombay," hired transport, and sailed on the 18th of February for Barbadoes. Previous to the embarkation, the following complimentary order was issued by his Excellency General Sir Robert Thomas Wilson, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces at Gibraltar:—

"GIBRALTAR, *February 12, 1848.*

"The eminently soldier-like qualities, the correct and zealous performance of all duties, and the general reputable conduct of the 72nd Highlanders during their service in Gibraltar, entitle them to the fullest encomiums of the General commanding. Wherever the regiment goes, the General commanding is confident that it will confer credit on the profession; and on quitting this station it leaves an impression of esteem on the garrison and the community that absence will neither impair nor efface."

After a favourable passage of twenty-three days, the regiment arrived in Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes, on the 12th of March 1848, landed on the 14th, and occupied quarters in the Brick Barracks, St Ann's. At this time the 66th regiment, which had arrived from Gib-

raltar about three weeks previously, occupied the Stone Barracks at St Ann's. These had been vacated in January by the 88th regiment, which encamped on the Savanna in consequence of its having been attacked with yellow fever, of which many died, during December and January, including the commanding officer, Lieut.-Colonel Phibbs. But the regiment was now healthy, and had proceeded to relieve the detachments of the 19th regiment in the islands, which corps had assembled at Barbadoes, and thence proceeded to Canada. In April, however, some men of the 66th were admitted into hospital with yellow fever, and several deaths occurred. This continued until August, when the cases became so numerous, that early in September the regiment was moved into camp in rear of the Brick Barracks. In October, the men of the Royal Artillery were also encamped; and in this month the 72nd, which had hitherto been remarkably healthy, was visited by this terrible disease. On the 13th of October, the assistant-surgeon, Dr Irwin, died of it, and it spread very rapidly among the men. On the 15th of November, the regiment moved out of the Brick Barracks into tents, erected about a mile distant, on the site of a former naval hospital, which had been destroyed by the hurricane of 1831. Nevertheless, the disease continued to spread until the end of December; and within the three months, 12 out of 14 officers, 26 non-commissioned officers, and 177 men, were attacked; and of these 4 officers, 17 non-commissioned officers, and 42 men, died. After this, however, only one other case occurred, that of Captain Maylan, who was taken ill on the 21st of January, and expired on the 25th.

By circular memorandum, dated Horse Guards, the 29th of January 1849, the regiment, being in the colonies, was ordered to be reduced to 770 rank and file.

In consequence of riots at St Lucia, a detachment of the 72nd, consisting of 1 captain, 3 subalterns, and 100 rank and file, was sent off at a few hours' notice, on the 12th of March. When it arrived, however, order had been restored; but the detachment remained at St Lucia, being quartered at Pigeon Island, until it was relieved by a company of the 66th, on the 16th of June.

In consequence of a riot at Trinidad, the flank companies were sent off to that island at a few hours' notice, on the 10th of October, and were afterwards detached to St Joseph's and San Fernando.

On the 19th of December 1849, the head-quarters embarked at Barbadoes, on board the "Princess Royal" transport, for Trinidad, where they landed on the 24th of December, and occupied the barracks at St James's, thus relieving the head-quarters of the 88th Regiment. The flank companies joined and formed the head-quarters of the regiment in the commencement of January, having been relieved by No. 4 company.

The distribution of the regiment at this period was as follows:—

At Trinidad,	Grenadier, Light, and No. 4 Companies.
„ Demerara,	No. 1 and No. 2 Companies.
„ Grenada,	No. 3 Company.
„ Tobago,	Detachment of 30 men.

The regiment continued detached as above until the 12th of May 1851, when the head-quarters, having been relieved by the head-quarters of the 34th Regiment, embarked at Trinidad for Barbadoes, where they landed on the 23rd and again occupied the Brick Barracks; the several detachments above mentioned having previously been conveyed there under the command of Major Gaisford. On the 8th of July, the regiment having been relieved by the 69th regiment from Malta, embarked on board H.M.S. "Hercules" for Halifax, Nova Scotia; and on its arrival, on the 30th, marched into the South Barracks.

On the 8th of September the 72nd commenced its march for New Brunswick to relieve the 97th, and on the 26th of the same month the head-quarters arrived at Frederickton, relieving the head-quarters of the 97th.

On the 1st of March 1854, 132 men were transferred from the depôt to the 42nd and 79th Highlanders, which corps had been ordered to form part of the expedition sent to the East against Russia. At the same time an order was given that the recruiting parties of the regiment should raise men for the corps sent on service, so that at this time the 72nd was about 330 rank and file under the establishment, and with little prospect of being recruited up to it.

On the 5th of May 1854, Lieut.-Colonel Freeman Murray retired from the command of the regiment, having exchanged with Lieut.-Colonel William Raikes Faber. This officer, however, never joined, but on the 23rd of June 1854 he exchanged with Lieut.-Colonel James Fraser of the 35th Regiment.

On the 7th of October 1854, the service companies stationed at Halifax, Nova Scotia, under command of Major R. P. Sharp, were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to embark for Europe on the shortest notice. On the 12th of the same month they embarked on board the steamer "Alps" for conveyance to Dublin, and landed at Kingston on the 24th, proceeding at once by railway to Limerick, where they occupied the New Barracks, the depôt, under the command of Major J. W. Gaisford, having arrived there a few days previously.

On the 1st of November 1854, Lieut.-Colonel James Fraser assumed the command of the regiment, which was at once formed into twelve companies, while the depôt and service companies were amalgamated. On the 23rd a letter was received from the Horse Guards desiring that the regiment should be held in readiness to embark for Malta.

On the 1st of December 1854, Lieut.-Colonel James Fraser retired from the command of the 72nd, by the sale of his commission, and was succeeded by Major R. P. Sharp, this being the first occasion on which the Lieutenant-Colonelcy had been given in this regiment for many years. On this day also the regiment was again formed into eight service and four depôt companies, the latter being under the command of Major J. W. Gaisford. On the 9th the service companies left Limerick by railway for Buttevant, and shortly afterwards proceeded to Cork, where they embarked on board H.M.S. "Neptune," for Malta, where they arrived on the 4th of January 1855, occupying the Floriana Barracks.

On the 22nd of May the regiment embarked, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel R. P. Sharp, on board the "Alma" steamship, and sailed from Malta for service in the Crimea. The full strength of the regiment was, on embarking—2 field-officers, 8 captains, 10 lieutenants, 5 ensigns, 5 staff-officers, 40 sergeants.

36 corporals, 17 drummers, and 514 privates. The regiment arrived at Balaklava on the 29th of May, and remained at anchor outside the harbour until the 31st, when it sailed to join the expedition at Kertch, under Lieutenant-General Sir George Brown. It reached Kertch on the following day, and remained on board ship until the 10th. While the regiment was at Kertch, cholera broke out in a most malignant form, and during the last six days it carried off 2 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 19 privates. It ceased, however, as soon as the ship left.

On the same day (the 10th of June) the 72nd arrived at Balaklava, disembarked on the 13th, encamped that night on the plain, and marched to the front of Sebastopol on the following day, where it was attached to a brigade composed of the 3rd and 31st Regiments, under the command of Colonel Van Straubenzee of the 3rd. On the 15th the 72nd commenced doing duty in the trenches of the right attack. On the 30th of this month it was appointed to the Highland brigade, composed of the 42nd, 79th, and 93rd Highlanders, under the command of Brigadier-General Cameron of the 42nd. This brigade was the 2nd of the 1st division; the other brigade was that of the Guards; the whole being under Major-General Sir Colin Campbell, who had the local rank of lieutenant-general. The 72nd continued doing duty in the trenches until the 26th of August, on which day the Highland brigade was moved to Kamara in support of the Sardinian outposts, an attack being expected in that direction, notwithstanding the repulse which the enemy had received from the French and Sardinian troops at the Traktir⁶ Bridge, on the Tchernaya River, on the 16th of August 1855.

On the 18th of June the greater part of the regiment was in the trenches under the command of Major William Parke, while the remaining few were stationed under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Sharp, in rear of the 21-gun battery. In the beginning of July, however, Lieut.-Colonel Sharp, having obtained sick-leave of absence to England, handed over the command of the 72nd to Major Parke.

⁶ TRAKTIR, a frequent name of villages and towns in the Crimea, simply means *village*. KUTOR is a *farm*.

It should be mentioned that, on the 22nd of June, a second lieutenant-colonel and 4 captains, with the proportionate number of subalterns, were added to the establishment of the regiment, which, by a War-Office circular of the 20th of August, was now fixed at 16 companies, consisting of 1 colonel, 2 lieutenant-colonels, 2 majors, 16 captains, 26 lieutenants, 14 ensigns, 7 staff-officers, 109 sergeants, 100 corporals, 47 drummers and pipers, and 1900 privates.

On the 16th of July, a draft, under the command of Captain Cecil Rice, composed of 3 subalterns, 1 staff-officer, 3 sergeants, 2 drummers, and 245 rank and file, joined from the depôt of the regiment, among whom was a large proportion of volunteers from other corps. After these had been in camp and done duty in the trenches for about a fortnight, cholera broke out again in the regiment, and carried off 35 men belonging, with only one exception, to the last draft. This terrible disease lasted about six weeks.

The brigade marched from the camp at Kamara, on the 8th of September, to the trenches, and occupied the 3rd parallel during the time the French stormed and took the Malakoff Tower and works, and during the unsuccessful attempt of the English to take the Redan. Between 4 and 5 o'clock that afternoon, the 72nd was ordered to the 5th parallel, holding the part of it situated in front of the Redan, and was to have led the storming party in another attack on the Redan at daylight on the 9th of September, had not the Russians evacuated the south side of Sevastopol during the night. How masterly their retreat was is well known.

The Commander-in-Chief, Lieutenant-General Simpson, soon afterwards resigned. He had been appointed to the supreme command on the death of Lord Raglan, in June 1855, and soon after the fall of Sevastopol was succeeded by Major-General Codrington.

Quarter-Master John Macdonald, of the 72nd, was wounded by a Minié bullet on the 8th, soon after the regiment entered the trenches, and died from the effects of the wound on the 16th of September. In him the regiment lost a most useful, active, and intelligent officer. The losses of the regiment on the 8th were

slight—1 private killed, 1 sergeant, 2 corporals, and 16 privates wounded.

On the 15th of September, Lieut.-Colonel Gaisford arrived from England, and assumed command of the regiment from Major Parke. Lieut.-Colonel Gaisford returned to England, however, at the end of October, having retired from the service by the sale of his commission, and was succeeded by Lieut.-Colonel William Parke, who again assumed the command of the regiment. From this time the 72nd was constantly employed on fatigue duty, carrying up wooden huts from Balaklava, as it had been decided that the Highland brigade,—which had been joined by the 1st and 2nd battalions of the Royal Regiment, and the 92nd Highlanders from Gibraltar,—should now be made into the Highland division. The 2nd brigade consisted of the Royal Regiment, the 71st Highland Light Infantry (at Kertch), and the 72nd Highlanders, under Brigadier-General Home, C.B., of the 20th Regiment, and was quartered near Kamara during the winter.

On the 3d of October 1855, Sir Colin Campbell suddenly left for England, the command of the division devolving on Brigadier-General Cameron, C.B., of the 1st brigade, who obtained the local rank of major-general on being confirmed in the command. Temporarily, he was succeeded in the command of the 1st brigade by Colonel M. Atherley of the 92d Highlanders.

On the 11th of November 1855, Sir William Codrington, K.C.B., succeeded General Simpson in command of the army, with the local rank of lieutenant-general.

On the 12th of October the regiment had moved into huts in their new encampment for the winter, the situation being most favourable, well sheltered, with good water, and plenty of wood for fuel. This spot had been occupied by Turkish troops during the summer. The winter, during part of December, January, and February, was severe, with unusually rapid variations of temperature. The regiment, nevertheless, continued remarkably healthy, being well fed and admirably clothed, besides having received a field allowance of 6d. *per diem* of extra pay.

The first issue of silver medals for the Crimea took place on the 12th of December

1855. A large number of officers, non-commissioned officers, and private soldiers, received distinctions.

Sir Colin Campbell returned to the Crimea on the 15th of February 1856, and was appointed to the command of a corps d'armée, which, however, was never collected or embodied.

On the 1st of March, it appeared in general orders that an armistice had been signed, the conditions of which were: a suspension of arms; that the river Tchernaya, from the ruins of the village of Tchernaya to Sevastopol, should be the boundary line, and that no one should be allowed to cross the river. On the 30th, a treaty of peace was signed in Paris; and on the 2nd of April salutes were fired to announce and commemorate the peace of the allied armies in the Crimea. The communication with the interior of the country was soon opened, and the great majority of the officers of the British army took advantage of the permission.

On the 17th of April a review of the British army was held on the heights in front of Sevastopol in honour of General Lüders, the Russian Commander-in-Chief at that time. Marshal Pelissier, Le Duc de Malakoff, and the Sardinian Commander-in-Chief, were present. The British cavalry were all at Scutari, with the exception of the 11th Hussars, who had wintered there.

In the beginning of June the army began to embark from the Crimea; and on the 15th the 72nd was ordered from the camp near the mountain gorge leading into the valley of Vernutka, which extends in the direction of Baidar into Kadikoi, the other regiments of the Highland division having embarked for England. On the 16th of June the 72nd marched into Kadikoi, and occupied huts, being attached to the brigade under Brigadier-General Warren. It was employed on fatigues, shipping stores, &c., from Balaklava, until it embarked and sailed for England in H.M.S. "Sanspareil." After a most favourable passage, the "Sanspareil" anchored off Spithead on the 29th of July.

The 72nd disembarked on the 31st of July, at Portsmouth, proceeding on the same day to the camp at Aldershot: and on the 1st of

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